

HISTORY  
OF THE  
CATHOLIC  
CHURCH

---

MOURRET-  
THOMPSON

VOLUME  
FOUR

# A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY

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TRANSLATED BY

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VOLUME FOUR

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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	3

## PART I

### THE IMPERIAL PROTECTORATE

CHAPTER I.	FIRST YEARS OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE (962-99) . .	10
	Otto King of Germany . . . . .	11
	Coronation of Otto I . . . . .	13
	Lay Investiture . . . . .	16
	Cluny Abbey . . . . .	18
	Otto's Ambition . . . . .	20
	Policy of Pope John XII . . . . .	22
	Pope Benedict V . . . . .	26
	Pope John XIII . . . . .	28
	Pope Benedict VI . . . . .	31
	Emperor Otto II . . . . .	33
	Pope Benedict VII . . . . .	36
	Pope John XIV . . . . .	40
	Pope John XV . . . . .	43
	The Truce of God . . . . .	44
	The Capetian Dynasty . . . . .	46
	Otto III . . . . .	49
	Pope Gregory V . . . . .	51
II.	POPE SYLVESTER II (999-1003) . . . . .	56
	The Antecedents of Sylvester II . . . . .	56
	Noble Projects . . . . .	58
	Arnulf and the See of Reims . . . . .	62
	Restoration of the Roman Empire . . . . .	64
	Poland and Hungary . . . . .	65
	The Holy Land . . . . .	67
	Italian Difficulties . . . . .	68
	Conditions in Germany . . . . .	70

CHAPTER	PAGE
Scholarship of Sylvester II . . . . .	72
Romanesque Architecture . . . . .	79
Music . . . . .	82
Cluny Abbey . . . . .	85
III. DOMINATION BY THE ITALIAN FACTIONS (1003-49) . . . . .	89
The Holy Land . . . . .	91
Political Situation in Germany . . . . .	94
St. Henry II . . . . .	95
The Charta of 1014 . . . . .	99
The Truce of God . . . . .	101
St. Henry II and the Church . . . . .	104
King Robert the Pious . . . . .	107
Pope John XIX . . . . .	109
Emperor Conrad II . . . . .	112
Manichaeian Heresy . . . . .	114
Camaldolese Order . . . . .	115
Chivalry . . . . .	117
Church Music . . . . .	119
The House of Tusculum . . . . .	120
Pope Benedict IX . . . . .	121
Pope Gregory VI . . . . .	124
Hildebrand . . . . .	127
Emperor Henry III . . . . .	130

## PART II

## THE LIBERATION OF THE CHURCH

IV. FROM ST. LEO IX TO ST. GREGORY VII (1048-73) . . . . .	140
Pope St. Leo IX . . . . .	140
Councils . . . . .	143
Reform Movement . . . . .	146
Berengarius . . . . .	148
Eastern Schism . . . . .	152
International Affairs . . . . .	158
Normans in Italy . . . . .	162
Pope Victor II . . . . .	164
Pope Stephen IX . . . . .	168
Antipope Benedict X . . . . .	174

# CONTENTS

v

CHAPTER	PAGE
Pope Nicholas II . . . . .	175
Pope Alexander II . . . . .	181
 V. THE PONTIFICATE OF ST. GREGORY VII . . . . .	 186
The Election . . . . .	186
Simony . . . . .	189
Clerical Reform . . . . .	192
Cluny Abbey . . . . .	197
St. Hugh of Cluny . . . . .	200
New Religious Congregations . . . . .	201
Carthusian Order . . . . .	203
Lay Investiture . . . . .	205
Excommunication of Henry IV . . . . .	215
Gregory VII at Canossa . . . . .	219
Rudolf of Swabia . . . . .	224
Henry IV in Italy . . . . .	227
International Affairs . . . . .	229
Crusade Projects . . . . .	232
Death of Gregory VII . . . . .	234
 VI. FROM THE DEATH OF ST. GREGORY VII TO THE DEATH OF	
URBAN II (1085-99) . . . . .	237
Pope Victor III . . . . .	237
Election of Pope Urban II . . . . .	242
Antipope Guibert . . . . .	244
Law of Excommunication . . . . .	245
Third Orders . . . . .	247
The Schismatics . . . . .	248
Countess Matilda . . . . .	249
Emperor Henry IV . . . . .	250
King Philip's Divorce . . . . .	255
King William Rufus of England . . . . .	260
St. Anselm . . . . .	261
Moors in Spain . . . . .	266
Sicily . . . . .	269
The First Crusade . . . . .	271
Council of Piacenza . . . . .	274
The Turks . . . . .	277
Council of Clermont . . . . .	280
"God Wills It" . . . . .	282



CHAPTER	PAGE
Peter the Hermit . . . . .	285
Crusade of the Common People . . . . .	286
Peter the Hermit's Contingent . . . . .	288
The Crusade of the Barons . . . . .	292
Godfrey of Bouillon . . . . .	293
First and Second Armies . . . . .	294
Third and Fourth Armies . . . . .	295
Crusaders' Victories . . . . .	298
The Taking of Jerusalem . . . . .	300
Intellectual Movement . . . . .	302
St. Anselm . . . . .	304
Canon Law . . . . .	308
St. Ivo of Chartres . . . . .	310
Monastic Foundations . . . . .	314
 VII. PASCHAL II TO CALLISTUS II (1099-1124) . . . . .	 316
Emperor Henry IV . . . . .	318
Lateran Synod (1102) . . . . .	319
Revolt of Henry V . . . . .	321
Henry V's Hostility to the Pope . . . . .	323
Henry V at Rome . . . . .	325
Treaty of Sutri . . . . .	326
Imprisonment of Pope Paschal II . . . . .	327
Henry V's Peaceful Advances . . . . .	329
Pope Gelasius II . . . . .	331
Council of Reims (1119) . . . . .	331
Concordat of Worms . . . . .	333
Investiture Quarrel in France . . . . .	335
The Investiture Quarrel in England . . . . .	336
Concordat of London (1107) . . . . .	338
The Christian States of Palestine . . . . .	339
Dangers to the New States . . . . .	342
The Military Orders . . . . .	343
Clerical Life . . . . .	346
William of Champeaux . . . . .	348
Canons Regular of St. Victor . . . . .	349
St. Norbert . . . . .	351
The Premonstratensians . . . . .	352
The Order of Cluny . . . . .	354
Peter the Venerable . . . . .	356

# CONTENTS

vii

CHAPTER	PAGE
The Order of Citeaux . . . . .	360
St. Bernard . . . . .	361
Intellectual Movement . . . . .	366
Roscelin . . . . .	367
Peter Abeland . . . . .	369
Theology . . . . .	371
Tanchelm . . . . .	372
Peter of Bruys . . . . .	373
Communal Movement . . . . .	375
The Confraternities . . . . .	376
The Christian Life . . . . .	380
The Hierarchy . . . . .	382

## PART III

### THE ORGANIZATION OF CHRISTENDOM

VIII. FROM HONORIUS II TO FREDERICK BARBAROSSA (1124-52)	391
Pope Honorius II . . . . .	392
Emperor Lothair . . . . .	394
The Church in England . . . . .	395
The Church in France . . . . .	396
Sicily . . . . .	398
Papal Elections . . . . .	399
Pope Innocent II . . . . .	400
Council of Etampes . . . . .	401
The Antipope Anacletus II . . . . .	402
Gerard of Angoulême . . . . .	405
Pope Innocent II at Pisa . . . . .	407
Council of Pisa . . . . .	408
Guelphs and Ghibellines . . . . .	410
Lateran Council (1139) . . . . .	411
Sicily . . . . .	412
Italian Cities . . . . .	413
Arnold of Brescia . . . . .	415
Pope Celestine II . . . . .	417
Pope Lucius II . . . . .	418
Pope Eugene III . . . . .	420
Revolutionary Disturbances . . . . .	421

## CHAPTER

## PAGE

The Crusades . . . . .	423
St. Bernard . . . . .	426
Difficulties of the Crusade . . . . .	427
Defeat of the Crusaders . . . . .	428
Religious Reform . . . . .	429
Abelard . . . . .	430
Heresies . . . . .	434
Hugh of St. Victor . . . . .	437
Peter Lombard . . . . .	441
St. Bernard . . . . .	443
St. Hildegard . . . . .	447
Gratian . . . . .	448
Monasticism . . . . .	450
The Clergy . . . . .	450
St. Malachy . . . . .	451
Suger . . . . .	452
Death of Pope Eugene III . . . . .	454
 IX. FROM FREDERICK BARBAROSSA TO INNOCENT III (1152-98)	456
Frederick Barbarossa . . . . .	456
Pope Anastasius IV . . . . .	458
Pope Adrian IV . . . . .	458
Barbarossa in Italy . . . . .	460
Chancellor Rainaldi . . . . .	462
The Legists . . . . .	464
The Code of Roncaglia . . . . .	466
Pope Adrian's Protests . . . . .	468
Pope Alexander III . . . . .	469
Pseudo-council of Pavia (1160) . . . . .	472
The Italian Cities . . . . .	473
Antipope Victor IV . . . . .	475
Diet of Würzburg (1165) . . . . .	476
League of Verona . . . . .	477
The Lombard League . . . . .	478
Treaty of Venice . . . . .	480
The Church of England . . . . .	480
St. Thomas à Becket . . . . .	482
King Henry II of England . . . . .	484
Death of St. Thomas à Becket . . . . .	487
The King's Penance . . . . .	489

# CONTENTS

ix

CHAPTER

PAGE

Third Lateran Council . . . . .	490
Heresies . . . . .	491
Repression of Heresies . . . . .	493
Richard of St. Victor . . . . .	495
Adam of St. Victor . . . . .	497
Pope Lucius III . . . . .	499
Pope Urban III . . . . .	503
Pope Gregory VIII . . . . .	504
Pope Clement III . . . . .	505
The Third Crusade . . . . .	505
Pope Celestine III . . . . .	510
 X. THE PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT III (1198-1216) . . . .	 516
Order and Peace in Rome . . . . .	517
German Domination in Italy . . . . .	520
Repression of Heresy . . . . .	523
The Albigenses . . . . .	526
The Crusade against the Albigenses . . . . .	530
Simon de Montfort . . . . .	532
The Fourth Crusade . . . . .	536
State of Christendom . . . . .	545
The Papacy and the Empire . . . . .	547
The Holy See and Spain . . . . .	550
The Holy See and England . . . . .	553
The Holy See and France . . . . .	556
The Holy See and Hungary . . . . .	560
The Holy See and the Slavs . . . . .	562
Innocent III and Christian Civilization . . . . .	563
St. Francis of Assisi . . . . .	564
The Friars Preachers . . . . .	569
The Trinitarians . . . . .	572
Fourth Lateran Council . . . . .	572
 XI. FROM INNOCENT III TO ALEXANDER IV (1216-54) . . . .	 578
Pope Honorius III . . . . .	579
Pope Gregory IX . . . . .	583
The Crusade in Spain . . . . .	586
France and the Crusades . . . . .	587
Emperor Frederick II . . . . .	590
Intellectual Activities . . . . .	593



CHAPTER	PAGE
The Inquisition . . . . .	597
Dominicans and Franciscans . . . . .	599
Pope Innocent IV . . . . .	600
First General Council of Lyons . . . . .	603
Emperor Frederick II . . . . .	604
St. Louis and the Crusade . . . . .	606
 XII. FROM ALEXANDER IV TO BONIFACE VIII (1254-94) . .	 611
Pope Alexander IV . . . . .	612
Pope Urban IV . . . . .	613
Pope Clement IV . . . . .	614
Pope Gregory X . . . . .	618
Second General Council of Lyons . . . . .	619
Popes Innocent V, Adrian V, and John XXI . . . . .	621
Popes Nicholas III and Martin IV . . . . .	622
Popes Honorius IV and Nicholas IV . . . . .	624
Pope Celestine V . . . . .	625
Religious Orders . . . . .	626
The Universities . . . . .	629
The Mendicant Orders . . . . .	631
St. Thomas Aquinas . . . . .	632
St. Bonaventure . . . . .	634
The Study of Law . . . . .	636
The University of Oxford . . . . .	642
Secondary and Primary Education . . . . .	645
Preaching . . . . .	646
The Liturgy . . . . .	648
Religious Architecture . . . . .	650
Literature . . . . .	654
Chivalry . . . . .	655
The Guilds . . . . .	658
Piety . . . . .	664
The Christian Century . . . . .	666
 BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	 668
INDEX . . . . .	681

# A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

## VOLUME IV

- I. THE IMPERIAL PROTECTORATE
- II. THE LIBERATION OF THE CHURCH
- III. THE ORGANIZATION OF CHRISTENDOM

## *Introduction*

NEVER did Christianity see a closer approach to the full development of its constitution<sup>1</sup> than during the political and social regime founded and organized by the popes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. True, at times the conflict between good and evil appeared very embittered. Powerful interests clashed violently. Unprecedented crimes are found side by side with the loftiest virtues. But, as Schlegel remarks,

the most careful consideration and profound investigation of the history of those ages invariably discovers that all that was then great and good in the state, as well as in the Church, proceeded from Christianity and from the wonderful efficacy of religious principles. Whatever was imperfect, defective, and hurtful . . . was in the character of men, we might almost say in the character of the age itself.<sup>2</sup>

Among the persons laboring in that epoch for what was good and right, we find three classes of men: popes, monks, and knights. In the ranks of the popes, stand out the noble figures of Sylvester II, St. Gregory VII, and Innocent III. St. Bruno, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Bonaventure are the most illustrious monks of the period. St. Henry in Germany, St. Ferdinand in Spain, and St. Louis in France are the accomplished types of knights.

The concurring influence of the monarchical institution and of knighthood was always subordinate to the supreme authority of the papacy. In the thirteenth century the pope's spiritual and temporal power reached the highest point it ever attained.

<sup>1</sup> Brugère, *Tableau de l'histoire et de la littérature de l'Eglise*, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> *Philosophy of History* (1848 ed.), p. 364.

This influence had a twofold aim: to free the Church from all powers of evil, particularly from every oppression by earthly powers, and more and more to make the things of earth subject to the things of heaven by bringing about everywhere the triumph of the law of Christ over societies as well as over individuals.

Which of these two aims was the one more directly and immediately sought? Some historians, viewing the whole effort of the Church in the Middle Ages, have regarded that effort merely as a gigantic struggle for the liberation of Christian souls and have referred the entire inspiration of the popes to that motto of John of Salisbury, "Religion and liberty,"<sup>3</sup> or to Peter de Blois' saying, "To defend the freedom of the Church is the first duty and the greatest honor of its pastors."<sup>4</sup> The conquest of preponderance by the spiritual power over the temporal power was, according to this view, simply a means for attaining this first aim. Other writers have declared that, from the outset, the Church was influenced by the analogy of the relations between the soul and the body and sought the preponderance of the spiritual power over the temporal as the normal state of a perfectly constituted society. An impartial study of the facts and of the papal declarations seems to show that both aims, regarded as interdependent, were pursued simultaneously.

However that may be, in the task valiantly projected by Sylvester II, heroically undertaken by St. Gregory VII, and gloriously crowned by Innocent III, we are obliged to recognize a vast work of reform and liberation. This fact is acknowledged by writers who are utterly unconcerned with doctrinal beliefs. In the words of Auguste Comte, "the highest point in the Middle Ages was the epoch when the world was best organized."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> John of Salisbury, *Ep.* 193; *PL*, CXCIX, 207.

<sup>4</sup> Peter de Blois, *Ep.* 10; *PL*, CCVII, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Auguste Comte, cited by E. Faguet, *Politicians and Moralists of the Nineteenth Century*.



According to Uhlhorn, it was "a time that can be compared with no other from the viewpoint of the organization and fervor of Christian charity, both public and private."<sup>6</sup>

A Catholic cannot help being proud to note the coincidence of that moral triumph with the deepest influence that the papal power ever exercised upon society.

A learned historian, surveying events from this viewpoint, has attempted to show, in the history of the medieval Church, the most living apologetic of Catholicism. Says Léon Gautier :

The Catholic Church could bring about a triumph of its ideas only at the time of its domination. But when was this time of the dominance of the Church? All are agreed that it was the Middle Ages. Therefore it was in the Middle Ages the Church saw the triumph of its ideas. But either you are a Christian or you are not. If you are a Christian, you will look upon the Middle Ages as the epoch that established on earth the reign of the True and of the Good. If you are not a Christian, you ought to detest this period, because the ideas of the Church, which were then triumphant, are for you false and antinatural. Hence the question of the Middle Ages is really the question of the truth of Christianity.<sup>7</sup>

The history of medieval Christianity may conveniently be divided into three main phases.

Deeply disturbed, even at the center of its work, by the Italian factions, the papacy first sought support in the imperial protection. King Otto of Germany, appealed to by Pope John XII, who revived the Western Empire for him, laid the foundation for an agreement which gave the Church, from 962 to 1049, a century of comparative security. The highest point of this period was marked by the glorious pontificate of Sylvester II. But the emperors' unjust interference in ecclesiastical government stirred up the conflict of the priesthood and the empire.

From 1094 to 1124 a series of popes, among them the il-

<sup>6</sup> Uhlhorn, cited by Marx, *Kirchengeschichte*, IV, 5, § 93.

<sup>7</sup> Léon Gautier, *Etudes et tableaux historiques*, p. 103.

lustrious St. Gregory VII, vigorously fought for the liberation of the Church. This was the second period.

During the third period (1124-1294) the organization of Christendom and at length its liberation from the imperial yoke formed the chief concern of the popes. Of these pontiffs the most renowned was Innocent III.

## PART I

### THE IMPERIAL PROTECTORATE

### *Introductory Remarks*

THE period forming the subject of this first part was, in certain of its aspects, one of the most humiliating in the history of the Church. It opened with the pontificate of a pope who came into power through the ambition of his family; and it closed with the reign of two pontiffs imposed on the Church by the will of an emperor. With almost unbroken constancy, the abusive interference of the civil powers shackled the freedom of the Church. Simony and moral corruption were the results of this regime. The house of Theophylactus and of Marozia tried to exploit the Holy See as they would a family fief and gave the Church the two popes whose personal misconduct has been the shame of Christendom: John XII and Benedict IX.

But God did not abandon His Church. Under the influence of a great monk, St. Odilo, the Order of Cluny spread the influence of its edification to the numerous monasteries connected with it. St. Romuald founded the austere Camaldolese Order. Between 999 and 1003 a great pope, Sylvester II, laid the foundation of the mightiest institutions of the Middle Ages. From 1002 to 1045 a saint, Henry II, held the scepter of the Empire. With the election of the last pope of this period, in 1045, we see enter upon the scene, along with St. Peter Damian, the most ardent of the apostles of reform, the one whom God predestined to bring about reform in the see of St. Peter, the monk Hildebrand.



## CHAPTER I

### *First Years of the Holy Roman Empire (962-99)*

FOR anyone who placed his whole trust in the combinations of a political organization, the supremacy of the papacy was assured in the middle of the tenth century. John XII was not merely pope; as heir of Alberic, he was the head of the most prominent family of the Roman aristocracy, and also a sort of temporal prince in the Eternal City. His father, with the tacit approval of the people, had acted as a potentate in Rome. He bestowed on himself the titles of *Princeps* and *Senator omnium Romanorum*. His name appeared on the coins along with that of the supreme pontiff, replacing the name of the Byzantine emperor.<sup>8</sup> John XII, by the mere fact that he obtained the supreme ecclesiastical power at the very time when he became the head of the most powerful Roman family, seemed to extinguish that antagonism which had caused so many disturbances. Furthermore, the new Pope was not lacking in intelligence and political sense, and seemed resolved to yield to no one the rank that fell to him.

These very qualities of intelligence and political sense showed John XII the peril of the situation. The condition of affairs was lamentable. Perhaps never was anyone in a better position to observe the influence of morality upon the political and social order. While the papacy, without esteem because of the vices of the reigning pontiff and of his court, was daily losing its prestige, the people, more and more dominated by concern with material interests and worldly pleasures, developed a growing taste for factions and disquieted the government by perpetual threat of revolt or conspiracy.

<sup>8</sup> Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical* (2d ed., 1904), p. 331.

John XII understood that by himself he could not cope with such a menace. The papacy needed a powerful protector as in the time of Pepin and Charlemagne. But where was this protector to be found? In a somewhat different situation, but one no less dangerous, John XI had sought it in the East. The Byzantine Empire was then being governed by Romanus Lecapenus. On February 2, 933, four papal legates, two of them bishops, had solicited the friendship of the imperial upstart of Constantinople, by offering him marriage alliances with the family of Marozia. But the attempt failed.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the emperor of Constantinople was too far away to be an effective protector; the religious separation between the East and the West was becoming more and more acute; the papacy could scarcely hope to find in that direction the moral support it needed. Public opinion turned rather toward the restoration of Charlemagne's Empire. Amid civil wars and invasions, the thoughts of all instinctively turned to the memory of the great Emperor. Magnificent legends formed around his name and revived his memory.<sup>10</sup> Was he not there, with his big sword, to defend the cause of the Church and of justice?

### Otto King of Germany

At that very hour King Otto of Germany aspired to nothing less than to take up the role of Charlemagne. He was then in the prime of life.<sup>11</sup> Such an ambition seemed justified by his brilliant qualities of mind and body, the extent of his knowledge, his intrepid courage, and the majesty of his bearing.

<sup>9</sup> Our information of this affair comes from a document discovered by Cardinal Pitra and published in his *Analecta novissima*, I, 469.

<sup>10</sup> On these legends, see Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, 1865; Léon Gautier, *Les épopées françaises*, Vol. III (2d ed., 1880). About 968 the monk of Monte Soracte gave an account of a journey by Charlemagne to Palestine (*Monumenta Germaniae, Scriptores*, III, 708).

<sup>11</sup> Otto was born November 22, 912.

He had already bestowed exceptional glory upon the Saxon throne. He had put down the revolts of the German nobles. With equal success he had fought against the Danes, the Hungarians, the Northern Slavs, and the Lombard forces of Berengarius. After the latter's defeat, Otto had himself crowned king of Italy.<sup>12</sup> By his mother St. Matilda, by his wife St. Adelaide, and by his brother St. Bruno, holiness was added to his greatness as a kind of halo.

A story is told that on the Merseburg battlefield, where Otto broke the power of the Hungarians, the German army suddenly turned to its victorious king, exclaiming with one voice: *Imperator Augustus, pater patriae*.<sup>13</sup> Pope John XII offered to ratify this popular acclaim by his supreme religious authority, if Otto would agree to place his sword at the service of God's Church. Otto at once accepted the Pontiff's offer. His decision was prompted by his sincere desire to serve the Church and also by motives of political interest.

The most serious difficulties the German King had to deal with in the government of his realm sprang from the resistance of the feudal nobles. The establishment of the feudal hierarchy in Germany in the tenth century had been a forward step from the anarchy of the time. But it created almost insurmountable obstacles to the regular functioning of the monarchical power. The upper nobility, including the dukes and the three Rhenish archbishops, did not grant to the king the power of taking a hand in their jurisdiction, of hindering them from making war, or of forming alliances. Often they conspired to obtain the crown and sometimes openly opposed the one who wore it. When Otto undertook the Italian campaign which resulted in Berengarius' defeat, the higher feudal lords not only refused to join the expedition, but attempted to oppose it. Nothing but terrible penalties overcame their ill

<sup>12</sup> We have medals of this period, on which Otto takes the title of king of Italy.

<sup>13</sup> Witikind, *Annales*, in Pertz.

will. The nobility of second rank, including the counts, the margraves or marquises, and the landgraves, carried on the same sort of strife against the crown.<sup>14</sup> Below these two classes, the barons and simple knights, under obligation to serve their suzerains in certain circumstances, also endeavored to withhold their assistance unless they could foresee some material advantage for themselves.

Otto, by becoming emperor, would exercise a greater sway over that powerful feudalism. Coronation at the hands of the Roman pontiff would give him the right to speak and command in the name of a higher authority than that which came to him as suzerain of feudal domains. He would be speaking as protector of the faith, as commissioned by the Church with a temporal mission. An inevitable result of the new regime would undoubtedly be to give the clergy, in the public administration and at court, a greater importance than they previously enjoyed. And the clever statesman saw that this very consequence would give him the advantage of counterbalancing the influence of the military nobility by that of the ecclesiastical nobility.

### Coronation of Otto I

Otto's coronation by Pope John XII took place on February 2, 962, the Feast of the Purification. Queen Adelaide was crowned at the same time as her husband. We should like to know the details of the ceremony which made the first emperor of Germany. Contemporary annalists, in their very brief accounts, mention the Pope's initiative and the people's acclaim.<sup>15</sup> Apparently the latter was regarded as essential for

<sup>14</sup> James Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. 8 (1932 ed., pp. 122 ff.).

<sup>15</sup> The continuator of Réginon: *Acclamatione totius romani populi imperator vocatur et ordinatur* (PL, CXXXII, 137). Ditmar (Thietmar) says: *Benedictionem a domno apostolico Joanne cujus rogatione huc venit, cum sua conjuge promeruit imperialem* (PL, CXXXIX, 1207). Hermannus Contractus says: *A papa*

the election, and the former as inherent to the coronation ceremony.<sup>16</sup>

We have more information about the reciprocal agreements entered into by the Pope and the Emperor. They were inscribed in a celebrated document, the *Privilegium Ottonis*, dated February 13, 962. Its authenticity is undisputed.<sup>17</sup> The Emperor promised

to procure the exaltation of the pope and of the Roman Church, never to inflict harm upon the person and office of the pope, never to hold at Rome any *placitum* without first consulting the pope, to return to the pope whatever he held from the Patrimony of St. Peter, and lastly to require from the governor to whom he had confided the Kingdom of Italy an oath to protect the pope and the possessions of St. Peter.

In reply to this oath, the Pope and the Romans swore on the body of St. Peter, that they would never give aid to the enemies of the emperor; and they all agreed that in the future the canonically elected pope could not be consecrated until, in the presence of the emperor or his *missi*, he made promises indicating his good intentions.<sup>18</sup>

*imperator ordinatur, non solum romano sed et paene totius Europae populo acclamante* (PL, CXLIII, 219).

<sup>16</sup> The ceremonies of the imperial consecration were not clearly fixed until the twelfth century.

<sup>17</sup> Von Sickel (*Das Privilegium Ottos I für die römische Kirche*) has established that the Vatican Archives have a contemporary copy of this document. The text of the *Privilegium Ottonis* may be found in the *Monumenta Germaniae, LL*, 2, 29, 159-66; § IV, 1, 20 f.; DD Reg. et imp., 1, 324. It was put in the *Corpus juris canonici*, dist. LXIII, c. 33. Jaffé gives it in his *Monumenta gregoriana* (1865), p. 13, placing it after three spurious formulas. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 792-97.

<sup>18</sup> If we closely study this formula in its context and if we compare it with the earlier acts regulating the relations of the papacy with the imperial authority, we are led to conclude with Duchesne (*op. cit.*, pp. 344 f.), that "as regards the papal election, they simply and purely put into effect the law of the ninth century" and that consequently "in its general tenor the *Privilegium Ottonis* does not indicate any advance of the imperial authority at Rome, whether regarding the elections or anything else." Evidently Bayet (Lavis and Rambaud, *Histoire générale*, I, 540) is exaggerating when he says that "by the *Privilegium Ottonis*

When these solemn promises had been exchanged and when the official record of them, written in letters of gold on purple parchment with a golden seal affixed, had been deposited in the papal archives, the people might well have thought that a glorious era was opening for the Church. "More, too, than the royal name could have done, did the imperial name invite the sympathy of the commons. For in all, however ignorant of its history, however unable to comprehend its functions, there yet lived a feeling that it was in some mysterious way consecrated to Christian brotherhood and equality, to peace and law, to the restraint of the strong and the defense of the helpless."<sup>19</sup> Such is the impression that transpires from the accounts of contemporary annalists. One hundred sixty years earlier, in the porch of the Lateran Palace, Pope Leo III had constructed a mosaic depicting Christ, having at His right Pope Sylvester and at His left Emperor Constantine, handing to one the keys of heaven and to the other a banner surmounted by a cross. Around the picture was inscribed the legend: *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*. Was not this the cry that would henceforth rise from every breast?

These bright expectations were shared by those at the papal court. Otto, perhaps because he was less loyal, was less confident. We are told that, as he was being crowned, he said to one of his close followers, Ansfried of Louvain: "Today when I kneel at the tomb of St. Peter, do you be sure to hold your raised sword above my head, because I know all that my predecessors have had to suffer from the Romans. A wise man avoids evils by foresight. You will have time to pray as much

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the papacy became a vassal of the Empire." The truth is that, in principle, the papal elections escaped from the influence of the Italian factions. This was the immediate end that was sought for. Was this end actually attained, and did not the remedy have its own dangers? These are two different questions; subsequent events supply the answer.

<sup>19</sup> Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

as you like when we are at Monte Mario in the midst of our army."

We do not know with certainty what were John XII's personal impressions. He was an out-and-out statesman and may have thought he was applying a sufficient remedy to political ills by the diplomatic arrangement which had its beginning at the tomb of the Apostles. Very likely the son of Alberic was not able to grasp the extent and depth of the moral plagues afflicting the Church. But Providence held in reserve, to heal them, other remedies besides this restoration of the Empire.

### Lay Investiture

The unfortunate Pontiff who had been raised to the summit of ecclesiastical honors by the intrigues of an ambitious family and who brought with him, along with the scandal of the most despicable traffic, the scandal of notorious misconduct, embodied in his own person the three evils from which the Church was then suffering almost everywhere: lay investiture, simony, and incontinency.

In the language of the Middle Ages the term "investiture" was given to the juridical act by which the owner or proprietor of a church confided it, by title of benefice, to the ecclesiastic who was to serve it. The historical evolution by which lay lords and princes acquired the disposal of this right, goes back to the Carolingian period. Let us recall that, at this time, most of the rural churches were private property. Upon a large estate arose a church that was an accessory of the domain, quite like a mill, a bakery, or a brewery. In these circumstances naturally the owner, builder, and benefactor of this country church had a say in designating the priest who would serve the church and who would live on his land.<sup>20</sup> Often his

<sup>20</sup> On the question of these origins, see Fournier, "Yves de Chartres et le droit canonique" in the *Rev. des quest. his.*, XIX (1898), 51-98, 384-405. Cf. *Nowv.*

wish was supreme and decisive. Gradually this assumed prerogative extended even to cathedral churches; and nobles and kings seemed to consider themselves the owners of dioceses.

According to the practices of German law, this investiture took place by means of a symbol. In the case of bishoprics, the symbol employed was the crosier and the ring. Rather generally, when a bishopric was vacant, this is how the affair was conducted. Directly or indirectly the king or the nobleman selected the new bishop, at times prompted by considerations quite alien to those that were for the greater good of the Church and of souls; then he invested the appointee by conveying to him the crosier and the ring. Thenceforth, so far as the temporalities were concerned, the new incumbent was ruler of his diocese; all he lacked was the consecration that would enable him to perform the spiritual functions of the episcopal office. To obtain this consecration he turned to the metropolitan and the bishops of the province. Generally they were unable or unwilling to risk a serious conflict by refusing approval. Thus the consecration took place as an accessory ceremony. In reality such a regime was organized to spread everywhere the impression that the prince "made the bishop" and communicated his spiritual and temporal powers to him.<sup>21</sup>

This practice inevitably led to simony. The right of ownership which the princes and nobles arrogated to themselves over rural parishes and then over the most renowned bishoprics led them to exploit their pretended domain, either by selling the appointment or by reserving for themselves part of the income which the Church procured.

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*hist. du droit français et étranger*, XXI (1897), 486-506; Leclercq, art. "Chapelle" in the *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie*; Paul Thoman, *Le droit de propriété des laïques sur les églises et le patronage laïque au moyen âge*.

<sup>21</sup> Fournier, *op. cit.* We should note that the crosier, a shepherd's staff, and the ring, a sign of fidelity due to the Church, appeared to be the symbols of the bishop's spiritual power.



We can easily surmise what was the virtue of the titular of a church who had purchased his benefice and who became the liege man of a lay patron. Incontinency was the fatal consequence of lay investiture and of simony. In the case of many persons, well-grounded Christian habits and a deeply rooted faith were an effective preservative. But throughout Christendom the threefold plague made regrettable ravages.

In some respects the re-establishment of the Empire aggravated the evil. One of the good results of the agreement of 962 was to withdraw papal elections from interference by the Italian nobles and from the consequent abuses. On the other hand, Otto, by endowing the bishops of his Empire and introducing them into the feudal hierarchy, rendered them more dependent upon his authority. Henceforth the union in one person of the two offices of temporal lord and pastor of souls made the situation more inextricable.

### Cluny Abbey

No solution could be obtained except by the intervention of a mighty moral force. This moral force was found in the monastic life, particularly in the Cluny monastery.

In September, 909, the aged Duke William of Aquitaine resolved to found, on the Mâconnais estates in his Cluny domain, the monastery that was to make that name so famous in history. He stipulated "that the monks there will have the right and freedom of electing an abbot, according to God's good pleasure and the Rule of St. Benedict, without any power thwarting or hindering that religious election." His declaration contains the following lines: "From this day the monks gathered at Cluny will not be subject to the fasces of the royal greatness or to the yoke of any earthly power. By God, in God and all His saints, and under the threat of the last

judgment, I beg and implore that neither secular prince nor count nor bishop . . . will presume to place over them a head against their will.”<sup>22</sup>

Thereafter the transmission and collation of offices in the Cluny Order never was involved in any traffic. Simony was not introduced in any form whatever. Purity of morals was there maintained without stain;<sup>23</sup> and loyalty to the papacy was manifested constantly. Twice, in the pontificates of Leo VII and Stephen VIII, the holy Abbot Odo of Cluny, summoned to Rome to act as arbiter between the rival factions, succeeded in bringing about a spirit of conciliation and peace. In several bulls the two pontiffs expressed their gratefulness to the young congregation and its abbot.<sup>24</sup>

Pope John XII and Emperor Otto were not unaware of the treasures of holiness and of fruitful apostolate contained in the monastic institution. But John XII, at times when grace urged him to reform his life, was satisfied with humbly recommending himself to the prayers of the monasteries.<sup>25</sup> And Otto thought he was doing everything for them when he heaped temporal honors and favors upon them. Neither the Emperor nor the Pope seemed to grasp that the genuine reform of the Church would come from these blessed asylums of God where the Christian life was conserved in its pristine purity.

<sup>22</sup> The foundation charter of Cluny has been published in several collections, notably in the *Bibliotheca cluniacensis* and in the *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, published by A. Bruel in 1876, I, 124 f.

<sup>23</sup> Udalricus Cluniacensis Monachus, *Consuetudines cluniacenses* (PL, CXLIX, 731 f.).

<sup>24</sup> Jaffé, *Regesta*, I, 3598-3600, 3603, 3605; PL, CXXXII, 1068, 1074, 1082 (this last text should be corrected according to the indications of Jaffé, no. 3600); CXXXIII, 64, 93.

<sup>25</sup> On May 10, 958, John XII asked the monks of Subiaco to offer masses for the salvation of his soul and to recite daily for the same intention the invocations *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison*, one hundred times (Jaffé, I, 3684).

## Otto's Ambition

Otto was wholly devoted to his ambitious projects. He contemplated the resumption and extension of Charlemagne's work. John XII, by placing the imperial crown on the King of Germany, had no end in view except to protect the Holy See from the Italian factions. The title of emperor he regarded simply as a supreme honor, like those titles which the last Carolingians and the dukes of Spoleto had boasted of. But from the very beginning Otto intended to exercise all the prerogatives of his new office and he understood that office as giving him title to the dominance of the world and to suzerainty over the Holy See. The pursuit of these two aims filled his whole reign. "He was already a German king; and the new dignity by no means superseded the old. The union in one person of two characters, a union at first personal, then official, which became at last a fusion of the two characters into something different from what either had been, is the key to the whole subsequent history of Germany and the Empire." <sup>26</sup>

Following his coronation, the titles that he assumed seemed to indicate his desire to make the king disappear behind the emperor. Formerly he had called himself *Rex Francorum orientalium* or *Rex Francorum* or simply *Rex*; now he employed no title but *Imperator Augustus*. But, if we examine his policy closely, we see that in his mind the Empire was merely the extension of Germany. None ever labored more steadily than did this first Emperor to effect the unity of the Kingdom of Germany. "It was Otto who made the Germans, hitherto an aggregate of tribes, a single people and, welding them into a strong political body, taught them to rise through

<sup>26</sup> Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

its collective greatness to the consciousness of national life, never thereafter to be extinguished."<sup>27</sup>

But, in Otto's mind, the nation of the Germans or of the "Eastern Franks,"<sup>28</sup> was to be merely the center of a vaster circle that would form the domain of the Empire. His ambition extended particularly over Italy, Hungary, the Scandinavian states, France, and even the Orient. His plan failed in part. We have already seen that he obtained important successes in Italy, Hungary, and the countries of the North. But his attempt in France was abortive. The most he obtained was the occupation of Lotharingia (Lorraine), without being able to assimilate it.<sup>29</sup> The Western Franks would soon, with Hugh Capet, inaugurate modern France, where the claims of the Holy Empire would no longer be admitted,

Otto's scheme was to continue the work of Charlemagne. He wished to secure permanent relations with the East. In 968 he sent Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, to ask from Emperor Nicephorus Phocas the hand of Theophano, the daughter of Romanus II, for his son Otto II. Liutprand relates the picturesque discomfitures of his embassy: the haughty reception by Nicephorus Phocas, his railing comments of German gluttony, and his contemptuous answer: "If your master wishes to obtain the great favor that you request, let him be-

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130. When historians speak of the Middle Ages in general, they usually confuse the two ideas of Germanic royalty and of empire. The absorption of the second title in the first or vice versa has always existed in the tendency of the German sovereigns. But this tendency has always met with opposition. Mario Krammer, *Der Reichsgedanke des staufischen Kaiserhauses* (1908), and A. Leroux, in the *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes*, LXX (1909), 370-4.

<sup>28</sup> Liutprand calls the eastern Franks *Franci teutonici*, to distinguish them from the Romanized Franks of Gaul, western Franks, *Francigenae* or *Franci latini*.

<sup>29</sup> Parisot, the latest and most learned historian of Lorraine, has established beyond question the fact that Lorraine remained distinct from Germany by its more advanced civilization, its customs and aspirations, its individualist spirit, its use of French speech, and its traditional feelings. On this question see J. Flach, "La première réunion à l'Allemagne de la Lorraine et de l'Alsace était-elle fondée en droit public" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 1, 1914, pp. 281-94.

gin by giving us what belongs to us—Rome, Ravenna, and all dependent thereon.”<sup>30</sup> However, three years later, Nicephorus Phocas was assassinated, and his murderer, John Zemisses, succeeded him. The new Emperor offered no objections to confiding the young and scholarly Theophano to another embassy from Otto. She was crowned by the Pope on April 9, 972.<sup>31</sup>

Otto wished also to enter upon relations with the Arabs and, from 953 to 956, received from the caliph of Cordova, Abd-er-Rahman II, humiliations as unwelcome as those he had been obliged to endure from the Emperor of the East.<sup>32</sup>

Among the Arabs as among the Byzantines and the Western Franks, the imperial dignity conferred on Otto stirred up more rivalry than deference. The same was not true in the States of the Church, where the new Emperor was acclaimed as a providential protector amid the anarchy that was desolating the domain of St. Peter. Unhappily the chief promoter of these disorders was John XII himself.

### Policy of Pope John XII

We have already had occasion to remark<sup>33</sup> how, by a manifest protection of Providence, the doctrine of the Church never suffered from the faults of this unfortunate Pontiff. More than once, as in the protection he granted to the most

<sup>30</sup> *PL*, CXXXVI, 910-38.

<sup>31</sup> Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1900. We should not confuse this Empress Theophano with another Empress Theophano, the wife of Leo the Wise, mentioned in Diehl's *Figures byzantines* (1906), pp. 217-43, and in the *Regards historiques et littéraires* by de Vogüé (1892), p. 189.

<sup>32</sup> The incidents of this negotiation are related in the life of the monk John of Gorze, who was the pope's ambassador in this affair. See *PL*, CXXXVII, 239 f.; *Monum. Germ., SS.*, IV, 335 f. The biography of the Blessed John de Vendière, abbot of Gorze, is one of the most remarkable writings of the tenth century in the talent it shows and in the valuable historical information it supplies. On this work see the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, VI, 428 f.

<sup>33</sup> Mourret, *History of the Catholic Church*, III, 511.

regular monasteries, he was the instrument of a religious revival. But his political attitude, like his private life, was always without consistency. Scarcely had Otto reached Upper Italy after his coronation, when John XII, disregarding his explicit promises, entered into relation with the Emperor's bitterest enemies, particularly with Adalbert, the son of Berengarius II.<sup>34</sup> The Emperor, when he heard this news, besieged Berengarius in the castle of Montefeltro near Rimini. His anger was extreme. The Pope sent him ambassadors, among whom was the protoscriniarius Leo, the future antipope Leo VIII. They declared to the Emperor: that John XII, led on by his youth, had acted without consideration and in the future would not repeat the like offense; that the Emperor, since he was guilty of equivalent offenses—such as treating as his own property the possessions of the Roman Church and welcoming to his court faithless servants of the Pope—could not reasonably complain about the Pope's attitude, especially since the Pope himself was ready to disavow it. But Otto challenged these arguments, and the conferences became more bitter. On November 2, 963, the Emperor was before the walls of Rome at the head of an army. Part of the city declared itself on his side; part, on the Pope's side. John XII, at the side of Adalbert, put on helmet and breastplate.<sup>35</sup> But the papal forces were beaten, and the Romans had to promise under oath "never to elect and consecrate a pope except by the consent and choice of the Emperor and of his son King Otto."<sup>36</sup>

The first consequence of this capitulation of the Romans was the assembling of a pseudo-council, presided over by Em-

<sup>34</sup> Baronius, *Annales*, year 963, no. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Jaffé, no. 3696.

<sup>36</sup> Baronius, *ibid.*, no. 11; Watterich, *Pontificum romanorum vitae*, I, 52 f. On the insertion of this formula in the text of the *Privilegium Ottonis* and on the critical problems presented by this insertion, see Duchesne, *op. cit.*, 2d ed., pp. 344-48.

peror Otto. Without the Pope's approval, the council began its sessions (November 6, 963) in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, who took an important part in it, has left an account of the event. Present were forty bishops, clerics of all ranks, Church officials, laymen of every class, soldiers, and a so-called "deputy of the people." Liutprand's vivid narrative gives us an idea of the tumult of such a gathering.<sup>37</sup> The Emperor called for specific charges against Pope John. At once shouts arose on all sides. Some called out that the Pope had ordained priests in return for money payments; others shouted that he had publicly gone hunting. One declared that the Pope was living in debauchery; another, that he had drunk to the health of the devil while playing dice. The Emperor had Bishop Liutprand administer an oath to them that they would present no accusations except such as were based on reliable testimony. The people and the clergy present then shouted with one voice: "If Pope John has not committed all the crimes enumerated, if he has not committed many others even more shameful and execrable, may Peter the Prince of Apostles close the gates of heaven against us." John XII, who was not present in Rome, was summoned to appear before the pseudo-council to defend himself. He merely replied: "We have learned that you wish to elect another pope. If you do so, **we** excommunicate you in the name of the Almighty, **so** that none of you may henceforth ordain or celebrate mass."<sup>38</sup>

This reply irritated the assembly. On December 4, 963, with the Emperor's approval, it declared the deposition of John XII, and elected as pope the protoscriniarius Leo, a

<sup>37</sup> Natalis Alexander (*Hist. eccles.*, § 10, diss. 16; VI, 434 f.) and Floss (*Die Papswahl unter den Ottonen*, pp. 7-9) have not taken the trouble to prove that this assembly was not a council and could not have any canonical authority.

<sup>38</sup> Jaffé, no. 3697.

simple layman.<sup>39</sup> Two days later he received holy orders and took the name of Leo VIII. Says Hefele: "There is every reason to think that Otto devised the election."<sup>40</sup> By this unlawful act, suggested to an irregular assembly, Otto inaugurated the worst uprisings of the Empire. True, a heavy responsibility falls upon the unworthy Pontiff, whose life had made possible the terrible charges against him. But, however guilty he may have been, he was the legitimate pope. Otto, by deposing him and by having another pope elected, created a precedent that would become a tradition for his successors. These would attempt to treat the Holy See as a simple bishopric of Germany. The Holy Empire, in its admirable Christian conception, does not date from Emperor Otto. It dates from the papacy's triumph over the old imperial spirit. It will be the work of the popes; not of the Germanic emperors.

Two months after the deposition of John XII, the Roman clergy and people rose up from their dejection. At the council of December, 963, Otto had wounded both national feeling and Catholic feeling. He, an outsider, had come with armed forces and had deposed the head of the States of St. Peter. And he had presumed to judge him who, however unworthy, occupied that Apostolic See, "which has the right to judge everyone, but can be judged by no one."<sup>41</sup> On January 3, 964, the Romans, taking advantage of the Emperor's departure and the absence of a large portion of his troops, rose up, and erected barricades on the Sant' Angelo Bridge. The rebellion was at once suppressed by the prompt return of the imperial forces. The barricades were removed and the rebels were massacred in great numbers. But soon the reaction took another form. On February 26, 964, an assembly of bishops, cardinals,

<sup>39</sup> Perhaps he was tonsured, as Duchesne surmises. Certainly he had not received holy orders.

<sup>40</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, IV, 810.

<sup>41</sup> See Mourret, *op. cit.*, III, 363.



and ecclesiastics of various orders, most of them having taken part in the assembly of 963, met at St. Peter's under the presidency of John XII. Considering that Pope Leo had been elected in violation of the laws of the Church, this council declared his election null and void.<sup>42</sup> The Emperor, informed of the event, prepared to march upon Rome, when he learned of the death of John, who was mysteriously stricken in bed, some said by the devil,<sup>43</sup> others said by a personage whom he had shamefully outraged.<sup>44</sup>

### Pope Benedict V

Immediately after the death of John XII, the Romans, without sending word to the Emperor and without concerning themselves with the agreement of 962, proceeded to the election of a new pope. Their choice was the deacon Benedict. This monk of Monte Soracte boasted of his learning. His extensive knowledge of grammar had won him the name of Benedict the Grammmarian. And he was a cleric of good repute. The fluctuations which some historians have noted in his conduct, can be explained. In the council of 962 he was the spokesman for the accusers of John XII; then, in the council of 963, he energetically defended the authority of that same pontiff. In all likelihood he thought that a pope's crimes do not authorize an emperor to depose him and to replace him with one of his own creatures. The newly elected Pope was consecrated May 22 under the name of Benedict V.

The Emperor was displeased with the turn of events and besieged Rome. The city, reduced by famine and pestilence, surrendered Benedict to the victors. He was deposed, de-

<sup>42</sup> The acts of this council have not been preserved. See Mansi, XVIII, 471.

<sup>43</sup> This is Liutprand's version, quoted by Baronius: *Quadam nocte, extra Romam, dum se cujusdam viri uxore oblectaret, in temporibus a diabolo est percussus* (Baronius, *Annales*, year 964, no. 17).

<sup>44</sup> Bower, *History of the Popes*, II, 320; Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

prived of the exercise of his priestly office, and sent to Germany in the custody of the Bishop of Hamburg, who treated him with every kind of consideration. There he died shortly afterward, with sentiments of great piety. Benedict V has no numerical designation in the generally received list of popes; but many historians consider him a legitimate pope,<sup>45</sup> and we can see no reason for refusing him this title.

A gathering of bishops, assembled by the Emperor about the end of June, 964, to depose Benedict V, restored to office the antipope Leo VIII, who survived his restoration only a short time. He died at Rome in March, 965.<sup>46</sup> In the pseudo-pontificate of Leo VIII, only one important act is mentioned: a bull, inserted by Gratian in the *Corpus juris canonici*,<sup>47</sup> granting to the emperor of Germany the right to choose his own successor with the title of king of Italy, and also the right to give investiture to the pope and to bishops. The authenticity of this bull has long been a matter of dispute. The studies of Floss and of Bernheim have shown the apocryphal character of the document. The basis of this writing is said to be an authentic bull of Leo VIII, excluding the Roman people from the papal election and from the election of a king or a patrician. An eleventh century forger, a partisan of antipope Guibert, is said to have altered the document by adding the exorbitant privileges conceded to the emperor. The chroniclers of the time do not find any fault with the personal conduct of antipope Leo VIII. But up to his death he was the liege man of Otto, and he died without revoking the sacrilegious act that had made him a rebel. He deserves the reprobation that attaches to those who have stained the office of their priesthood with ambition or cowardice.

<sup>45</sup> Rohrbacher, *Hist. univ. de l'Eglise cath.*, Bk. 61 (1885), V, 486; H. Hemmer, art. "Benoît V" in the *Dict. de théol.*, II, 649.

<sup>46</sup> Baronius, year 964, nos. 16 f.; Mansi, XVIII, 477.

<sup>47</sup> *Corpus juris canonici*, dist. 63, c. 23; Jaffé, nos. 3704 f.; *Lib. pontif.*, I, 250 note 1; Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 820-24.

## Pope John XIII

The people and clergy of Rome this time did not dare to proceed to the election of a new pope without, in conformity with the act of 962, first notifying the Emperor. He designated for their choice a relative of John XII, a certain John, Bishop of Narni, son of Theodora the Younger, consequently nephew of the celebrated Marozia. Thus, with the Emperor's assent, the papacy returned to the house of Theophylactus.<sup>48</sup> Otto, seeing the national feelings of the Romans rebelling more and more against his interference, probably hoped, by this political combination, to satisfy the most powerful of the opposition parties. He was too late. John of Narni was elected without difficulty and was installed October 1, 965, under the name of John XIII. But within three months a revolt broke out. We are told that it was caused by the severity of the new Pope toward the Roman nobility; in reality it was directed against the imperial power. At its head was Count Rodfred, a certain Peter, prefect of the city, and one Stephen, a member of the papal household. It was a sort of coalition of all parties, but set in motion at the same time. John XIII, regarded as a cooperator in Otto's policy, was arrested, imprisoned in Castle Sant' Angelo, and then exiled. Soon, however, news that the imperial army was on the march for the fourth time against Rome, spread terror in the city. John XIII himself, at the head of important forces, presented himself on November 14, 966, before the city and was received without protest. The monk of Monte Soracte, who saw the terrible army pass by, closes his chronicle with this event, as though he saw therein the end of the independence of the Church and of his nation.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> See the genealogy of the house of Theophylactus in Duchesne, *Lib. pontif.*, I, 253.

<sup>49</sup> *PL*, CXXXII, 173. Cf. Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical*, pp. 384 f.

This alarm was well founded. The reprisals taken by the Emperor were cruel. Peter, the prefect of the city, was hanged by his hair from the famous equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, then paraded through the city, seated backwards on an ass, holding the animal's tail in his hands, and wearing on his head a leather bottle as a sort of diadem. Finally he was exiled. Count Rodfred had been assassinated; the cleric Stephen perished, we know not how. Otto had their bodies dug up and thrown into a ditch.

The murderer of Count Rodfred was a certain John Crescentius, son of the famous Theodora the Younger. By this murder the family of the Crescentii, which subsequently took so lamentable a part in papal elections, made its entry upon the scene of world affairs.<sup>50</sup>

John XIII governed the Church for almost seven years. Peace was not again seriously disturbed during his pontificate. He was an upright pope, pious and active. At a council held soon after Easter, 967, the Emperor put him in possession of the city and district of Ravenna, which had for a long time been withdrawn from the authority of the Holy See. On Christmas Day of the same year, Emperor Otto I's son, thirteen years old, received from John XIII the imperial crown and was associated with his father's throne.<sup>51</sup> This news was conveyed to the dukes and prefects of Saxony in these terms: "Our son has been raised by the Apostolic Lord to the imperial office."<sup>52</sup> This was a recognition of the pope's right in the choice and coronation of the emperors.

Otto's most formidable rivals, Berengarius II and his son Adalbert, had died the year before. A comparative peace now reigned in the Empire and in the Church. The Emperor and

<sup>50</sup> On the genealogy of the Crescentii, see Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 826 f., and *Lib. pontif.*, I, 253.

<sup>51</sup> Mansi, XVIII, 529 f.; Jaffé, no. 3713.

<sup>52</sup> Widukind, *Res gestae Saxoniae*, Bk. III, chap. 70; *PL*, CXXXVII, 207; *M. G.*, SS., III, 465.

the Pope profited by it to reform, with common accord, a number of abuses. John XIII's register, made up of thirty-three documents preserved in their entirety, shows us an interesting picture of these reforms. We see the Pontiff command, under pain of anathema, all the dukes, marquises, counts, and judges of the district of Bologna to cease their unjust vexations against the clergy;<sup>53</sup> send into Germany a sentence of excommunication against Archbishop Herold of Salzburg, who had joined with the Magyars for the pillage of the cities, monasteries, churches, and countryside of his own district.<sup>54</sup> In a general way, he kept up a strife against the designs of laymen upon churches or monasteries, and against the spirit of laxity among the clergy and even in the monasteries as well as among the people. In all these reforms, he declares and wishes all Catholicism to know, that "the Apostolic See, so long given over to the rage of the impious, owes its deliverance, after God, to the generous efforts of Emperor Otto."<sup>55</sup>

The Pope expressed a like gratitude to the King of England, Edgar I, writing to him as follows: "We congratulate you for having understood that the friendly solicitude which you bestow upon the churches is the best proof you can give to your subjects of your fatherly tenderness in their regard."<sup>56</sup> In fact, King Edgar, in a council held at Brandford about 964, restored to the bishops and the monasteries all the property that had been taken from them; and he revoked the decrees hostile to the Church, issued by his brother Edwin.<sup>57</sup> In 969, in agreement with his friend Dunstan,<sup>58</sup> archbishop of Canterbury, he convoked an important national council, which

<sup>53</sup> *PL*, CXXXV, 931.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 954.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 931.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 985.

<sup>57</sup> Mansi, XVIII, 475.

<sup>58</sup> St. Dunstan was born in 925, became archbishop of Canterbury in 959, and died May 19, 988.

effected a general reform in the English clergy, both regular and secular.<sup>59</sup>

John XIII died September 6, 972. On his tomb in St. Paul's Basilica was inscribed this epitaph: "He was a wise and watchful pastor. He was ever thoughtful of the hour of his death and, during his life, selected this place for his burial. . . . May heaven be opened to him through the merits of the sublime Paul." <sup>60</sup>

### Pope Benedict VI

We have no information about the way the election of John XIII's successor took place. All we know is that he was a Roman cardinal-deacon by the name of Benedict and that his ordination did not occur until January, 973. He took the name of Benedict VI. Some have supposed that this long delay was owing to an exchange of communications between Rome and Germany for the purpose of obtaining ratification by the Emperor. Others consider that "this long vacancy is a proof of imperial intervention on this occasion." <sup>61</sup> A few months later (May 7, 973) Otto I died. The Germans, regarding him as the founder of the German nation, have given him the name of Otto the Great. He did indeed have such an ambition, as also the ambition to be the protector of the Church. But, in these two respects, his work was more brilliant than lasting. In Germany a powerful feudalism had planted its roots so deep that it could not be brought under subjection to a central power. At Rome so heavy had been Otto's hand that secret rebellion was stirred against his authority. One German historian sees the whole glory of Otto the Great in his warlike

<sup>59</sup> Mansi, XIX, 15; Lingard, *History of England* (1912 ed.), I, 266 ff.; *The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, II, 288 ff.

<sup>60</sup> See the text of the epitaph in Duchesne, *Lib. pontif.*, I, 254. The original epitaph is now in the abbey museum.

<sup>61</sup> Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical*. p. 356.

and conquering virtues.<sup>62</sup> We, on the contrary, prefer to see the greatness of his reign in the protection he accorded to literature and learning and in the examples of holiness that shone about his throne.

Otto knew scarcely any Latin. But he encouraged Latin scholars. Among them should be mentioned the renowned Liutprand. At the Emperor's court he composed his *Antapodosis*, in which he recounts the happenings in Italy since 888. Later, rewarded for his services by appointment to the bishopric of Cremona, he showed, in his *Vita Ottonis* and his *Legatio Constantinopolitana*, that he was a servile courtier of the imperial power. But we must pay tribute to his subtle mind, rare scholarship, and spiritual style. Apart from his evident partiality, his accounts are one of the most valuable sources for the history of the time. Cardinal Baronius made considerable use of them in writing his *Annals*, and even went too far in the reliance he placed in them. Of lesser talent was Bishop Ratier of Verona, no less a sycophant, who wrote some curious and lively accounts of the events and customs of his day. In the monasteries enriched and patronized by Otto, the monk Widukind of Corvey Abbey (New Corbie) wrote the *Res gestae saxonicae*, a history of Saxony from the earliest times to his own day. Abbess Hroswitha of the Gandersheim convent wrote, in a style imitating Vergil and Terence, some poems and plays about the legends of the saints.<sup>63</sup> But Otto the Great's chief title to the gratitude of the scholarly world is that he encouraged and patronized the young monk who became the illustrious Gerbert, the great Pope Sylvester II.

Another scholar was Otto's younger brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who wrote a *Lives of the Saints* and a *Commentary on the Evangelists and on the Books of Moses*.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Giesebrecht, quoted by Bayet in Lavisce and Rambaud, *Hist. gén.*, II, 548.

<sup>63</sup> *PL*, CXXXVII, 939 f.; *M. G. SS.*, IV, 302-5; Magnin, *Théâtre de Hroswitha*.

<sup>64</sup> Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, XIX, 621 f.

He was likewise a saint. Says his first biographer: "In him were found qualities seldom united in one person: the splendor of rank and office, the fulness of knowledge, along with a humility of heart and gentleness of character such as are never seen to a more profound degree."<sup>65</sup> St. Bruno was the worthy son of the queen mother, St. Matilda, who, while the Emperor was with his armies in Hungary, Italy, and the Northern countries, went from city to city, from village to village, settling strifes, repairing injustices, and scattering alms with generous hand.<sup>66</sup> The son of a saint and the brother of a saint, Otto also had the blessing to marry a saint. To Empress Adelaide, Germany and Italy owed numerous foundations and countless works of charity.

Probably St. Adelaide's most remarkable deed was her act of generosity when, at the fall of the house of Berengarius, she brought to her own court the two daughters of her enemy and became a mother to them.

Certain political acts of Otto the Great may have been very blameworthy. Yet influences emanating from his court helped to maintain in men's consciences that sense of Christian virtues which would enable a reform movement to find some points of support in souls on the day when God stirs up that movement in His Church.

### Emperor Otto II

Otto the Great's son and successor, Otto II (the Red), was not devoid of intelligence and courage. Educated by capable teachers, he surpassed his father in intellectual culture, but was inferior in his character, which was not steady or strong or lofty. As he was only eighteen years old when he ascended the imperial throne, the advice of his saintly mother Adelaide

<sup>65</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, October, V, 698 f.; *M. G.*, SS., VI, 252-75.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, March 14; *M. G.*, SS., IV, 282-302.



might have saved him from many perils. But scarcely had he assumed the crown, when the intrigues of the young Empress Theophano, sustained by a faction of courtiers, brought about the disgrace of the queen mother. She was obliged to leave the court and seek refuge in Italy. With the departure of Otto the Great's pious widow, the genius of the Empire seemed to vanish. Then followed the manifest decline of the two great works of the first German emperor.

Immediately after the death of Otto I, all the ambitions and plots that had been held in check by his powerful hand now had free rein. While Henry of Bavaria, in alliance with the dukes of Bohemia and Poland, sought his own advantage by ruining the supremacy of Saxony, the descendants of the former dukes of Lorraine raised their heads, and the Danes on the north and the Slavs on the east again began their invasions. The first part of Otto II's reign (972-80) was occupied in suppressing these uprisings.

Other concerns then drew him into Italy. There, too, the passions that had been repressed by the firmness of the first Otto and temporarily restrained by the wise moderation of Pope John XIII, now broke out. A party, calling itself national because it was opposing the German influence in Italy, but in reality was working to gratify the ambition of certain nobles, had at its head that Crescentius or Censius whom we met at the time of John XIII's election. To put down the imperial dominance in Italy, the plan, as in 965, was to attack him who was looked upon as the Emperor's tool, Pope Benedict VI. They had someone to put in Benedict's place. It was a cardinal-deacon, Boniface Franco, who had been conspicuous for the ill treatment he inflicted upon Benedict V. What sort of drama was devised by Crescentius we know from the brief and bitter note about Benedict VI in the *Liber pontificalis*, which reads as follows: "Benedict, born at Rome, the son of Hildebrand, so it is said, occupied the see one year and six months. He

was seized by a certain Cencius, son of Theodora, and was imprisoned in the Castle Sant' Angelo, where he was strangled at the instigation of the deacon Boniface, who had already been made pope while Benedict was still alive."<sup>67</sup>

From the register of Benedict VI we know that he encouraged the monastic life and defended the rights of the Churches against the encroachments of the nobles. In a rescript to Eldrad, abbot of Vézelay, the Pope said: "If any king, bishop, priest, abbot, judge, or count infringes the present regulations, let him be anathematized, deprived of his office, and refused participation in the sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ, until he atones for his injustice."<sup>68</sup> To Bishop Frederick of Salzburg he wrote: "The power to govern the whole Church was given, not only to the blessed Apostle Peter, but to all his lawful successors."<sup>69</sup> In this same letter, the Pope appeared to foresee the sad end awaiting him. He said: "Our most earnest desire is to maintain the laws enacted by our predecessors, so far as we are enabled to do so by the malice of the men of this time."<sup>70</sup>

The tragic event that ended Benedict VI's pontificate occurred in July, 973. For a while Crescentius was able to enjoy the fruit of his crime. Bonizo informs us that Crescentius arrogated to himself the title of patrician and in Rome exercised a tyrannical authority.<sup>71</sup> But his power did not last long. Franco, enthroned under the name of Boniface VII, soon became the object of popular indignation, which changed his name from Boniface ("the doer of good") to Maliface ("the doer of evil").<sup>72</sup> When the Emperor learned of the events, he sent a representative, Count Sicco, to Rome. Sicco rallied the

<sup>67</sup> *Lib. pontif.*, I, 255.

<sup>68</sup> *PL*, CXXXV, 1086.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1081.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 1081 f.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, CL, 815.

<sup>72</sup> *Lib. pontif.*, I, 257.

people, laid siege to Castle Sant' Angelo, took it, and had the usurper deposed in the usual forms.<sup>73</sup> But the antipope was able to flee to Constantinople,<sup>74</sup> taking the Vatican treasury with him and planning fresh crime. Later he came back to Rome and there created new difficulties for Benedict VI's lawful successor, Benedict VII.

### Pope Benedict VII

The new Pope, formerly Bishop of Sutri, was elected in October, 974, with the assent of Otto II.<sup>75</sup> He governed the Church for nine years with remarkable activity and energy. His first care was to assemble a Roman council, which anathematized Boniface Franco.<sup>76</sup> Two other councils, held at Ravenna (974) and Rome (981), issued a vigorous condemnation of simony.<sup>77</sup> The Pope was aware that simony was the essential evil of this sad period. By simony, mercenary shepherds entered the Church, ravaging the flock of Christ while they divided it by their scheming and scandalized it by their immoral conduct. And the tragic scenes that had stained the papal throne with blood had consequences throughout the Church. In Italy some nobles, following the example of Crescentius, expelled the imperial officials, formed themselves into independent states, and therein exercised despotic power. In France the evils resulting from the secular infeudation of the bishoprics was complicated by the crisis from which the reigning dynasty was suffering. The old Carolingian race was de-

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257 note 1.

<sup>74</sup> Jaffé, no. 3823.

<sup>75</sup> Some chroniclers mention a pope named Domnus or Donus between Benedict VI and Benedict VII. This name is not found in the earliest and best list of the popes. These chroniclers have probably taken the expression *Domnus papa*, which in the documents designates Benedict VI, for the proper name of a pope. Neither Jaffé nor Hefele nor Duchesne admits the existence of Pope Domnus. See Jaffé, no. 3778; Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 833; Duchesne, *Lib. pontif.*, I, 256 note 4.

<sup>76</sup> Mansi, XIX, 57; Jaffé, no. 3778.

<sup>77</sup> Mansi, XIX, 59, 71 f.

crepit and unable to defend the country; the young house of the dukes of France was gaining favor. Between these two the best men of France, including the bishops, were divided. In England, amid sanguinary wars that broke out for the succession to the throne after the death of King Edgar, the clergy who had been deposed for misconduct or simony revolted and, sustained by a numerous political party, drove out a large number of monks who had been put in their places. In Germany disturbances stirred up after Otto the Great's death, had not been put down. The Slavs of the east and north were secretly conspiring. In the East, antipope Boniface, who had fled there, devised new plots, endeavoring to exploit the old Byzantine jealousy against his rival. Both the Empire and the Church were menaced together.

Otto II pretended to take up the defense of both sides. His private life made him less and less worthy of so lofty a mission. The scandals of his immoral conduct now came into open light. In 980 he directed his steps toward Italy. At Pavia he met his saintly mother Adelaide, whose grief touched his heart, and he became reconciled with her. When he reached Rome, early in 981, calm had been restored there, owing to Pope Benedict VII's firmness and prudence. The pacification of Lower Italy required greater effort and met with less success. The Greeks and the Saracens joined hands to drive Otto from southern Italy, while the Slavs, profiting by his absence, pillaged Hamburg, ruined the bishoprics of Havelburg and Brandenburg, and destroyed the foundations of Otto the Great.

Benedict VII's action was more peaceful and more fruitful. While four Roman councils, held under the presidency of his legates (974 to 981), regulated the affairs of Italy and the general interest of the Church,<sup>78</sup> other councils, held at his suggestion in France, England, and Germany, worked for the re-establishment of order and discipline in those countries. In

<sup>78</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 834-36.

974, he sent a special legate to France, the deacon Stephen, who presided over a council at Reims. This council deposed Theobald, bishop of Amiens, who had usurped the see.<sup>79</sup> The archbishops of Reims, because of the prerogative they enjoyed of crowning the kings of France, exercised a preponderant influence over the whole country. The see of Reims at that time was occupied by a man of eminent worth, Adalbero, who was greatly attached to Otto. Adalbero had enthusiastically welcomed the restoration of the Empire. He regarded it as the most effective means of defending the Church against the tempestuous flood of feudalism, and protecting the papacy from the aggressions of the Italian princes. But the Archbishop of Reims was first of all a churchman. In his mind all other cares were secondary to the extirpation of abuses, the reform of ecclesiastical and monastic institutions, and the restoration of piety. We still possess forty-one of his letters, which show the extent and purity of his zeal and also his feeling of humble obedience to the Roman pontiff.<sup>80</sup> His decoration of the cathedral of Reims and the glory he bestowed upon the school of Reims by putting it under the direction of the scholarly Gerbert, would alone have made his name famous.<sup>81</sup>

England too, in the see of Canterbury, had its great reformer, St. Dunstan. Four councils (Winchester in 975, Kirlington in 977, Calne in 978, and Ambresbury in 979) took steps to cure the evils afflicting the English Church.<sup>82</sup> At the Council of Winchester, when some bishops were speaking of revoking certain penalties, considered too severe, a crucifix on the hall of the council chamber—so an old tradition relates—

<sup>79</sup> Mansi, XIX, 132.

<sup>80</sup> *PL*, CXXXVII, 503 f.

<sup>81</sup> *Hist. littéraire*, VI, 444; Ceillier, *Hist. des aut. ecclés.* (1754 ed.), p. 675; Marius Sepet, "Adalbéron et l'Eglise de Reims" in *La France chrétienne dans l'histoire*, pp. 119-32.

<sup>82</sup> We possess the acts only of the councils of Winchester and of Calne. Mansi, XIX, 61-64.

spoke aloud, saying: *Non fiet, non fiet: judicastis bene, male mutaretis* ("This will not be, this will not be; you have judged well, you will do ill to change it"). The Council of Calne ended tragically. The floor of the meeting place collapsed, with consequent injury to all the members of the council except Dunstan, who suffered no harm. Many persons regarded this event as proof that God was with the Archbishop and that the reform, which he so warmly advocated, should be accepted and carried out.

Benedict VII did not have to intervene directly in the policy of the Eastern rulers. To meet the encroachments of the Greeks in southern Italy, he firmly maintained there the organization of the Latin provinces which John XIII had established at Capua, Benevento, Salerno, Naples, and Amalfi. And apparently God Himself undertook to inflict a providential punishment upon each outrage of the Eastern emperors against the popes. In 975, the Basileus Zemisses, disdaining any assistance from the West, planned to drive back the empire of the crescent to the Arabian deserts, its birthplace. He entered Syria, where the Arabs had settled and fortified themselves, seized Apameia, Emesa, and Baalbek, received the submission of the Emir of Damascus, entered Phenicia and conquered it. He then made ready to take Jerusalem by assault, proud in the expectation of accomplishing by himself alone the gigantic work for which Otto the Great had asked the assistance of the whole West. Just then, however, his victories and his life were terminated by his chief minister Basil, who put poison in his drink.<sup>83</sup> Under his successor Basil II, a Greek governor recovered the cities of Brindisi and Taranto (Tarentum) from the Saracens in Lower Italy. Profiting by this victory, he withdrew the Churches of these two cities from the jurisdiction of the pope and placed them under the authority of the Byzantine patriarch. This time

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

the punishment came from the Bulgarians, who revolted along the whole extent of their territory and for four years held in check all the forces of the Empire.

Benedict VII's register, one of the most complete that has come down to us from the disturbed period of the tenth century, shows us how solicitous this pope was for all the needs of the Church. A number of the great monasteries of Gaul, Germany, and Italy (Vézelay, St. Pantaleon of Cologne, Monte Cassino, St. Peter of Perugia, Corbie, St. Valéry, Subiaco) received his particular favor. But in a very special manner he turned to Cluny, as the chief source of the religious restoration that he desired. To its abbot he wrote: "The congregation under your direction has no more devoted patron than this Roman Church, which desires to spread it in the whole world and is resolved to defend it against all its foes."<sup>84</sup>

Benedict VII died July 10, 983. His tomb, in the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, bears this inscription: "In this sepulcher lie the mortal remains of Benedict, the seventh of that name. He defeated the pride of the cruel usurper Franco. . . . He struck the despoilers of the holy Roman Church. . . . He was the support of widows and the father of the poor; he regarded the friendless as his own children."<sup>85</sup>

### Pope John XIV

The successor of Benedict VII was the imperial chancellor Peter, bishop of Pavia, who, out of respect for the Prince of the Apostles, changed his name to John, and became John XIV.<sup>86</sup> After obtaining from the Romans the election of the chancellor

<sup>84</sup> *PL*, CXXXVII, 332.

<sup>85</sup> *Lib. pontif.*, I, 258. Duchesne remarks that this epitaph is a cento made up from the epitaphs of Benedict VII's predecessors: Stephen VI, Sergius III, and Benedict IV (*ibid.*).

<sup>86</sup> This is the second instance of a pope changing his name upon becoming pope. We have already seen that Octavian took the name of John XII.

of his Empire, Otto and likewise those who relied on the effectiveness of political calculations, probably supposed they had at length realized the ideal of a Holy Empire triumphant and at peace. The illusion was a natural one. No prelate was more experienced in the conduct of public affairs; none was better informed about questions of international policy, the secret machinations of Constantinople, and the strength of the Mohammedan world; none was better able to settle the numerous difficulties in the government of southern Italy. Since he possessed the confidence of the Roman clergy and that of the Emperor, his pontificate might be expected to stifle in their germ all possible conflicts between the priesthood and the civil powers. However, the events did not correspond to these expectations. Otto II had but a few weeks to live, and John XIV's pontificate ended, seven months later, by a tragedy like that which put an end to the days of the unfortunate Benedict VI.

Of the correspondence of Pope John XIV, we possess only one letter (December 6, 983), in which he grants the pallium to the metropolitan of Benevento. He says: "Show that you are merciful, be the support of the oppressed, oppose the violence of oppressors with calmness and moderation. . . . After the bitter griefs of this life, may we both attain to eternal blessedness." <sup>87</sup>

The Pope was not spared the bitter griefs which he mentions in this letter. The very next day he was called to Otto's death-bed. "The Emperor, after holding a diet at Verona, had left his venerable mother, Empress Adelaide, at Pavia and had gone to Rome. Early in December, 983, he fell seriously ill. Some attributed this sickness to his chagrin over a defeat at Taranto; others said that a wound, received in that disastrous battle, opened again. He felt he was about to die. His imperial treasury he divided into four portions: one portion was assigned to the churches; the second to the poor; the third to his beloved sister

<sup>87</sup> *PL*, CXXXVII, 360.



Princess Matilda, a devoted servant of Christ in Quedlinburg Abbey; the fourth was distributed by his own hands to his soldiers and servants, who burst into tears. Then, in a loud voice, in Latin he made the confession of his faults before the apostolic lord, the bishops, and the priests. He asked from them and received absolution. On December 7 he was taken from the light of this world.”<sup>88</sup>

John XIV not only lost his protector. With alarm he glimpsed the future that was opened by the death of Otto II: the minority of an emperor in the cradle, the dangers of a regency, and perhaps the civil wars that were about to break out on all sides. The chronicler Dithmar, archbishop of Prague, tells us that immediately after the Emperor's death the ambitious Henry of Bavaria, imprisoned for having twice plotted for the crown, was freed by the Bishop of Utrecht, usurped the regency, and seized the young Otto III.<sup>89</sup> Presently Germany, divided into two hostile camps, was inflamed.

The result of these disturbances was felt in Italy. From Bobbio Abbey, which he then governed, Gerbert wrote to John XIV as follows: “In what direction shall I turn my steps, most pious father? An appeal to the Apostolic See would be futile: armed enemies occupy all the highways.”<sup>90</sup> The moment was favorable for antipope Boniface to carry out his criminal plans. The Greeks, his protectors, having become masters of southern Italy by the victory of Taranto, seconded his schemes. In the month of April, 984, Boniface, accompanied by Crescencius and escorted by a detachment of Byzantine soldiers, made his entry into Rome. The Pope was at once arrested and imprisoned in Castle Sant' Angelo, where for four months he suffered atrociously from sickness and hunger and, if we are to credit what was reported, he was assassinated.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Dithmar, *Chronicon*, Bk. III, no. 15; *PL*, CXXXIX, 1241; *M. G. SS.*, III, 767.

<sup>89</sup> Dithmar, *loc. cit.*; *PL*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>90</sup> *PL*, CXXXIX, 205.

<sup>91</sup> *Lib. pontif.*, I, 259.

Boniface's triumph was insolent. One of his first acts was to rent to a wealthy private individual, for an annual payment of ten gold *solidi*, an extensive domain of the Papal States.<sup>92</sup> This rapacity, besides other faults which he manifested for a year, aroused popular indignation against him. He died suddenly in July 985. "So greatly did the Romans hate him that they leaped upon his corpse, pierced it again and again with a lance, and, stripping it of all clothing, dragged it by the feet to Constantine's horse, that is, to the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. The next day some clerics gathered up the frightfully mutilated remains and buried them."<sup>93</sup>

### Pope John XV

In the history of the papacy the period following the death of antipope Boniface is particularly obscure.<sup>94</sup> John XV, son of Leo, who seems to have been elected in August or September, 985,<sup>95</sup> may have owed his promotion to the choice of the clergy and people of Rome, as Hefele thinks,<sup>96</sup> or to the choice of Crescentius, as Duchesne inclines to believe.<sup>97</sup> Between the pontificate of John XV and that of his predecessor, should we put that of another John, son of Robert, who is supposed to have died before being consecrated?<sup>98</sup> These problems have not been settled with finality. John XV held the Apostolic See for eleven years. He assembled several councils which are of no great importance for the general history of the Church. His extant letters<sup>99</sup> testify to his zeal for the prosperity of the

<sup>92</sup> Jaffé, no. 3825.

<sup>93</sup> *Lib. pontif.*, I, 259.

<sup>94</sup> Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical*, p. 360.

<sup>95</sup> Jaffé, no. 3825.

<sup>96</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 836.

<sup>97</sup> Duchesne, *loc. cit.* The question would refer to the son of Crescentius, who has been mentioned above.

<sup>98</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, *loc. cit.*

<sup>99</sup> *PL*, CXXXVII, 825-52.

monastic institutions. The biographer of St. Adalbert of Prague, the first apostle of the Prussians, who died a martyr to his zeal in 997, says that Adalbert received John XV's replies as the very words of God.<sup>100</sup> To this pope we owe the earliest bull of canonization that has come down to us. It declares (June 11, 993), as worthy of public cult in the Church, St. Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg.<sup>101</sup>

### The Truce of God

In 990, out of love "for almighty God and for Blessed Peter Prince of the Apostles," the Pope obtained from King Ethelred of England and from Richard, duke of Normandy, the conclusion of a peace treaty,<sup>102</sup> which is considered the inauguration of the institution known as the truce of God. In acting thus, John XV was responding to a universal desire of Christendom. A council held at Carroux near Poitiers in 989 and a council held at Narbonne in 990 had declared anathema against those who pillage the property of the poor.<sup>103</sup> About the year 994 the annalist Ademar of Chabannes relates that the Bishop of Limoges, "to punish the wicked actions of the nobles, ordered the churches and the monasteries to discontinue divine worship."<sup>104</sup> At this same period Gerbert wrote to a great lord, saying: "We beg you to consider that the peace of the Church cannot exist without peace between the princes."<sup>105</sup> The important act of the Supreme Pontiff powerfully encouraged the movement that

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 872. This biographer, probably John Canaporius, wrote the biography about the year 1000.

<sup>101</sup> Mansi, XIX, 169; *PL*, CXXXVII, 845. The word *canonizatio*, however, does not appear in this bull. This word seems not to have been used before the twelfth century. See Du Cange, *Glossarium* (Henschel ed., 1850), II, 107, and *Dict. de théol.* (Vacant-Mangenot), under the word "Canonisation," II, 1635.

<sup>102</sup> *PL*, CXXXVII, 843.

<sup>103</sup> Labbe, IX, 733.

<sup>104</sup> Ademar of Chabannes, *Historiae*, III, 35; *PL*, CXLI, 52.

<sup>105</sup> Gerbert, *Ep.*, 97 (Olleris ed., p. 54). On the origin of the Truce of God, see *Revue d'hist. ecclési.*, XIV (1913), 350-54.

was taking form. Before dying, in 996, he received the joyful news that nine bishops of southern France—Guido of Le Puy, Peter of Viviers, Guido of Valence, Bego of Clermont, Raymond of Toulouse, Deodatus of Rodez, Fredelo of Perpignan, Fulcran of Lodève, and Guy of Glandèves—assembled in council with a large number of the great nobles, had drawn up the first solemn formula of the “Pact of Peace, or truce of God”: “In the name of God, sovereign and indivisible Trinity. . . . From this day forward let no person break into a church, . . . let nothing be taken from its lawful owner, . . . let no one molest a villager or hold him for ransom. . . . If any cursed despoiler breaks this institution of peace, let him be excommunicated, and let no priest chant mass for him or give him communion.”<sup>106</sup> Such was the first promulgation of the Truce of God: *Charta qua treuga Dei confirmatur*.<sup>107</sup>

Another great institution of social benevolence began in the pontificate of John XV. The son of a nobleman in the neighborhood of Annecy, Bernard of Menthon archdeacon of Aosta, witnessing in his apostolic journeys the dangers encountered by pilgrims from England, France, and Germany on their way to Rome amid Alpine snow and glaciers, founded, at the summit of the Penine Alps between Valais and the valley of Aosta, and at the summit of the Graian Alps between Savoy and the valley of Aosta, the two celebrated monasteries of the Great and the Little St. Bernard. He was the first superior of these monasteries and died there in 1008, at the age of eighty-four.

<sup>106</sup> *PL*, CXXXVII, 854–56. Cf. Viollet, *Histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France*, II, 143.

<sup>107</sup> This is, in fact, the first time we meet the expression *Treuga Dei*, “Truce of God.” But have we here, in these councils of Carroux, Limoges, le Puy, and in the letter of John XV to King Ethelred, reference to the Truce of God in the sense of the expression as it was later understood and as we now commonly understand it? Apparently not. John XV asks for a treaty of peace in the name of the God of peace, and the councils merely republish, with greater insistence, the complaints already heard and the measures already taken by earlier councils. Rather we regard these documents as preliminaries of the Truce of God.

John XV at length had the happiness of seeing in his pontificate two events of great importance for general civilization and for the future of Christianity: the complete conversion of the Russians to the Christian faith and the coming to power in France of a dynasty that would give the Church several of its staunchest defenders.

The Christian faith had been preached in Russia in the preceding century and counted many followers there. But in the middle of the tenth century the Russian Christians underwent a severe persecution at the hands of the rulers. Czar Vladimir, called the Great, who reigned from 980 to 1015, was the first Christian ruler of the Russian Empire. Unfortunately that great nation yielded to the influence of Constantinople, followed it in the schism of Michael Caerularius, and, although retaining belief in the Savior Jesus Christ, withdrew from His earthly minister, the supreme pontiff.

### The Capetian Dynasty

A new royal dynasty was founded in France in 987 with Hugh Capet. Some historians have regarded the coming of the third dynasty of the kings of France as a victory of French nationality. Stated in these terms, the assertion seems too absolute. The Merovingians and the Carolingians were Frenchmen as well as were the Capetians. But the Merovingians were unable to form a durable centralized power in the Frankish country, and the Carolingians had embraced a much vaster object: the restoration of the Western Empire. The breakup of that Empire under the blows of the pirates of the North and of the Saracens, led to the first development of a new organization, the idea of a Frankish royalty, capable of giving the nation that cohesion which the race of Merowig had been unable to procure for it, and of defending, in a narrower but firmer circle,

the frontiers which Charlemagne's successors had allowed to expand.

For a century past, ever since the death of Charles the Fat in 887, one family had appeared equal to such an enterprise. According to some, this family was of German origin, related to the famous Widukind; according to others, it had no foreign connection.<sup>108</sup> Its warlike exploits and its vast possessions raised it to the first rank. From it came valiant men, such as their first ancestor Robert the Strong, who defended France against the Norsemen, and his son Odo (Eudes), who saved Paris from destruction. These and other heroic members of that family had, amid internal discord and barbarian invasions, assured peace to the cities, the monasteries, and the whole country. Three of its members received the title of king, but of each of them you might say what the monk Gerbert wrote in 995 about its last scion, Hugh, surnamed Capet: "He is king in reality. The Carolingian, King Lothair, is king only in name."<sup>109</sup>

Indeed the Carolingians, almost entirely stripped of any territorial power, at a time when all authority rested on land ownership, felt all power slipping from their hands little by little. At length the Church of France, by the voice of its mightiest bishop, Adalbero of Reims, and of his most illustrious monk, Gerbert, decided to take its stand on the side of Hugh.<sup>110</sup> This

<sup>108</sup> We can reconcile these two views if, as Luchaire does, we suppose that "in reality the freeholds were merely benefices conferred, like so many others, by Charlemagne's orders upon one of those Saxon families which the Frankish king had transplanted in large numbers to the interior of the Gallic country, where they became connected with the most powerful families of the region" (Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France*, I, 3).

<sup>109</sup> Olleris, *Œuvres de Gerbert*, letter 48, p. 32.

<sup>110</sup> With regard to the conduct of Adalbero and Gerbert on this occasion and in their relations with the Germanic Empire, some historians have impugned their patriotism. For replies to these various imputations, see Sepet, "Adalbéron, l'Eglise de Reims et l'avènement de la monarchie capétienne (*La France chrétienne dans l'histoire*, pp. 119-32) and Ulysse Chevalier, "Gerbert, le premier pape français" (*La France chrétienne*, pp. 133-47). Cf. F. Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, pp. 239-

fact was the determining cause that brought about the fall of the former dynasty and the rise of the new. "All the circumstances concurred to assure the elevation of the person who was in fact the representative of the nation of the Western Franks, the only person able to direct its destinies and to defend it against the foreigner."<sup>111</sup> At an assembly of the magnates of the realm, held at Compiègne in 987, Hugh Capet was elected king. He was crowned and consecrated on July 3 of that same year, probably at Noyon.<sup>112</sup> Such was the origin of the Capetian dynasty, which gave the Middle Ages the holiest of its kings, the strongest and wisest of the defenders of the Church, St. Louis.

The coming of this dynasty in France coincided with a decline of the imperial dynasty in Germany. The reign of Otto II did not equal that of Otto the Great; and Otto III showed himself inferior to his father.

Following Otto II's death, Empress Theophano, excluded from the guardianship of her son, went to Pavia to her mother-in-law Adelaide.<sup>113</sup> The two princesses, temporarily reconciled to each other, mingled their tears. In reality the ambitious Theophano, being denied any hand in the government, was seeking some support for her intrigues. But she was mistaken. The pious Adelaide, in whom exile had but strengthened the simple and upright virtues which she had formerly practiced, was more and more averse to lending herself to such projects. Theophano then turned her steps to Rome.

42. We agree with Bayet (Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 413), that "to speak of nationality on this occasion is to attribute to the men of the tenth century the sentiments of other historic periods and distort history," and with F. Lot (*op. cit.*, p. 240), who says that "at the close of the tenth century the bishops and some learned clerics, the only ones who had any political ideas, did not regard the domination of the Ottos as a German empire, but as simply the continuation of the Christian Roman Empire founded by Constantine.

<sup>111</sup> Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France*, I, 20.

<sup>112</sup> Julien Havet, "Les Couronnements des rois Hugues et Robert" in *Revue historique*, XLV (1891), 290.

<sup>113</sup> Ditmar, *Chronicon*; PL, CXXXIX, 1241.

Crescentius, the old rival of the emperor, had just died.<sup>114</sup> But he left a son, likewise called Crescentius, who brazenly took the title of "Patrician of the Romans." There is good reason for supposing that the Empress made an agreement with him and did not dispute his title of patrician.<sup>115</sup> Crescentius, in turn, seems not to have contested the title of sovereign, which she took at Rome. She declared that her purpose was to maintain the authority of the Holy Empire in the Italian peninsula. In documents of that time, we find the name of Crescentius, patrician, and of Theophano, empress of the Romans.<sup>116</sup>

However, the regent Henry of Bavaria, because his insolent claims displeased the nobles, was obliged to withdraw before a coalition of the feudal lords. Adelaide and Theophano again took their place at the court of the young Emperor, the one edifying him by her holiness, the other impelling him to the most foolhardy undertakings.

Meanwhile, in April, 996, Pope John XV died. Shortly before his death, worn out by the doings of Crescentius, he had invited the Emperor to come to Rome. Otto set out at once. He had reached Pavia, when he learned of the Pope's death.

### Otto III

The Emperor of Germany was then not more than sixteen years old. His reign was

short, sad, full of bright promise never fulfilled. His mother was the Eastern princess Theophano; his preceptor the illustrious Gerbert of Aurillac, archbishop first of Rheims and afterwards of Ravenna: through the one he felt himself connected with the legitimacy of the Eastern Empire, and had imbibed its absolutist spirit; by the other he had been reared in the dream of a renovated Rome, with her memo-

<sup>114</sup> He died in the monastic habit. His epitaph asks for prayers for him; *ut tandem scelerum veniam mercatur habere.*

<sup>115</sup> Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical*, p. 360.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*



ries turned to realities. . . . It was his design, now that the solemn millennial era of the birth of Christ had arrived, to renew the majesty of the city and make her again the capital of a world-embracing Empire, victorious as Trajan's, despotic as Justinian's, holy as Constantine's. His young and visionary mind was too much dazzled by the gorgeous fancies it created to see the world as it was—Germany rude, Italy unquiet, Rome corrupt and faithless.<sup>117</sup>

We read that, before setting out for the Eternal City, he went to Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), that there he had Charlemagne's tomb opened, that he beheld the great Emperor seated on a marble throne, clothed in his royal robe and crown, and that, touching the hand of the dead ruler and removing the golden cross from about his neck, thus had himself, as it were, invested with the Empire by him whom he considered his great precursor.

Upon reaching Ravenna, Otto received an embassy that came to him in the name of the Roman princes and the whole senatorial order. As we read in the words of a contemporary author who wrote the life of St. Adalbert, "the princes expressed the grief they felt at the death of the apostolic lord and begged the Emperor to inform them regarding his intentions about the choice of a successor. Among the clergy of the royal chapel was a grandson of Otto the Great, named Bruno. His literary culture—he spoke three languages: Latin, German, and the vulgar Romance or Gallic tongue—and his lofty birth assured him of great consideration. His character was noble and open. His single drawback was his youth: he was only twenty-three years old. His cousin Otto, who was very fond of him, designated him to the envoys as the candidate of his choice. The election took place according to the royal wish, and on May 3, 996, Bruno was proclaimed pope.<sup>118</sup> Eighteen days later the new Pope solemnly crowned his cousin. As recently the Italian house

<sup>117</sup> Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. 9 (1932 ed., p. 144).

<sup>118</sup> *PL*, CXXXVII, 880.

of Theophylactus, so now the German house of the Ottos held in its hands the supreme powers of the priesthood and the empire. But the new political combination was no more successful than the former one. The Emperor's candidate had none of the vices of John XII; but Otto III was the last emperor of his race.

### Pope Gregory V

The newly elected Pope, in testimony of his veneration for St. Gregory the Great, took the name Gregory V. Personally he was virtuous, zealous for justice and equity, well educated and full of those vast projects that had inspired Gregory the Great and Nicolas I.<sup>119</sup> Two mighty cares dominated his pontificate: the freeing of Rome from the plots of Crescentius and the ending of a painful conflict that involved the highest dignitaries of the Church of France.

Upon the Emperor's arrival in Rome, the so-called "patrician of the Romans" understood that his cause was lost unless he could save it by trickery. Putting on a hypocritical semblance of repentance, he placed himself in the hands of Otto, who by a regular trial convicted him of usurping power and of other misdeeds, and merely sentenced him to banishment. Then, yielding to the Pope's intercession, Otto pardoned him. But, three months later, after the Emperor had recrossed the Alps, a revolt broke out in Rome. Crescentius, exploiting the national feelings of the Italians and representing Gregory V as the tool of the German party, tried to recover his lost power. The Emperor, when this news reached him, was engaged in a war against the Slavs. Gregory, obliged to leave Rome, withdrew to Pavia and there, at the beginning of 997, held a council at which the rebels were excommunicated.<sup>120</sup>

Crescentius replied to Gregory's excommunications by set-

<sup>119</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 883.

<sup>120</sup> Mansi, XIX, 207.

ting up a rival. His choice was a certain Philagathus, archbishop of Piacenza, a Calabrian of Greek origin. The previous year he had been sent to Constantinople to negotiate the marriage engagement of Emperor Otto III with Princess Helena, the daughter of Constantine VIII. "The family of Crescentius had always endeavored to obtain the backing of the Byzantine influence, then powerful in southern Italy, and to set it up in opposition to the interference of the German rulers."<sup>121</sup> With good reason we may suppose that at the time of this journey the unworthy prelate, already sold to Crescentius, entered into a plot with the government of Constantinople. Crescentius, master of the power in Rome, was to act as viceroy of the Byzantine sovereigns.

Upon driving the Pope out of Rome, the patrician took possession of Castle Sant' Angelo. From that point of vantage he dominated the city. The large sums of money which Philagathus brought back from Constantinople as the price of his treason<sup>122</sup> served to buy up a certain number of the clergy and of the people, who acclaimed the usurper under the name of John XVI. The time was April, 997.

But soon a rumor spread that Emperor Otto, victorious over the Slavs, was on his way to Italy. Philagathus, as knavish as his accomplice, tried to win over the Pope by declarations that were pure hypocrisy. He said that only under violent pressure from Crescentius had he accepted a title that was unwelcome to him and that he was merely waiting for a chance to escape from its burden.<sup>123</sup> The holy Abbot Nilus, a hermit of Calabria, persuaded by these declarations, came to Rome to intercede for his wretched countryman.<sup>124</sup>

The Pope and the Emperor spared his life on condition that

<sup>121</sup> Duchesne, *Lib. pontif.*, I, 262.

<sup>122</sup> *Episcopum de urbe Constantinopolitana cum magna pecunia redeuntem in papatum intrusit* (*Lib. pontif.*, I, 263).

<sup>123</sup> Bonizo, *Historia pontificia*; *PL*, CL, 867.

<sup>124</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, September 26.

he agree to spend the rest of his days in a monastery as expiation for his offenses. The wretch was panic-stricken. While he was fleeing, the crowd, which overtook him on the Campagna road, seized him and, less merciful than the Pope, tore out his eyes and his tongue, cut off his nose and ears. Thus mutilated and seated on an ass, he was brought back to Rome. There he was deposed. He lived about fifteen years longer and died probably at Fulda Abbey.

While these terrible scenes were being enacted, Crescentius, more daring, barricaded himself in Castle Sant' Angelo. There he constructed a lofty tower, like an eagle's nest, that he thought impregnable. After a siege and the use of war machines, a successful assault was made upon the fortress (April 29, 998). Crescentius was taken prisoner. He was beheaded on the battlement in sight of all the people; then his body and the bodies of twelve fellow conspirators were hanged on gibbets. But the Crescentius family was not extinguished. The patrician left collateral relatives and a son who, like himself, was called John Crescentius. The latter soon resumed the sinister traditions of the family.

The revolution that resulted in the substitution, in France, of the dynasty of the Capetians for that of the Carolingians, was largely the work of Gerbert,<sup>125</sup> Adalbero's favorite adviser who was always listened to by him.

At the death of Adalbero, who named Gerbert as his successor in the see of Reims, Hugh Capet decided to confer this archbishopric upon a natural son of Lothair, one Arnulf, a young man without talent or virtue, whose only title to that office was his scandalous birth. Later Arnulf, in violation of his oaths, surrendered the city of Reims to Charles of Lorraine. A national council, if we can so designate an assembly attended by only thirteen bishops, held in St. Basil Abbey near Reims on June 17 and 18, 991, deposed Arnulf and put Gerbert in his

<sup>125</sup> Chevalier, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

place. Gerbert made the mistake of accepting this uncanonical election, but he was perhaps the most eminent churchman of his day and the Emperor's friend. Arnulf certainly did not deserve any sympathy on account of his personal qualities, but his position appeared to be canonically more regular.

For the solution of this question, John XV entered upon proceedings which at the end of six years were still unfinished. Gregory V found a way to maintain the principles while treating with consideration all the persons involved. At the time of Arnulf's deposition the Frankish bishops had imperiled both the authority of the Holy See and the unity of the Church.<sup>126</sup> The time now came to show that the primacy of Peter was strong enough to declare itself in spite of all foes.<sup>127</sup> For these reasons, at a council held in St. Peter's Basilica in the presence of Otto III (May, 996), the Pope published a decree re-establishing Arnulf in the archbishopric of Reims. Then, early in 998, of his own motion he raised Gerbert to the see of Ravenna, one of the chief sees of Christendom.<sup>128</sup> Thus ended a dispute which, for almost ten years, had bitterly stirred both the Church and the state in France and Germany.

Throughout this affair the king of France, Hugh Capet, vigorously defended Arnulf's cause. At the assembly of St. Basil, the bishops who so vehemently sustained what in later times would be called the Gallican tradition, spoke under the King's inspiration.

His son Robert the Pious succeeded him in 996. He was more conciliatory. Was his attitude a matter of conviction? Did he hope thus to conciliate the Pope and obtain a papal ratification of his marriage to a relative within the forbidden degrees, Bertha, the daughter of the Count of Bloise? But Gregory V did not bend the laws of the Church to gratify the French King.

<sup>126</sup> Excerpts from the address delivered on this occasion may be found in Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 856 f.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 884.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 889.

A council held at St. Peter's with the Pope presiding, in which Gerbert the new Archbishop of Ravenna took part, declared the union null, condemned Robert and Bertha, under pain of anathema, to perform seven months of penance, and suspended Archbishop Erchembald of Tours and all the bishops who had accepted this incestuous union, until they should appear at Rome to give a satisfactory account of their conduct.<sup>129</sup>

Shortly afterward (February 18, 999), Pope Gregory V died in the prime of life, being only twenty-six years old. An unsubstantiated report declared that he was poisoned.<sup>130</sup>

We must acknowledge that the pontificate of the first German pope, Gregory V, was worthy and fruitful. It prefaced the great pontificate of the first French pope, Sylvester II.

<sup>129</sup> Mansi, *Concilia, Supplem.*, I, 1207.

<sup>130</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 801.

## CHAPTER II

### *Pope Sylvester II (999-1003)*

#### The Antecedents of Sylvester II

THE metropolitan of Ravenna, Gerbert, who was presented to the clergy and people of Rome by Emperor Otto III as the candidate of his choice and who was elected pope under the name of Sylvester II in the first days of April, 999,<sup>1</sup> was a native of Aurillac in Aquitaine. He was born in 945.<sup>2</sup> The ranks of the Catholic clergy had nobody of more renowned scholarship and more eminent statesmanship. The Emperor was persuaded that the Church had no cleric more devoted to his cause. Gerbert's scholarship was deep and broad: this learning he had imbibed, not, as has been said, at the Moslem schools of Granada and Cordova, but at the episcopal school of Ausona (now called Vich) in the march of Spain.<sup>3</sup> In mathematics and astronomy his learning was such that his enemies easily made credulous people look upon him as a magician. His thorough acquaintance with the works of Victorinus, Martianus Capella, and especially Boethius, won him the titles of rhetorician and philosopher. His fame soon reached the ears of the Archbishop of Reims, Adalbero, who commissioned him to take charge of the school

<sup>1</sup> Jaffé, no. 3899.

<sup>2</sup> Richer, *Hist.*, III, 43; *PL*, CXXXVIII, 101.

<sup>3</sup> Olleris, *Œuvres de Gerbert*, p. 28. Racial and religious hatreds had created a wide gulf between the Spaniards and the Mussulmans. "But possibly, by secret and unknown ways, the writings of the Arabs of the peninsula may have crossed the frontiers of the caliphate." The Arabs' scientific activity was at that time remarkable. At Cordova one palace contained a library of 600,000 volumes. A catalogue in forty-four volumes was drawn up to facilitate the work of research. (Olleris, *loc. cit.*)

established in the episcopal city. The monk Richer says: "At once legions of disciples hastened to his scholarly classes."<sup>4</sup>

Gerbert's teaching method deserves a few words of explanation. Says Richer: "This was the method which he followed in his classes. He began with dialectics. . . . In his opinion, this preliminary labor was a necessary initiation to the study of rhetoric, strictly so called. As to the latter, his principle was that no one can reach the perfection of oratorical art unless he begins by forming his style through reading the great poets, such as Virgil, Statius, Terence, Horace, and Lucan. He then entered upon the study of rhetoric according to the manual of Victorinus. Lastly he set his pupils the task of grappling with sophism in public discussions, where each one had to sustain his thesis with so great art that the art should not be perceived. This constitutes the highest point of perfection that an orator can attain."<sup>5</sup> Herein we recognize the whole powerful method that would triumph in our great universities of the Middle Ages.

Gerbert's disciples, who came from all sides, spread his reputation in all the monasteries and all the courts of Europe. Emperor Otto II had remarked the young monk (then only twenty-five years old) at Rome, where he was studying the exact sciences. The Emperor decided to attach him to the imperial court and confided to him the education of his son Otto III.

Gerbert's eager fondness for the study of the abstract sciences never lessened his warmheartedness or his clear view of the affairs of actual life. His gratitude to the Ottos and his conviction that the imperial power should be a pacifier and protector amid the distresses of Christendom, inclined him toward the cause of the Empire.

He labored for the triumph of Hugh Capet. Probably this

<sup>4</sup> Richer, *Hist.*, III, 45; *PL*, CXXXVIII, 102. Translating as exactly as possible the expressions of the chronicler, we here sum up Richer's text.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.



was because he regarded the family of Robert the Strong as a providential instrument for the revival of France. As we learn from his letters, he favored this triumph also because it was agreeable to the imperial power.

Otto III's ambitious schemes did not grow weaker under the blow of repeated failures, but rather became more pretentious. When he saw his illustrious preceptor in the see of St. Peter, he was unable to put any bounds to his grandiose plans. This son of Theophano and friend of Gerbert visualized his Empire, supported by both Byzantium and Rome, as spreading throughout the civilized world, with himself as the supreme representative of that civilization.<sup>6</sup> Subsequent events would undeceive him. As to the monk who had just ascended the see of St. Peter, he must henceforth regard before anything else the interests of the Church and the primacy of Rome. Although in a moment of carelessness he had accepted the decisions of the wretched Synod of St. Basil and although until then Otto could count on him as a political adviser, the sense of his new office and the graces attached to his supreme responsibility transformed him. Pope Sylvester II would blot out the memory of the momentary weakness of the monk Gerbert.<sup>7</sup>

### Noble Projects

If we are to trust a very old portrait preserved by Ciacconius, the new Pope's features were sharp and contained a stamp of intellectuality and tenacity, mingled with that shade of melancholy and that expression of benevolence which highborn souls derive from experience of the things of human life. "Besides the good sense and tenacity of the people of Auvergne, Sylves-

<sup>6</sup> Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. 9, p. 147.

<sup>7</sup> For the life of Gerbert before he became pope, see the works indicated in the *Revue des questions historiques*, December, 1869, pp. 440-523. Cf. *Etudes*, III (1869), 83-110, 248-79, 451-62, 602-17; Chevalier, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-42.

ter II possessed the cleverness and adaptability which was never wanting to them.”<sup>8</sup>

Upon assuming supreme power, Otto's former tutor also had his dream, less chimerical but not less magnificent than that of the Emperor. His chief aim was to revive the true spirit of the Gospel in clergy and people; it was to arouse in the upper classes of society that cultivation of the higher branches of learning by which the Arab world was then attempting to dazzle the West. True, Sylvester turned his eyes to the East, but he did so mainly to conquer the Holy Sepulcher. And, like Otto, he wished, in a more magnificent Rome, to strengthen the bonds that joined the pope and the emperor. But this he did for the purpose of more effectively combining them in the struggle on behalf of these holy causes.

The new Pope's noble and firm attitude was soon evident. Three affairs, begun in the preceding pontificates, were still undecided at the time of Gregory V's death. They were the cases of Guido of Le Puy, of Adalbero of Laon, and of Arnulf of Reims.

Without waiting for the death of the venerable Wido (Guido) bishop of Le Puy, whose noble efforts for the abolition of private wars we have already noted, his nephew Stephen, with the support of certain lords who had been bribed, made sure he would succeed Guido. Immediately after Guido's death and in spite of the opposition of clergy and people, he seized the bishopric by armed force. A council (998), presided over by Gregory V, had condemned Stephen's usurpation and ordered the holding of a canonical election. Thus was chosen a virtuous priest, Theodard by name. But Stephen held out. A powerful and threatening aristocracy declared they were prepared to defend him by every means. Some neighboring bishops, won over

<sup>8</sup> Olleris, *Vie de Gerbert, premier pape français*, p. 343. This biography is merely Olleris' preface to his *Œuvres de Gerbert*.

by fear or by gifts, took the side of the usurper. Sylvester II had no hesitation in taking a stand against this formidable opposition.

To Theodard he wrote as follows: "Ecclesiastical cases are settled by the decrees of councils. A Roman council has condemned the usurper Stephen. . . . You have been canonically elected by the clergy of Le Puy-en-Velay. We confirm your election by virtue of our apostolic authority. Relying upon this, withstand all the empty decrees of excommunication which the intruder, in his reckless audacity, may issue against your person or against your Church." <sup>9</sup> By this act of vigorous authority, which made Stephen and his followers pause, Sylvester II showed his resolve to impose the authority of the Holy See in spite of any local opposition that might arise against it.

The case of Adalbero, bishop of Laon, who was known also as Ascelin, brought the Pope into opposition, not to a group of turbulent lords, but to a man formidable on account of his violence and trickery as also on account of his episcopal office which won for him the reverential fear of the Christian population, on account of his caustic pen which he exercised in pamphlet writing, and on account of an incredible boldness which led him to defy everyone.

In a poetical satire, in which he represented himself as discoursing with King Robert the Pious, Adalbero, the unworthy bishop of Laon, even tried to cast discredit upon the monastic institution, particularly upon the holy abbot of Cluny, the illustrious Odilo. Sensing that true reform would come from the famous monastery, he made himself the spokesman of all those who might be menaced by a re-establishment of good morals. Cleverly he represented the episcopacy, the guardian of the old traditions, as opposed to what he called "the horde of monks, boorish, unrefined, lazy." <sup>10</sup> This former pupil of Gerbert, from

<sup>9</sup> Olleris, *Œuvres de Gerbert*, letter 216, pp. 146 f.

<sup>10</sup> *PL*, CXLI, 771-86.

whom he had learned the art of writing, thus made use of the talents cultivated by his learned teacher.

In the political events that brought the Capetian dynasty into power, Adalbero of Laon had taken an equally despicable part. Although a protégé of the Carolingians and a friend of Charles of Lorraine, he shamefully betrayed the latter in a plot which is related by the monk Richer. He says:

One night, while everyone was asleep in the palace where the Duke of Lorraine lived, Ascelin removed their swords from the bedside of Charles and of Arnulf and hid them. Then, calling the unsuspecting doorkeeper, he ordered him to find at once some of his party, promising that he himself would guard the door. Ascelin took his stand in the doorway, holding his sword under his cloak. Presently, assisted by fellow conspirators, he admitted his whole band. Charles and Arnulf were sleeping heavily. When they awoke, they beheld their foes gathered in a band around them. Leaping from bed, they reached for their weapons, but of course did not find them. Ascelin said to them: "You forced me into exile from this city; now we are going to drive you out, but in a different way: I have remained my own master, and you will pass to the power of another." Charles hurled himself furiously upon the traitor. But armed men encircled him, thrust him on his bed, and held him there. They also seized Arnulf, who had witnessed the scene in speechless stupor. Then the two prisoners were dragged to a tower and were there locked in behind guarded doors. But the outcries of the women and the clamor of children and servants awakened and alarmed the burghers of Laon. Charles' followers hastily took to flight. They were none too soon, because Ascelin had ordered all the city gates to be closed. A son of Charles, two years old, also named Charles, was successfully hidden and thus escaped capture.<sup>11</sup>

In 995, three years after the death of Charles of Lorraine, his son Louis served as a pretext for a vile plot by the Bishop of Laon and Count de Blois to turn France over to Otto III.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Richer, Vol. IV; *PL*, CXXXVIII, 143 f.

<sup>12</sup> Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 150.

The people now spoke of Adalbero as "the old traitor" (*vetulus traditor*). The triumph of the dynasty for which he had conspired and the elevation of his former teacher to the supreme pontificate did not put an end to his criminal practices. Sylvester II had been ruling the Church scarcely a year<sup>13</sup> when Ascelin was denounced to him for a fresh treason. Receiving the King's soldiers, to whom he was to hand over the towers of his metropolis, he had them arrested and put in chains. Sylvester did not tremble before this monster of perfidy, any more than he had trembled before the lords of Le Velay.

The Pope's letter to him began thus: "Sylvester, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Ascelin of Laon. Do not be surprised that at the head of our letter you find neither greeting nor apostolic blessing. Under the name of bishop, you have, by your crimes, ceased to be a man. If loyalty raises a man even to God, perfidy degrades him to the level of brutes." The Pontiff then summoned the traitor to come to Rome in Holy Week to explain his conduct, informing him that neither the length of the journey nor the dangers of the way would excuse his absence. If he made a plea of sickness, this fact must be attested by trustworthy witnesses. Should he fail to exonerate himself from the charges made against him, he must submit to the decision of the judges.<sup>14</sup> History does not say how the affair terminated. Probably the "old traitor" submitted or at least made a pretense of doing so, for we find him in the episcopal see of Laon until the time of his death in 1030.

### Arnulf and the See of Reims

The affair of Arnulf and the archbishopric of Reims was a delicate question. Would Sylvester II break with his past, blame the Council of St. Basil that had elected him bishop in place of

<sup>13</sup> Olleris, *op. cit.*, p. clxxxvii.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, letter 221, pp. 151 f.

Arnulf? Would he revoke the decision of his predecessor Gregory V, who had restored his rival in the metropolitan see of Reims? In accord with the tenor of the papal rescript (which has been preserved), we may surmise that the Pope required, as a preliminary condition, that Arnulf write a letter of submission and repentance. Pope Sylvester's letter in reply says:

Beloved son in Jesus Christ. To the apostolic see belongs the office, not only of receiving sinners in mercy, but also of raising those who have fallen and of restoring penitents to the degree of honor from which they have fallen. . . . Therefore we extend our hand to you, Arnulf, archbishop of Reims. On account of certain excesses, you had been deprived of the episcopal dignity; but your abdication was not approved by Rome, and we are resolved to show that the charity of the Roman Church is able to cover all faults and to rehabilitate all falls. . . . Already the crosier and the ring have been sent to you; by this present privilege, we grant you the right to perform all the archiepiscopal functions, to enjoy all the prerogatives attached to the see of Reims. . . . If anyone, which God forbid, attempts to violate our present decree, issued from the Apostolic See of Rome, let him be anathema.<sup>15</sup>

In his letter to the Bishop of Laon, Pope Sylvester showed his indomitable vigor. In the letter he wrote to the Archbishop of Reims he displayed, besides his charitable condescension, the remarkable adaptability of his spirit. He made no decision about the gravity or the character of the motives<sup>16</sup> that had provoked Arnulf's deposition and thus he avoided reopening the awkward question of the Council of St. Basil. But, for the ratification of the restoration of the Archbishop of Reims, he appealed to only one reason, that the archbishop's abdication did not have the approval of Rome (*tua abdicatio romano assensu caruit*); in this manner he implicitly but categorically acknowledged his former mistake in taking advantage of such an

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, letter 225, p. 145.

<sup>16</sup> In his letter he refers merely to "certain excesses."

abdication. On this point, Pope Sylvester nobly corrected the error of Gerbert.

### Restoration of the Roman Empire

All this was merely a negative side of Sylvester's pontificate. The bonds of friendship between him and Emperor Otto gave him reason to hope that, in concert with Otto, he would be able, in a Catholic spirit, to undertake a restoration of the Roman Empire (*restauratio imperii romani*, as we read on the medals of the time) that would enable the pope and the emperor, both of them living in the city of Rome, to agree upon giving the Eternal City a new splendor and to spread afar the Christian faith.

According to the terms of the agreement between the two high contracting parties, the emperor, as ruler of the world, was to govern in the common interest, to look after the welfare of the weak, and to establish at his court a governmental ministry of the poor and forsaken. "In the minds of Sylvester and Otto, the renewal of the Empire was bound up with the idea of protecting the frontiers against the barbarian invasions from the north and east of Europe by the creation of allied kingdoms that would receive civilization along with the doctrine of the Gospel."<sup>17</sup> We have two fragments<sup>18</sup> of a document describing the ceremonial regulations that were to be observed at the court of the new Christian Caesar.

This document is especially interesting, not so much because it repeats the old ceremonies taken from the Theodosian Code, but because it supposes that the emperor and the pope will both live in Rome and will continue the alliance of the two supreme powers for the pacification of the world. Nothing was lacking to enhance the pomp of the new court. The Caesar, in his palace on the Aventine Hill, was surrounded by the protospatharius, the hyparch, the protovestiaris,

<sup>17</sup> Olleris, *op. cit.*, pp. clxxi f.

<sup>18</sup> *Blume rheinisches Museum für Jurisprudenz*, V, 125.

and the count of the sacred palace. The officials included a logothete, an archilothete, a master of the imperial militias, a prefect of the fleet. At the reception of a judge, the emperor made him swear to be incorruptible. He clothed him in a purple mantle and, transmitting to him a copy of the laws of Justinian, said to him: "Judge Rome, the Leonine City, and the whole world."

In this agreement, we can easily pick out the part that was owing to Sylvester and the part owing to Otto III. To Sylvester belongs the conception of an Empire devoted to the defense of religion and of the poor. The son of Theophano was the one who fancied the introduction at Rome, about the pope and the emperor, of an Oriental pomp that would surely revive against both of them the smoldering jealousies of the Italian nobility.

With an appearance of generosity, Otto, declaring his affection for Sylvester II, had already granted to the Church eight counties of the march of Ancona, previously in dispute between the pope and the emperor. But, in the preamble of the document, he assumed toward the papacy the tone of a haughty, almost insolent, protector. He said: "The popes have lost their possessions through their own fault, and then have accused the emperors. The Church's titles to greatness were blotted out by the carelessness and ignorance of the popes, who sold what belongs to St. Peter and what they had received from the emperors."<sup>19</sup>

An understanding based on such half-truths or misstatements was calculated to produce both good and evil results. Sylvester's wisdom was able to strengthen the good and, to a large extent, avert the evil.

### Poland and Hungary

The "renewal of the Empire" was the starting-point for new peaceful conquests for the Christian faith. With this we must

<sup>19</sup> The genuineness of this document has been attacked by some modern writers, but Pertz reprints it as authentic (*Monum. Germ. hist., Leges*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 162). Cf. Olleris, *op. cit.*, p. cxlviii.



connect notably the Christian beginning of the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary. Those two countries had already received missionaries, who founded several bishoprics there. To the chief city of one of these bishoprics (Gnesen) Boleslaus, duke of Poland, removed the remains of the apostle of Prussia, St. Adalbert, massacred by the people to whom he was preaching the Gospel. One of Emperor Otto III's first acts was to go to Gnesen and there venerate the relics of the saint who had been his friend. The Duke of Poland honored the august pilgrim with a brilliant welcome. Otto freed him from the bonds of vassalage that connected him with Germany; then a papal bull erected the city of Gnesen into an archbishopric, with the dioceses of Cracow, Kobberg, and Breslau as suffragans, dependent directly upon the Holy See.<sup>20</sup> This was the origin of the Polish nation, destined to exhibit so much heroism and to endure so many afflictions.

The origin of Hungary, that other highway of Christendom in the Middle Ages, is also connected with the intervention of Sylvester II. In the work of an old chronicler, we read: "The Pope had prepared a golden crown which he intended to place on the head of Boleslaus. But during the night an angel of the Lord appeared to him and said: 'Keep this crown for another duke, whose ambassadors will call on you tomorrow.' " <sup>21</sup> The next day the Pope was informed of the arrival of the venerable bishop of Kalocsa, Astericus, who was accompanied by a deputation of Hungarians. He came to ask the Pontiff to bless Hungary, to receive it as a gift made to St. Peter, to raise the Church of Gran to the rank of metropolis, to confirm the foundation of certain abbeys, and to bestow the title of king upon the duke of Hungary, Stephen, who, recently converted by St. Adalbert of Prague, had himself zealously spread the faith of Christ among his subjects. Sylvester accepted the offering of the kingdom.

<sup>20</sup> *Scriptores hist. polon.*, pp. 60 f.

<sup>21</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, September 2, life of St. Stephen.

But to Stephen and his successors he left the free government of the kingdom. The Duke was created king. From the Pope he received a crown bearing an image of Christ surrounded by the twelve Apostles. This crown, joined with another which one of his predecessors had received from Constantinople, was henceforth looked upon as the sacred palladium of Hungary.

### The Holy Land

The eyes of Pope Sylvester had always turned, beyond the nations of Europe, to the Holy Land, in the possession of the infidels. Just when he was rejoicing over the progress of the faith and civilization in Europe, news reached him that pilgrims to the Holy Land were victims of violent attacks by Mussulman fanaticism. The indignation of the Christian world was stirred by these reports. The Pope implored the charity of the faithful and, if there should be need, the help of their arms. His appeal took the form of a letter from the Church of Jerusalem to the Church of Rome. The Holy City recalled its past splendor and, from the depth of its misery, begged the universal Church to come to its aid: "To the task, soldier of Christ! Take the standard and fight. If you are unable to do so with arms, come to our aid by your advice, by your money. What is it you are giving, and to whom are you giving? By your generosity you are, after all, merely giving a little to Him who has freely given you all you have. He does not receive it gratis, but increases the offering. He recompenses it in the future."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Olleris, *op. cit.*, letter 219, pp. 149 f. Some authors (e.g., Jaffé) have questioned the authenticity of this document. Chevalier considers that "their reasons are not convincing" ("Gerbert" in *La France chrétienne dans l'histoire*, p. 143). Olleris keeps the document in the *Œuvres de Gerbert*. Julien Havet also retains it. He says: "It has been called into doubt, but without sufficient reasons." He offers the hypothesis that it was "a sort of circular intended to be carried about by a collector of alms who was begging for the Christian establishments of Jerusalem" (Havet, *Lettres de Gerbert*, p. 22 note 3). But this is nothing more than a hypothesis.

Europe was not yet prepared to answer this appeal; but Pope Sylvester has the honor of being the first who issued the call to the crusades.

### Italian Difficulties

The Italian nobles, ever jealous of their independence and now feeling their sway threatened by the growing power of the Empire and the papacy, were stirred and seized upon every pretext to thwart the Pope and the Emperor. Disorders took place in the very States of the Holy See and in the neighboring domains of the nobility.

"At the close of the tenth century the possessions of the Church of Rome, not reckoning the benefices scattered through Christian Europe, extended in western Italy from Terracina to Tuscany. Orvieto belonged to it. To the east, these possessions embraced part of Romania and of the march of Ancona. . . . Sylvester was gentle and benevolent; he was concerned about the welfare of his subjects.<sup>23</sup> However, although the Pope's intentions were fine, his agents did not always conform to them. Hence disturbances arose."<sup>24</sup> About the year 1000, the city of Cesena revolted, and the Pope had to lead an army in person to bring it into submission.<sup>25</sup> Another time, in Rome the complaints of a poor woman against her judge embittered the malcontents. At word that she insulted the count, swords were unsheathed in the holy place.<sup>26</sup>

Outside the States of the Church, more serious disturbances occurred at the instigation of certain great lords. We are acquainted with the hereditary ambitions that were handed down

<sup>23</sup> We should like to find documents concerning Sylvester's administration of the property of the Holy See. But the establishing of the Archives for the preservation of the bulls and letters of the Holy See dates from the end of the twelfth century, in the pontificate of Innocent III.

<sup>24</sup> Olleris, p. clxxviii.

<sup>25</sup> St. Peter Damian, *Vita S. Mauri*; *PL*, CXLIV, 950.

<sup>26</sup> Olleris, p. clxxix.

in the family of Tusculum. "Various branches of the family of Theophylactus had carved out extensive domains for themselves. Of these Tusculum on Monte Albano, Praeneste (Palestrina), Arci in Sabina, Galera on the road to Tuscany, were the chief centers and fortresses." <sup>27</sup>

But just at this time the gravest difficulties did not come from that direction. On account of the preservation of ancient municipal institutions that went back to ancient Tibur and especially on account of the activity of its Bishop Gregory, Tivoli was then the proudest and most prosperous of the cities. In 1001, for some reason not exactly known to us, the people of Tivoli rebelled against the Emperor. He took up arms to punish them, and the Romans took part in the expedition. The conflict might be terrible. In a spirit of peace, the Pope persuaded the Emperor to pardon the rebellious city. Otto merely destroyed part of the city walls and demanded hostages as a guaranty of the people's fidelity.<sup>28</sup> But the Romans, displeased at the gentleness shown to their formidable rivals, revolted. The city gates were closed, barricades were erected in the streets, and the court was besieged in the palace on the Aventine. Nothing less than the approach of an army under command of Henry of Bavaria restored peace. Otto pardoned the rebels. But with sad bitterness he said to them: "Are you not my Romans? Out of love for you I forsook the Saxons, all my Germans, my own blood. I adopted you as my own children. My preference for you has aroused against me the hatred of all my subjects; and now you have rejected your father." <sup>29</sup>

After this discourse, Otto left Rome, taking Pope Sylvester with him. They went north. On the way both of them gave and confirmed privileges to the churches and monasteries for the purpose of winning heaven's favor.<sup>30</sup> The previous year the Em-

<sup>27</sup> Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical*, p. 366.

<sup>28</sup> Thangmar, *Vita S. Bernwardi*, col. 25; *PL*, CXL, 413.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*; *PL*, CXL, 414.

<sup>30</sup> Muratori, *Antiquitates italicæ mediæ ævi*, V, 489.

peror had met at Monte Gargone the great hermit St. Nilus who had been driven from Calabria by the Saracen invasion, and at Ravenna another monastic patriarch, St. Romuald. The Emperor now recalled the conversations he had had with these men of God and considered, so we are told, giving up the crown and entering a monastery.

### Conditions in Germany

The news he received from Germany was such as to confirm his idea of bidding farewell to worldly affairs. An interminable legal suit between the bishop of Mainz and the abbot of Hildesheim regarding the celebrated monastery of Gandersheim<sup>31</sup> had assumed enormous proportions and divided the ecclesiastical and lay nobility of Germany. Besides, the feudal lords, profiting by the Emperor's absence, had covered Germany with their castles and fortresses from which they ruined all safety and security by their private wars, deeds of violence, and jealousies. In such circumstances, the Slavs of the north and east and the Saracens of the south, following their old custom, crossed the frontiers and renewed their bold incursions. Otto issued orders to the German bishops, that before Christmas they should come to Italy with troops. He said a council would settle the difficulties about Gandersheim. Then they would march against the enemies of the Empire.

The council opened at Todi on December 27, 1001, but only three German bishops were present. Otto, whose strength was exhausted by a slow fever, fell into a state of discouragement. He saw his magnificent projects dissolve like a dream. Rome closed its gates against him; the dukes and the German counts were hatching a plot against him that was approved by the bishops.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> It was at Gandersheim that Hroswitha cultivated poetry so successfully.

<sup>32</sup> Olleris, p. 183; Ditmar, *Chron.*, IV, 30; *PL*, CXXXIX, 1267.

Otto turned his steps to southern Italy. As his illness grew worse, he was forced to stop not far from Rome, at Paterno at the foot of Monte Soracte. Says the chronicler: "His disease became worse each day. He received the body and blood of the Lord; then, with bishops at his side, amid the grief of all, gently and humbly he breathed his last." <sup>33</sup> The date was January 23, 1002. Otto was not yet twenty-two years old. The chronicler does not set down the name of any of the prelates who were present at this deathbed. Some writers have supposed that Pope Sylvester must have been present and that the Emperor, before appearing in the presence of his Judge, received viaticum from the hands of him to whom, after God, he owed most. With Otto III the male line of Otto the Great became extinct.

Sylvester II survived Otto III a short time. We are not informed about his last days. He died at Rome on May 12, 1003, after governing the Church only four years and three months. However, few pontificates have been more fruitful. One of his successors, Sergius IV, in the epitaph he placed on Sylvester's tomb, sums up his work thus: "By him every age rejoiced, and every crime was crushed."

True, many causes for sadness lived after him in the Christian world, and every evil did not disappear with him. But, by his cultivation of the arts and of learning, he prefaced the great scientific, literary, and artistic movement of the thirteenth century; by his zeal in proclaiming the rights of the Church and in defending the purity of clerical morals, he was the worthy predecessor of St. Gregory VII and of Innocent III. "Gerbert is one of those privileged men who should be ranked by the impartial history of civilization among those whose names it should retain." <sup>34</sup> The extent and value of his work well deserves more than passing notice.

<sup>33</sup> Thangmar, *op. cit.*, no. 37; *PL*, CXL, 422.

<sup>34</sup> Picavet, *Gerbert, un pape philosophe*, p. vii.

## Scholarship of Sylvester II

Learning, art, and virtue, the true, the beautiful, and the good, were Gerbert's passions early in life; to his last breath he strove for these three noble causes.

Graeco-Roman culture, transformed by Christianity, was transmitted to the Middle Ages by the Byzantines, the Arabs, and the Westerners. Later these three currents merged. Gerbert drew his learning exclusively from the Western current,<sup>35</sup> which was marked in its principal stages by the names of Boethius, Isidore of Seville, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, Servatus Lupus, Scotus Erigena, and Odo of Cluny. Odo, before he became abbot of Cluny, was at the head of the monastery of St. Gerold of Aurillac, where Gerbert, in 972, studied logic.

"To Gerbert's contemporaries his extensive knowledge, superior to the most learned of them, was evident chiefly from his teaching, his letters, and his writings. Alcuin had timidly shown that the seven arts can serve practical life and become valuable auxiliaries for religion. Rabanus Maurus had taught especially the sacred sciences; Servatus Lupus, profane literature; John Scotus Erigena was a remarkable humanist. Eric (Heiric) and Remigius of Auxerre to some extent preserved the heritage handed down to them, but let it diminish. Gerbert recovered it and increased it." <sup>36</sup>

The sciences principally cultivated by Gerbert were theology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, physics, and medicine.

For Gerbert, whose orthodoxy was always faultless, theology was the first of the sciences, and he liked to connect the others with it. He regarded theology as a philosophy of the gifts of faith and, although bowing before the authority of revelation, he proudly asserted the role of reason. To Arnulf he wrote: "The Divinity has made a priceless present to men by giving

<sup>35</sup> On this point, see Picavet, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-19, 34-38.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

them faith; but it never denied them science. Faith gives life to a just man, but he does well to add science thereto, since those devoid of it are said to be dolts.”<sup>37</sup> In his treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini*,<sup>38</sup> while correcting unsound expressions and too venturesome ideas, he repeats the theory which Paschasius Radbertus had taught on the Eucharist. In this connection he sets forth, regarding the Trinity, the incarnation, the person of Christ, and the resurrection, doctrines that evidence a deep acquaintance with the fathers of the Church. He loved the Church passionately. He says that “he would gladly give his life to keep the Church united to the Lord.”<sup>39</sup> Like Hincmar of Reims, from whom he often drew inspiration in his writings, he declared that the unity of the Church is symbolized and guaranteed by the unity of authority; that the latter resides in the successor of St. Peter, the head of all the bishops and superior to kings in the spiritual realm. Yet, more explicitly than Hincmar, he admits that the emperors, charged with the defense of the Church and exercising their powers in its name, have no right to require from bishops and abbots assistance, fidelity, and especially obedience except in the measure stipulated by the feudal contract.<sup>40</sup>

Of Sylvester II's philosophical work we have only fragments, including the *Libellus de rationali et ratione uti*, where, besides questions that seem futile to us, we find a true conception of philosophy, understood as “the science of things human and divine.” Hauréau considers it a curious attempt to reconcile Platonism and Aristotelianism. Says Picavet: “We may add that Gerbert employed a method destined to have a great future; that he treated fully and discusses from every point of view a problem raised but not solved by Porphyry; that in this manner he

<sup>37</sup> Letter 190, to Arnulf.

<sup>38</sup> Olleris, p. 279.

<sup>39</sup> Letter 181.

<sup>40</sup> Letter 183, to Otto III. Cf. Jaffé, pp. 496–99; Havet, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Picavet, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–97; Olleris, pp. 556 f.



doubly pointed out the way to those who, a century later, broached the question of universals.”<sup>41</sup>

We know that Sylvester wished to make mathematics an auxiliary of theology and philosophy, that he demonstrated its theoretical and practical usefulness to Otto I, Otto III, and John XIII.<sup>42</sup> Says his pupil, the monk Richer: “He devoted no small labor to the study of mathematics.”<sup>43</sup> Of his mathematical writings, three remain: *Regula de abaco computi*, *Libellus de numerorum divisione*, and *Liber abaci*. This last was written after his elevation to the papacy.<sup>44</sup> To what extent was Sylvester II, in mathematics, an initiator or even an inventor? Quite divergent answers have been given to this obscure question.<sup>45</sup> But all agree that, in the history of mathematics, the labors of Gerbert form an important stage; no one denies that he was a forerunner of modern science.<sup>46</sup>

The monk Richer had a profound admiration for his master's teaching in astronomy. He says:

It is fitting to relate what pains he took in explaining astronomy, to note the wisdom of so great a man, and to enable the reader better to appreciate the might of his genius. This science is scarcely intelligible; yet he explained it, by means of certain instruments, to the general astonishment. First, he represented the world by a wooden globe which, in its small proportions, was an exact image of ours. He placed the line of the poles in an oblique direction with reference to the horizon and, near the upper pole, he represented the northern constellations; near the lower pole, those of the south. He regulated this position by means of what the Greeks call “horizon.” His globe thus placed on the horizon, in such a way that he could show, in a practical

<sup>41</sup> Picavet, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 f.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>43</sup> Richer, III, 49.

<sup>44</sup> Olleris, p. 357.

<sup>45</sup> Chasles, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des sciences*, 1839-43; T. H. Martin, *Histoire des mathématiques*; Victor Mortet and Paul Tannery, *Un nouveau texte des traités d'arpentage et de géométrie d'Epaphroditus et de Vitruvius Rufus*.

<sup>46</sup> Picavet, p. 181.

and convincing manner, the rising and setting of the stars, he initiated his pupils in the disposition of the things and taught them to know the constellations. On clear nights he spent his time studying the stars, and noted them both at their rising and at their setting, passing over the various parts of the world.<sup>47</sup>

In Picavet's study of this pope, we read the following appreciation:

On the basis of these observations we have no reason to say that Gerbert, by the use of a telescope, anticipated Galileo. What is beyond question, is that he observed the stars and their respective positions; to perceive them more easily and to follow their course better, he made use of tubes well fastened together on the inside.<sup>48</sup> Physics and medicine completed his scientific studies. He read Pliny and Celsus. As a man observing them at close range, he described meteorological phenomena, for which he sought merely natural explanations. Although he did not practice the art of the physicians, he knew the science on which they relied. He described diseases, and discussed the way sick people and their ailments ought to be examined. And he even sought remedies for their cure.<sup>49</sup>

This scholar was fond of the beautiful: oratory, music, poetry. Like Cicero, he wished that an orator be trained by the study of the dialecticians and poets, that he reason, grasp, argue, and demonstrate. With St. Augustine, he considered that an orator should be more concerned with convincing, with moving, and with persuading to action than with displaying the art he has studied. In his own discourses and letters, he cites Parali-pomenon after Horace, the Psalms after the Aeneid, St. Paul after Lucan.

As to Sylvester's musical knowledge, we have little in the way of documentary evidence. To him is attributed a hymn in honor

<sup>47</sup> Richer, III, 50.

<sup>48</sup> Gerbert's letter to Constantine (Olleris, p. 479) is characteristic on this point.

<sup>49</sup> Picavet, pp. 190 f.

of the Holy Ghost, a prose in honor of the angels.<sup>50</sup> He offered to give instruction in all that concerned music in general and particularly in organ playing. He distinguished the symphonies into tones, semitones, ditones (major third) and diesis (half-ditone). He classified sounds into the different tones. We know that John XIII and Otto the Great were impressed by his musical knowledge. But is he to be credited with any innovation in music? Did he merely gather what was known in his time? On this question we are reduced to surmises.

"Of Sylvester as a poet, we have little to cite. The verses that precede the *Libellus de rationali*, also perhaps those he composed on Boethius, deserve to be mentioned. But as a prose writer he is, like Scotus Erigena, a remarkable humanist, whose letters and addresses would supply curious pages for an anthology of the Latin writers in the Middle Ages. He could be eloquent and pathetic. But in him what dominated was energy, precision, at times even a conciseness and restraint approaching atticism."<sup>51</sup>

Passionately fond of science and art, but convinced that the true and the beautiful have their whole splendor in the good, Gerbert always subordinated science and art to virtue, and sought virtue in union with God and the Church.

In Sylvester II character was at least at the high level of his intelligence; the Christian, the pontiff, were as important as the scholar. "At a time when bitter and often well-founded complaints were voiced against the morality of the clergy, his most pronounced enemies did not allege any failings in his life."<sup>52</sup> Says his biographer :

His morals were blameless. He spoke of austerity in terms the more expressive as they were in perfect accord with all his acts. As abbot he wished that his monks, as also his vassals or his powerful tenants, should faithfully follow the rule; but he was greatly displeased at see-

<sup>50</sup> Olleris, p. 568.

<sup>51</sup> Picavet, p. 132.

<sup>52</sup> Olleris, p. cciii.

ing them lack food and clothing; he did not exercise his full rights against them. As archbishop he generally inclined toward indulgence in case of the lowly and the poor. As pope he proclaimed that one of the attributes of the papal see was to raise up those who had fallen.<sup>53</sup>

For Sylvester II, justice did not consist merely in respect for private rights, in the dealings with persons whom circumstances bring into our presence. He pursued the realization of justice in the organization of a social state that would facilitate and guarantee respect for all rights. This social organization he thought was to be found in feudal society, such as he observed it in the country of the Franks. The feudal contract, by which a vassal pledged his faithfulness to the suzerain, while the latter obliged himself to maintain the vassal in his benefice and to protect him, seemed to Gerbert the ideal of social justice in the actual society where he was. Therefore he endeavored to introduce into Italy the feudal system of the Franks. But this importation of Frankish practices would do violence to local customs, and the system of land concessions by improvement-lease or of farming by *coloni* established on the soil, continued in vigor in Italy.<sup>54</sup>

The feudal system was preferred by Sylvester II because he considered it a more effective protection of the rights of the lowly, a safer guaranty of the performance of the duties of the powerful. He favored it especially because he regarded it as a vast hierarchy with Christ at its head, and at each of its degrees the regulating and beneficent power of the Church to bring about the realization of the kingdom of Christ. From this viewpoint also Sylvester must be considered a forerunner of the society of the Middle Ages, which stamped on its coins the famous exergue, *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*.

History has not always rendered just tribute to this great

<sup>53</sup> Picavet, pp. 191 f.

<sup>54</sup> See H. de l'Epinois, *Le gouvernement des papes dans les Etats de l'Eglise*, p. 35; Sartori, *Storia, legislazione e stato attuale dei feudi*; Poggi, in *Archivio storico*, new ser., VI, 27.

pope. Baronius, misled by the calumnies of some old chroniclers, judged him severely. But the nineteenth century recognized the greatness of his work. One of the historians who have studied Sylvester II most attentively and most impartially, Julien Havet, writes: "He was always good and generous, as well as loyal and honorable. In all the offices which he held one after the other, I think nobody can cite a single act of his authority or of his influence which was not prompted solely by a sense of duty, by zeal for justice, or by solicitude for the public welfare."<sup>55</sup>

Sylvester II was the most illustrious, but not the sole representative of learning, art, and holiness at the end of the tenth century. The religious and intellectual revival of this period has sometimes been attributed to the security that followed the supposed universal panic of the year 1000. But, as we shall see, it preceded that date. With better reason, this honor has been given to the dynasty of the Ottos. The three emperors of that name, prompted by an ambition to imitate Charlemagne, endeavored to draw to their court the eminent men of their time. As Alcuin, Theodulf, Clement, Claudius of Turin, and Paul Warnefrid gathered about the great Frankish Emperor, so we see coming to the court of the Ottos the Italian Gunzan, the Englishmen Faranol, Mark Allan, Fingard, and Meinwerk, the Frenchmen Adalbero and Gerbert. But they merely made an appearance there. The centers of the movement were elsewhere, were formed about the great abbeys of St. Gall, Cluny, and Fleury, and especially about Gerbert. To this last belongs its chief glory.

When Sylvester II took possession of the see of St. Peter, Labeo Notker, almost as celebrated as his ancestor Notker the Stammerer, was acquiring an immortal renown by his works on mathematics, music, and poetry, in the monastery of St. Gall.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Havet, *Lettres de Gerbert*, Introd., p. xxxviii.

<sup>56</sup> We have only part of the works of Labeo Notker. They hold the first rank among the sources of High German. Cf. Wetzer and Welte, *Dict. de théol.*, IX, 268.

St. Odilo, "the incarnation of all the virtues of his order and his times,"<sup>57</sup> was at the head of the Cluny abbey, and Abbo, as celebrated for learning as for holiness, was directing the monks of Fleury near Orleans. But the school of Reims, where the echo of Gerbert's voice still resounded, was then a center of more brilliant learning.<sup>58</sup> There, about the year 1000, a former pupil of Gerbert, the monk Richer, was writing his *Historiae* in a style remarkable for vivacity and color. The discovery of this work in 1833<sup>59</sup> has revived the history of the tenth century.<sup>60</sup>

### Romanesque Architecture

According to the view of most archeologists, Romanesque architecture began at the close of the tenth century. Its origin is thus described: "With their lofty towers, which drew down upon them the fire of heaven, their exposed beams and their hangings, which helped the rapid spread of the flames, the best built Carolingian churches even in times of peace were always exposed to the danger of being reduced to ashes."<sup>61</sup> The invasions of the Normans, who for more than a century spread pillage and fire in the richest provinces; then the feudal wars, which in the tenth century plunged Europe into a state of insecurity and barbarism out of which Charlemagne's genius had drawn it; lastly, the wretched construction of most of the edifices rebuilt or repaired hastily after the passage of the Normans: all these circumstances aggravated the peril. The chronicles of the last part of the tenth century are filled with accounts of the catastrophes that wiped out the most beautiful monu-

<sup>57</sup> Baudrillart, "Cluny et la papauté" in *Rev. prat. d'apol.*, XI (1910), 14.

<sup>58</sup> *Hist. litt. de la France*, VI, 24.

<sup>59</sup> The text which Pertz discovered at Bakberg in 1833 is to be found in Migne, *PL*, Vol. CXXXVIII.

<sup>60</sup> In the year 1000 the Basilian monk St. Nilus founded the monastery of Grottaferrata, which was destined to become a center of Oriental studies. On this foundation, see *Acta sanctorum*, September, VII, 282.

<sup>61</sup> R. de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, p. 226.

ments in a few hours. In 975, fire devastated the famous St. Martial Abbey at Limoges; in 988, the abbey of Charroux in Poitou was the victim of a like disaster; in 992, fire consumed the abbey of Mont St. Michel; in 997, the basilica of St. Martin of Tours and twenty-two other churches perished in the same way.<sup>62</sup>

The number and seriousness of these disasters, which sometimes cost the lives of hundreds of persons, suggested the idea of attempting to prevent the fires by covering the churches with vaulted stone roofs. This was the origin of Romanesque art. The closing years of the tenth century witnessed, besides the building of other churches, the construction or restoration of the churches of Bourgueil,<sup>63</sup> St. Peter of Melun,<sup>64</sup> of Lagny,<sup>65</sup> of St. Riquier,<sup>66</sup> of Fécamp,<sup>67</sup> of St. Ouen of Rouen,<sup>68</sup> and of Ile-Barbe.<sup>69</sup> Personally King Robert the Pious founded or restored numerous churches, with the aid of subsidies generously granted to those who would restore them. To mention only those that have not totally disappeared, we might cite St. Benedict-on-Loire, Notre Dame d'Etampes, Notre Dame de Melun, the church of Poissy, St. Aignan of Orleans, and St. Germain-des-Prés of Paris.<sup>70</sup> This movement of religious and artistic fervor continued throughout the eleventh century. It even increased after Philip I with the progress of the building art, and reached the highest point in the twelfth century under Louis VII and Philip Augustus, after covering France with countless edifices, each of which marked an advance over the preceding.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 226 f.

<sup>63</sup> *Gallia christiana*, XIV, 654.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 171.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 30.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 1248.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 202.

<sup>68</sup> Willelmi-Gernetii, *Hist. Norman*, IV, 19 (*Recueil des hist. de France*, 184).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 225.

<sup>70</sup> R. de Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

A long time was required to give the vaulted roofs their definite form; the eleventh century did not suffice, and part of the twelfth century was spent in groping about. But this very groping developed the ability of the workers, stimulated the genius of the architects, led them to break loose from the old traditions and to replace old-fashioned practices by a multitude of ingenious inventions that gave birth to an art full of life and originality.

As the formation of this art coincided with the period when the Romance languages were beginning to separate from Latin, the happy idea arose to give the name Romanesque to this new art, sprung from the Latin art considerably mixed with Byzantine and barbarian elements.<sup>72</sup>

"Romanesque architecture," says Enlart, "coordinates, purifies, simplifies, and develops the elements that Carolingian art furnished it. It has been rightly compared to the Romance languages. It rests on a Latin basis and, like the Romance tongues, admits a certain share of foreign elements. It forms several schools comparable to the dialects of the Romance languages."<sup>73</sup>

"Carolingian church buildings contained the following: a central nave with two lower and narrower side aisles; a transept forming the arms of the cross; a choir separated from the nave and from the transept by a stone enclosure and slightly elevated so as to permit at a lower level the vaulted crypt where the saints rested; an entry located opposite the choir. All these essential elements of basilica construction the Romanesque architect had merely to take as starting-points. He did not need to imagine the vault, which, in its various forms, appeared in the monuments of Latin art. But he adapted it to the requirements of religious construction, using especially the lengthened semicircular arch which is called the *voûte en berceau*, and that system of compartments resting on salient corners, which constitutes the *voûte d'arêtes*.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>73</sup> Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française*, Vol. I, *arch. religieuse*, p. 199.



To meet the difficulties arising from the pressure of the vaults upon the side walls, these walls had to be made thicker and the window openings had to be made smaller and fewer, and the vault had to be supported on the inside by stone binding arches; the interior pillars had to be strengthened on the outside by symmetrical buttresses, and the number of clustered pilasters and columns had to be increased: in a word, the amount of air and space had to be reduced for the sake of solidity. The needs of defense explain the construction of those massive church towers, at first round, then square or polygonal, veritable church donjons, where the watchman could see the enemy from a far and where, at need, protection could be found and an attack withstood for some time. Yet the Romanesque construction displayed buoyancy that clearly revealed the loftiest aspirations of religious thought. Those arches and vaults rose up, even though they became rounded and interrupted. Accustomed formerly to the horizontal lines of the early temples, the eyes found a greater attraction in the vertical line, vigorously rising toward heaven. Already we see a beginning of that ascent of stone which, in the period of Gothic art, became prodigious in its daring attempts.<sup>74</sup>

### Music

In these restored churches was heard a liturgical chant which the genius of a monk of St. Gall, Notker the Stammerer, enriched with new elements, full of grace and harmony. His works were composed about the end of the ninth century. To these works is attributed the preservation of the purity of religious chant, especially of plain chant, through the Middle Ages. Certainly to him we owe the development of the sequences and proses.<sup>75</sup>

After the word *Alleluia*, which follows the Epistle, a melody of varying length was vocalized; it was called *jubilus* because

<sup>74</sup> Luchaire, in Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 200.

<sup>75</sup> A. Gastoué, *L'art grégorien*, pp. 77, 182. Cf. Léon Gautier, *La poésie liturgique*, pp. 19 f.

it expressed the joyful feelings of the soul, and *sequence* because it was like a continuation of the *Alleluia*. These long series of grouped notes were hard to remember. At the Jumièges Abbey they thought to join words to these neumes. To each group of sounds corresponded a word having as many syllables as the group had notes. Notker composed a large number of texts thus adapted to the primitive melody, and also developed this melody musically, thus allowing the chanted text to be made longer. In this way he composed literary pieces that were called *proses*. They constituted successive phrases of a prose in rhythm and sometimes in rhyme, but not a metrical prose like a piece of verse. The *Victimae paschali laudes* gives us an idea of them.<sup>76</sup>

After the way had been paved by Notker,<sup>77</sup> numerous Christian artists supplied other parts of the divine office with new words and melodies. The close of the tenth century was marked by a flowering of anonymous musical compositions remarkable for melodic feeling and expression. The offertory *Elegerunt*, various antiphons for the Palm Sunday procession, the *Alleluia* versicles: *Justus germinabit*, *Pretiosa*, the office of the Trinity, and the magnificent *Libera* of the office of the dead, belong to this period.<sup>78</sup> Robert the Pious, king of France, who was sometimes seen at the St. Denis Basilica directing the rendition of the offices with his scepter in place of a choirmaster's baton, composed the words and music of several responses. The *Chronicles of St. Denys* relate how with one of these responses (*Cornelius centurio*) he paid homage to Pope Sylvester II. "One day he was at Rome," we read in the *Chronicles*, "the day of the feast of St. Peter. Also present were the apostolic lord and the car-

<sup>76</sup> Later on, beginning with the eleventh century, *proses* were composed with much more regular rhythm, which became a special form of versification, such as the *Veni sancte Spiritus*, the *Lauda Sion*, the *Dies irae*, the *Stabat*.

<sup>77</sup> Notker's musical works have been collected by Pertz and published in the *Monumenta Germaniae, Scriptores*, Vol. II.

<sup>78</sup> Gastoué, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

dinals. The King, going up to the altar, made a semblance of presenting an offering of some great thing: it was a scroll on which were written the response and the music.”<sup>79</sup>

In this same period some musical theorists, who taught their art to pupils, also wrote out what they were teaching. Their works, largely unpublished, contain many interesting details about tonality and rhythm. We can easily note three different currents: that of the Graeco-Roman music, which, as part of the quadrivium, had entered the schools with arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy; the current of liturgical music, coming from earlier music, but, like the Romance languages, derived from the Latin; and the current of polyphonic and measured music, which arose from the popular songs and, entering the chant schools, gradually drove out the unmeasured plain chant with notable detriment to the Gregorian rhythm.<sup>80</sup>

The popular tongues, during their formation, gave birth to a musical art based on their own traits. The rhyming poetry of the popular songs, replacing meter by rhyme, was less concerned with maintaining the movement of the verse than with close attention to the ending of the verse. This trend affected popular religious art. These poems were sung by the minstrels in front of the churches as the people came out after the liturgical functions. And, in the ears of clergy and people, the rhymes mingled with the memory of the sequences and hymns which had just been sung in the church. Thus came about, between liturgical chant and profane song, that fusion which would show its effect in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The rise of the cantilena was not the only result of the development of the Romance languages. The close of the tenth century saw the birth of the romance and the epic poems. Says Dom Rivet: “At the end of the tenth century almost all the provinces of France had their composers of epic poems and of romances.

<sup>79</sup> *Recueil des historiens de la France*, X, 305.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Leclercq, art. “Chant grégorien” in *Dict. d’arch. chrét. et de lit.*, I, 315.

Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Aquitaine were the parts of France where they first appeared. The troubadours of Provence were the princes of romance composition, which in time spread from France to neighboring countries. From the French this secret was learned by Italy and Spain, which have been so productive in the art of composing romances.”<sup>81</sup> At the outset, cantilena, romance, and epic had this trait in common, that they were religious compositions.

The epic was the offspring of the cantilena and the romance. We have good reason to suppose that the tenth century possessed some heroic songs.<sup>82</sup> From the early years of the eleventh century we have a single great composition, the *Life of St. Alexius* (*Alexis?*).<sup>83</sup> It is a real poem. Beginning solemnly after the manner of a long poetic narrative, it possesses that skilful arrangement of parts and that studied unfolding which are traits of literary works. Although we may perhaps not rightly call it an epic, yet we may consider it an epic song, a sort of transition between the popular romance and the epic.

### Cluny Abbey

We scarcely need to recall that, for all these progressive movements of religious architecture, of church music, and of popular hymns, the chief centers were the monasteries of the tenth century. This they were especially through the Christian sentiment that inspired all these works. Among those places of refuge, which one historian (Mignet) calls “concentrations of Christianity,” Cluny always held the first rank. From Pope John XII to Pope Sylvester II its social importance and its religious influ-

<sup>81</sup> *Histoire littéraire de la France*, VI, 15. Cf. Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, pp. 47 f.; Léon Gautier, *Les épopées françaises*, pp. 64 f.

<sup>82</sup> Gautier, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83. From the tenth century we have the *Vie de saint Léger*, a popular lamentation in six-foot strophes. It has been published by Gaston Paris in the periodical *Romania*, II, 252.

ence continued to grow. In 999, Gregory V, after granting the Cluny congregation a bull confirming its privileges, enumerated the properties it possessed in the districts of Auvergne, Autun, Mâcon, as also in the dioceses of Viviers, Uzes, Troyes, Orange, Gap, Valence, Vienne, Lyons, and Lausanne.<sup>84</sup>

But Cluny's territorial power was the least of its glories. Its renown was unsullied. Its strict rule permeated its members with its vigor; their souls expanded with a lively piety and a joyous religious spirit. Its abbots seemed to hand on the quality of holiness along with the symbols of their office. After St. Odo, whose virtue was venerated by the whole Church, St. Majolus (Mayeul) held the abbatial crosier for a period of forty years (954-94), majestic and kindly, always equable, always self-possessed even in the face of the worst opposition. So influential was his prestige that his successor St. Odilo wrote of him: "Earthly kings and princes called him lord and master; and he was truly the prince of the monastic religion." Throughout Christendom, the declaration, "I am a Cluny monk," was uttered with the same pride as, centuries before, marked the proud boast, "I am a Roman citizen."

In physical appearance, unlike his predecessor, Odilo was short, with a pallid, thin face, but equally imposing in his whole bearing, and equally aware of the importance of his office and the extent of his duties.<sup>85</sup> He governed the monastery for fifty-five years (994-1049), during which its influence and possessions continued to increase. St. Odilo at Cluny promoted scholarly pursuits and perseveringly upheld the strictness of the early days. In short, under his rule, in the time of Pope Sylvester, Cluny was already in the Church the great institution that, under the hands of the popes, appeared to be capable of regenerating Christendom.

<sup>84</sup> Jaffé, no. 3896; *PL*, CXXXVII, 932

<sup>85</sup> Baudrillart, "Cluny et la papauté" in *Rev. prat. d'apol.*, XI (1910), 14. Cf. Hefele, art. "Cluny" in Wetzer and Welte, *Dict. de théologie*.

Thus in the arts as in the various branches of learning, in the realm of social institutions as in that of ecclesiastical, the great Catholic reform which later blossomed forth in full vigor in the century of Innocent III already had its germ in the century of Sylvester II.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup> We have given an account of the religious, political, and intellectual movement that took place under the pontificate of Sylvester II without taking any notice of the emotion which is supposed to have been produced by the coming of the year 1000 which, we are sometimes told, was looked forward to as the date of the end of the world. Since this "legend of the year 1000" is still maintained by some historians, we have thought fitting to quote here the excellent criticism of it made by C. Pfister in a few condensed pages. He says: "Between the years 960 and 970 a few 'enlightened' men expressed the opinion that the world was soon to founder. But their error, opposed by the Church, had no followers. From 970 to the year 1000, absolutely not a single text authorizes us to say that men, abandoning all labor, were simply awaiting the final catastrophe and that, according to the expression of a great historian, Michelet (*Histoire de France*, II, 132), they had the frightful hope of the last judgment. We possess about 150 papal bulls issued in this interval, and we declare that in none of them do you find the least allusion to a proximate end of the world. We have also bulls that followed the year 1000, and in none do we find an expression of thanksgiving to God for having turned aside the dread evil. Numerous synods were held during the same period from 970 to 1000; in their acts never do we see a reference to the annihilation of the earth. So little did any such belief prevail that in 998 the Council of Rome imposed on King Robert a penance of seven years (Labbe, *Concilia*, IX, 772). By way of objection, we are referred to the canons of the Council of Trosly: 'In its terrible majesty approaches that day when all the shepherds will appear with their flocks before the eternal Shepherd. And what will we then allege?' (Labbe, IX, 523.) But the Council of Trosly was held in 911. We are also referred to deeds by private individuals, giving their property to churches or monasteries, because 'ruin is being multiplied,' or because 'the end of the world is approaching' (*appropinquante mundi termino*). But expressions of this sort were used in the eighth century (Marculfe, *Formulae*, II, no. 3), and from that date on we find them in the documents of central and southern France (Deloche, *Cartulaire de Beaulieu*; Germer, *Cartulaire du chapitre de l'église cathédrale de Nîmes*, nos. 27, 34, 41, 44, 78); these documents were drawn up in 925, 928, 930, 943, and 984. If we pass from documents to the chroniclers, we read in Godelle: 'In several places on the earth the rumor was current, casting fear and depression into the hearts of many men, that the end of the world was imminent. The wisest, turning their attention to the question of their salvation, strove more attentively to correct their life' (*Recueil des historiens de la France*, X, 262). But this passage refers to the year 1010, not the year 1000. After the emotion caused in Europe by the news of the taking of the Holy Sepulcher, true Christians reflected and thought more about eternity. Furthermore, Godelle was writing after the year 1145. Rodolphus Glaber remains to be considered. After describing a terrible famine, he writes:

Unfortunately those who were unsubmissive to any work of reformation were many and powerful. After Pope Sylvester's death, they again arose and set up so many obstacles to the work of the papacy that a few years later it seemed more endangered than ever and, for its resumption, required all the genius of the monk Hildebrand.

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'People thought that the order of the seasons and the laws of the elements which formerly governed the world had fallen into an eternal chaos and people feared the end of the human race' (Glaber, IV, 4; *Rec. des hist. de la France*, X, 49). But Rodulphus places the story of this famine at about 1033, long after the fatal year had passed. In another place he says: 'About the year 1003 it happened that almost throughout the world and chiefly in France and Italy people began to rebuild the churches, although many of them, solidly constructed, had no need of rebuilding, but each Christian nation wished to possess the most beautiful; as though the world, recovering from old age, had put on the white garment of the churches' (Glaber, III, 4; *Rec. des hist. de la France*, X, 29). What conclusion may be drawn from this passage? Simply that at the beginning of the eleventh century many churches were constructed. In the eighteenth century some archaeologists wondered what were the causes of this artistic movement, and then, carelessly interpreting the texts we have just quoted, they invented the legend of the terrors preceding the year 1000 and the joy which the nations felt when the dread time had passed. This joy, they said, was expressed outwardly by the construction of fine churches. If they studied their subject more closely, perhaps they would have seen that many of these churches were built shortly before the coming of the year 1000. Perhaps they may also allege the prose of Montpellier: 'Hearken, O earth. . . . It comes, it is near, the day of the supreme wrath.' But, even supposing that this chant belongs to the tenth century, what does it prove? What is proved by the *Dies irae*; that Christianity believed in the end of the world and in the last judgment, as it still does. The Church did not believe in a universal conflagration that would embrace the world in the year 1000. Between the years 960 and 970 a few intellectuals did indeed teach that the world was about to come to an end, but their heresy did not present any danger" (C. Pfister, *Etudes sur le règne de Robert le Pieux*, pp. 322 f.). The question is more fully treated in Duval, *Les terreurs de l'an mille* (3d ed., 1908).

### CHAPTER III

#### *Domination by the Italian Factions (1003-49)*

AMONG the powerful families whose ambition had until then disturbed the rule of the popes, we note particularly two great rival houses: the family of the Crescentii and that of Tusculum. Both of them were connected with the great Alberic, and through him with Theophylactus and Marozia.

Immediately after the death of Otto III, a certain John Crescentius got the Romans to bestow on him the title of patrician. "We may well suppose that this Crescentius, son of the criminal executed in 998, was not a stranger to the revolt of 1001, and that the Romans then placed the supreme authority in his hands. The tradition continued: for thirty years the power had passed alternately from Otto to Crescentius, from Crescentius to Otto. But it was always the same conflict between the national leader and the foreign prince. Says Duchesne:

Opposed to the Crescentii was the growing influence of the counts of Tusculum. In the time of Otto III the head of the family (Gregory) appeared with the title of *praefectus navalis*. Probably he is the one who had restored the long-abandoned acropolis of the old Latin city and made it into a fortress. He had three sons, Alberic, Romanus, and Theophylactus. The last one was a cardinal. For a long time this powerful family aspired to succeed the Crescentii in the government of the Roman state. But to do so was not easy. The Crescentii were in possession of the power and represented the tradition of independence, so far as independence could prevail after the coming of the Saxon kings upon the Italian scene. According as the German authority was strong or weak, present or absent, the Crescentii yielded or opposed, accepted or protested. In one way or the other, they gave



expression, as exactly as possible, to the feelings of the people, or rather of the aristocracy, the only class which counted at that time. The Tusculans, to thwart them, assumed a special devotion to the German interests. But at bottom they cared little more for the Germans than did their rivals; yet they were held in higher regard north of the Alps.<sup>1</sup>

We are poorly informed about the events which, after the death of Sylvester II, placed on the papal throne Pope John XVII,<sup>2</sup> who reigned only six months, then John XVIII, who occupied the Papal See until 1009, and lastly Sergius IV, who died May 12, 1012. What we know leads us to believe that these three popes were elected under the influence of the Crescentii. All three enjoyed a good repute. John XVII, whose name was Sicco, was elected June 13, 1003.<sup>3</sup> According to an inscription found in 1750 at Santa Maria de Ripagnano in the March of Ancona, this pope was born of noble parents at the Ripagnano castle and made his studies at Rome in the house of a consul named Petronius. The inscription adds that he occupied the Apostolic See a very short time and soon went to reign in heaven.<sup>4</sup> No other document gives us any information about his pontificate. John XVIII, named Phasianus, was consecrated pope December 25, 1003. He was a devoted friend of the monks, to whom he granted many privileges.<sup>5</sup> At Bamberg, at the request of Henry II, he founded a diocese which was destined to render, in southeastern Germany, the same services as Magdeburg, Merseburg, and Meissen did in the northeastern part of

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical*, pp. 368-71.

<sup>2</sup> Historians differ in the designation of this pope and of the two following popes who bore the name John. This difference depends on whether the historian reckons John XV (the son of Robert) and John Philagathus. Beginning with John XXI all the historians are again in accord. See R. Poupardin, "Note sur la chronologie du pontificat de Jean XVII" in the *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist. de l'Ecole française de Rome*, XXI (1901) 387-90.

<sup>3</sup> Jaffé, no. 3940.

<sup>4</sup> Novaes, II, 209.

<sup>5</sup> Jaffé, nos. 3941, 3944, 3945, 3948, 3950, 3952, 3956, 3962, 3963, 3965.

the Empire.<sup>6</sup> In his pontificate the union of the Roman and Greek Churches was re-established. We know this because, as Baronius proves,<sup>7</sup> the Pope's name was again inserted in 1004 in the diptychs of the Church of Constantinople. But in what circumstances this union was concluded, we are wholly uninformed. John XVIII did not die as pope. An old Roman catalogue relates that, "after a reign of five years and a half, he withdrew to the monastery of St. Paul Outside the Walls and there ended his days in the monastic habit."<sup>8</sup> John XVIII's epitaph calls him pious and learned.

His successor (Buccaporci) was elected in July, 1009, and took the name of Sergius IV. Through the merits of his private and public life,<sup>9</sup> he had been raised to the rank of bishop of Albano. His epitaph, which can still be read in St. Peter's Basilica at Rome, encased in one of the pilasters of the right side nave not far from the epitaph of Sylvester II, recalls that he was "the bread of the poor, the raiment of the naked, the teacher of the people, the revered shepherd of all."<sup>10</sup>

### The Holy Land

Sergius' elevation to the papacy coincided with a disaster that was felt throughout Christendom. The memory of it was a notable influence in the later movement of the Crusades. This disaster was the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher. The following account of this sacrilege we quote from Bréhier's work on the Church and the Orient in the Middle Ages.

The revolution that put Palestine under the rule of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt (969) at first seemed not to alter the situation of

<sup>6</sup> Hefele, IV, 909 f.; Jaffé, nos. 3954 f.

<sup>7</sup> Baronius, *Annales*, year 1009, Bk. II.

<sup>8</sup> *Lib. pontif.*, I, 266.

<sup>9</sup> *Fuit sanctae vitae et conversationis* (*Lib. pontif.*, I, 267).

<sup>10</sup> See the text of the epitaph in *Lib. pontif.*, I, 267.

the Christians or to endanger the safety of the pilgrimages. Early in the eleventh century the relations between the West and the Orient were in full activity. Then an unexpected event brought an end to the peaceful regime that had prevailed ever since the time of Charlemagne. A crowned madman, Caliph Al-Hakim, well known for the excessive cruelty of his decrees, suddenly ordered the governor of Syria, the Turk Yaruk, to demolish the Holy Sepulcher, to remove all Christian emblems at Jerusalem, and to destroy all the relics.

Yusuf, son of Yaruk, went to the Holy City, seized all the offerings that had accumulated in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher, razed the church completely, although he did not succeed in removing the substructure. In his fury he did not spare even Golgotha. The convent established near the Holy Sepulcher and the Church of St. Mary the Latin met the same fate. The populace was invited to pillage. The monks were driven out, and all the monastic edifices were destroyed. At the same time a violent persecution, lasting several years, affected all Christians subject to the Fatimite caliph. Pilgrims from the West were not spared. Bishop Peter of Vercelli was seized in Egypt and thrown into prison. His life was spared only because of the intervention of an Italian monk, St. Bononius, who had lived in the East for many years and who, in what way we do not know, obtained Peter's release.

Then of a sudden the dispositions of Al-Hakim changed. Whether on account of a new whim or because of a desire to resume relations with the Byzantine Empire, he discontinued the persecution of the Christians and even gave a favorable hearing to their requests. The situation of the Holy Land Christians then became tolerable, but Al-Hakim's persecution inflicted a hard blow upon the Latins in the East. The Frankish protectorate established by Charlemagne was wiped out, and another power, that of the emperors of Constantinople, succeeded to it for a time.<sup>11</sup>

This persecution had two further consequences. It revived Christians' devotion to the Holy Sepulcher, so that pilgrimages to it increased; and it led to a popular uprising against the Jews,

<sup>11</sup> Louis Bréhier, *L'Eglise de l'Orient au Moyen Age*, pp. 35-37. Cf. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, II, 442-44.

who were suspected of having provoked Al-Hakim's measures of persecution.

We read in the words of the chronicler Raoul Glaber :

As soon as word spread that Al-Hakim's mother, Mary, a devout Christian, had obtained from her son an order to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, a general rejoicing re-echoed through the West. On all sides incredible multitudes of pilgrims set out for Jerusalem, bearing offerings to help in the reconstruction of the house of God.<sup>12</sup> Once the impulse was given, a general movement took place, such as would not have been thought possible. The initiative had been taken by the populace. Persons of higher rank then followed suit. Then the kings, counts, bishops, all in turn were aroused. So lively was the faith of the pilgrims that many of them asked the Lord for the grace of dying near the Holy Sepulcher, thus making the sacrifice of their life to the God who gave His blood for the redemption of the world. Such was the case of a pilgrim from Burgundy, Lethbold by name, of the diocese of Autun, who went to Jerusalem to find there the heavenly fatherland and there slept in a blessed death.<sup>13</sup>

Raoul Glaber also relates that the Jews were accused and convicted of inciting Caliph Al-Hakim to destroy the Holy Sepulcher. A certain Jew, the bearer of a compromising letter on this matter from his fellow Jews, is said to have confessed his crime and to have suffered the penalty of death by fire. At that period the Jews were exceedingly powerful. Ownership of land was forbidden them, but commerce and banking had put considerable capital in their hands. Wealthy Jewish privateers chartered numerous vessels at Marseilles, Arles, and Narbonne. Their ships traded among the Bretons and the Slavs, in Africa, Asia Minor, even as far as China. They bought spices and sold slaves. This slave trade aroused the Christians against them toward the end of the ninth century. Several of them were stripped of part of their possessions. The movement that broke

<sup>12</sup> Glaber, *Hist.*, Bk. III, chap. 7; *PL*, CXLII, 659.

<sup>13</sup> Glaber, IV, 6; *PL*, CXLII, 680.

out against them at the beginning of the tenth century was more general and more terrible. They were objects not only of national hatred, of jealousy aroused by their vast wealth, and of bitterness springing from the memory of the extortion practiced by some of them in their banking operations, but also of the indignation of religious feelings. They were driven from the cities; they were hunted out in the country districts; they were put to death by fire and sword; some had themselves baptized so as to escape death; others took their own life in despair.<sup>14</sup> Scenes of this sort took place in the course of the Middle Ages; again and again the popes intervened to repress excesses.<sup>15</sup>

At the very time when popular fury was thus breaking out, the papacy was undergoing a painful crisis. Within a few weeks of each other, the patrician Crescentius and Pope Sergius IV died. Since the death of Otto III, Italy had accepted a national king, Arduin, marquis of Ivrea, and was now all in a state of excitement. The two rival parties that were intriguing for the tiara became especially active. The Crescentii advanced the candidacy of a certain Gregory; the Tuscullans urged the acceptance of the third son of the count of Tusculum, Theophylactus. In the actual state of affairs, the great power, even at Rome, was that of the emperor. Each of the Italian parties at the same time turned to the successor who had been chosen by the German lords in the place of Otto III.

### Political Situation in Germany

The transfer of the imperial power was not accomplished without difficulty. Otto III, at his death, left Germany in a state of unrest. The nobility was sharply divided, and the rules of succession to the throne were not yet well defined. In principle,

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Was the Christians' accusation well founded? The harsh treatment which Caliph Hakem inflicted on the Jews, confounding them with the Christians in the persecution, seems to absolve the Jews from the crime which the people had imputed to them.

the sovereign obtained his crown by election; but the elective principle was more and more tending to yield before the right of heredity. Henry I, Otto I, and Otto II handed on the royal power to their sons without arousing complaint. Moreover, from the example of France, advantages were recognized in the hereditary system, which spared the country the competitions and disturbances ordinarily aroused by an election.

Nevertheless three candidates presented themselves for the imperial office. Eckhard, margrave of Meissen in Saxony, famous for his warlike exploits in Poland and Italy, laid claim to the crown by reason of his renown and his Saxon nationality; Hermann, duke of Swabia, who enjoyed no less fame for valor and who had just married the daughter of the King of Burgundy, considered that his high connections entitled him to receive the office. From the very first, however, the situation developed rather in favor of Duke Henry of Bavaria who, besides a reputation for wisdom, integrity, and courage, had the advantage of direct descent from King Henry I and consequently was the nephew of Otto the Great.

But at first Henry hesitated to advance his claims. Either on account of a lack of self-confidence or of a fear to enter upon open strife with candidates who might carry the day against him, he judged that someone more worthy ought to be elected.<sup>16</sup> But the insistent counsel of several members of the upper nobility and of the episcopacy removed his scruples. He presented himself as a candidate, aware that he was defending the cause of right and of the tranquillity of the Empire.

### St. Henry II

Henry of Bavaria, who later received the title of saint by popular acclaim and by the voice of the Church, was the son of that Henry the Quarrelsome who under Otto II had intrigued

<sup>16</sup> H. Lesêtre, *Saint Henri*, no. 33.

for the crown of Germany. On this account he had been regarded with suspicion from his birth. But his mother Gisela, aware of the danger, prudently had him brought up in a monastery. In accordance with a custom of that time, which left to a child the free choice of his vocation when he reached the age of discernment, she vowed him to the life of the canons regular in the Hildesheim monastery in Saxony. The boy did not follow the religious vocation, but from this monastic training he acquired a deep, tender piety. Furthermore the apprehensions of Otto II vanished. The subsequent conduct of the young prince was not of a sort to revive them. At first, under the direction of St. Wolfgang, bishop of Ratisbon, Henry followed the course of serious studies and lived in the company of the greatest writers and in the cultivation of sacred and profane letters. He then married Cunigundis, the daughter of Sigfrid, count of Luxemburg in the duchy of Upper Lorraine. By her deep piety she was a worthy wife of the saintly prince. During the seven years that he governed the duchy of Bavaria, Henry was a loyal and devoted ruler, used his influence to settle the turbulence of the feudal lords around him, and accompanied Emperor Otto III in his military expeditions.

In a diet at Werla (1002) the nobles decided that Henry should reign "with the help of Christ and by virtue of his hereditary right." His rivals tried to oppose him with other diets, but Eckhard was assassinated on April 29 of that year. The Duke of Swabia took up arms, and the Duke of Bavaria did likewise. But, before anything was decided by this resort to arms, Henry was elected, and was crowned in the month of June at Mainz. The following months he employed in having his royal rights acknowledged.<sup>17</sup>

Certain aspects of Henry's character formed a striking contrast with that of his predecessor, Otto III. Otto, a utopian dreamer, in seeking to carry out his majestic projects dissatis-

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-51.

fied Germany and lost Italy. Henry, with a prudent and practical spirit, acted only after mature reflection. Otto's religious faith was mingled with blustering demonstrations and acts of pride. Henry's faith was prudent and firm; by wisely studied combinations, he always attempted to reconcile the interests of the Church with those of the state.

The first acts of the new King of Germany showed the dominant idea that would govern his policy. He endowed several monasteries in Bavaria, and founded new ones. In his latest biography we read as follows:

We must not suppose that in thus promoting monasticism Henry was simply performing an act of piety. At that period the monastic order appeared as an organism wonderfully suited to the work of civilization. The monastery was a living city. Around it were grouped whole populations, to whom the monks assured welfare through labor. The monastic lands bounded and separated the large domains of the counts and other vassals of the kingdom, preventing these lords from acquiring a territorial preponderance that might prove threatening for the sovereign. Then, too, each monastic center constituted a home of prayer, study, and civilizing influence. The monk, by his life of rule and by his practice of mortification and labor even amid great possessions, continually gave to the peasant this great practical lesson, that man has another future to prepare for besides that of the earth, and that he should keep his eyes raised to heaven if he is to have an understanding of the present life. King Henry took account of the moral power of the monks and, by utilizing it, he was acting as a good and wise statesman.<sup>18</sup>

These general views did not lead Henry's clear-seeing mind to ignore the concrete difficulties which his authority would encounter in the government of the Empire. These difficulties arose on three sides: from Poland, where King Boleslaus Chrobry gathered all the malcontents about him; from his own house, where his wife's five brothers, already turning greedy eyes upon

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50 f.



the succession, filled the palace with plots; and from Italy, where King Arduin tried to stir up the national feeling against the Empire.

In 1003 a strife began between the King of Germany and the formidable ruler of the Poles. The first two expeditions resulted in Henry's favor; but the third expedition had a less happy issue. Yet Henry succeeded (1018) in making a peace treaty that gave him sufficient satisfaction: several provinces between the Elbe and the Oder were ceded to Boleslaus, who yielded his claim to the royal crown, which had been the chief object of his ambition.

Henry had difficulty in foiling the plots of his brothers-in-law and several other members of his family. These, in accord with the Bishop of Würzburg, had cleverly schemed a new arrangement of the dioceses in a plan that would deprive the archbishop of Mainz of supremacy over the frontier districts of Bohemia. This measure would have ruined the work of St. Boniface and, in their plan, would have been the forerunner of a dismemberment of the Empire to their profit. To defeat these projects, the King negotiated with the Pope the erection of the diocese of Bamberg, which was placed under the direct protection of the Holy See, but without being withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Mainz.<sup>19</sup> Finally, in 1017, the Bishop of Würzburg was placated by receiving the title and power of duke. The Emperor's brother Bruno, who was looked upon as a pretender to the throne, received holy orders, and thus helped to end the conflicts that arose on that score.

A campaign in northern Italy (1004) failed to overcome Arduin and his followers. But the self-styled national king displeased many of his subjects by his brutality and blunders. The Italian people began to turn their eyes to King Henry, who wisely waited for a favorable occasion before attempting a positive intervention. This occasion presented itself when the

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91 f.

followers of the family of Tusculum and those of the family of the Crescentii asked his support. Henry at first reserved his decision and took pains to become well informed about the situation. Theophylactus had been elected first, under the name of Benedict VIII, in circumstances that seemed normal, and his authority was daily becoming strengthened. The King of Germany then decided in his favor and marched into Italy. The time was the close of the year 1013. Arduin, seeing his cause lost, withdrew to his castle of Ivrea and promised to give up his claim to the crown, provided he would be given a countship.

The partisans of the antipope Gregory had abandoned him. Benedict VIII therefore governed without opposition. When Henry reached Rome (February, 1014), the Pope, accompanied by a large suite of prelates, presented him with a golden globe, ornamented with precious stones and surmounted by a cross. This was the symbol of the power which the sovereign should exercise over the world as a loyal soldier of Christ. Henry took the globe, admired it, and said: "No one is more worthy of possessing such a gift than those who, far from the world, devote themselves to following the law of Christ." And he sent the globe to the monks of Cluny.

The King manifested the same Christian sentiments when (February 14), in St. Peter's Basilica, the Pope crowned him and his wife Cunigundis, and consecrated him emperor. The sovereign at once presented his crown as a gift to the basilica, asking that it should be placed on the altar of the Prince of the Apostles.<sup>20</sup>

### The Charta of 1014

From the hour of Henry's coronation, the defense of the Church and a zeal for the purity and spread of the Christian faith assumed a greater place in the Emperor's life.

<sup>20</sup> Glaber, *Hist.*, I, 5; *PL*, CXLII, 626. Cf. Ditmar, VII, 1; Jaffé, no. 4,000.

His first act was to deliver to Pope Benedict VIII a charta of privileges that was an exact repetition of that which Otto the Great had granted to Pope John XII. Besides other matters, this charta stipulated that "all the clergy and all the nobility of Rome should swear not to proceed to a papal election without observing the canonical regulations, and that the new pope, before being consecrated, should promise, in the presence of the emperor's envoys or in the presence of the whole people, to preserve the rights of all."<sup>21</sup> This formula cannot reasonably be considered a declaration of the principle of an imperial guardianship over the papacy. It was merely a confirmation of the right, which the popes reserved to the emperors, of exercising vigilance as defenders of the Roman Church, so that the papal election should take place canonically and so that the new pope should swear to preserve the rights of everyone. Such an agreement was justified by the recent untoward events, the rival claims by the Crescentii family and by the family of Tusculum. In the existing circumstances, nothing but the authority of an emperor seemed powerful enough to make the Italian factions observe a respectful attitude.<sup>22</sup>

The entente, thus sealed between the Pope and the Emperor, did not deviate for a moment throughout the duration of their dual government. It enabled them to labor effectively together for the welfare of Christendom. Peace prevailed in Italy. The Crescentii party seemed to have given up all its claims. Arduin, the dethroned king of Pavia, learning from misfortune, withdrew in 1015 to the monastery of Fruttuaria, founded near Turin the year before by one of his nephews, Abbot William. There Arduin died three years later in pious dispositions.<sup>23</sup> Saracen incursions upon the coast of Italy in 1016 were quickly suppressed by a naval expedition; and disturbances caused by

<sup>21</sup> *PL*, CXL, 236 f.

<sup>22</sup> See Bayet in Lavissee and Rambaud, *Hist. gén.*, I, 560.

<sup>23</sup> Ditmar, VII.

the Greeks in southern Italy came to an end after a descent of the imperial army.

Pope Benedict VIII entrusted the temporal government of the States of the Church to his brother Romanus, upon whom he conferred the title and powers of "consul and senator of the Romans." His plan was to devote himself entirely to the spiritual government of the Church. Convinced of the futility of any religious reform in the midst of the political and social disturbances that were desolating Europe, he considered the great project of proclaiming a universal peace, in agreement with the German emperor, the king of France, and the king of Burgundy. Then a thoroughgoing reform of morals would be undertaken by a general council held in the West.<sup>24</sup> Benedict VIII could do no more than outline this vast enterprise; but he devoted himself to it with all the earnestness of his zeal and was powerfully aided by Emperor Henry II, King Robert the Pious of France, and King Rudolf III of Burgundy.

### The Truce of God

In a council at Poitiers (February or March, 1000), an important decision was voted, namely, "that in the future all private conflicts should be settled according to law, and not by brutal force."<sup>25</sup> Thus publicly and in the name of the Church was proclaimed the principle of the Peace and the Truce of God.<sup>26</sup> The Church had perceived that the prescriptions of the earlier assemblies had remained insufficient, because they lacked united action and strict sanction. The measure voted at Poitiers in 1000 was the starting point of a league to maintain peace and was called *pactum pacis*. Each member of the league agreed to defer to the justice of the bishop or of the count all violations

<sup>24</sup> Lesèvre, p. 161; Luchaire in Lavis, *Hist. de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 137.

<sup>25</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 893; Mansi, XIX, 265.

<sup>26</sup> The purpose of the Peace of God was to shield from violence certain categories of victims; the Truce forbade war during certain fixed periods.

of peace committed on his territory; and, in case of refusal of justice by the count or the bishop, to summon an intervention by all the associated members of the league, so that law and justice should triumph. The better to assure the execution of the pact, a solemn and explicit oath, sworn upon the relics of the saints, was required of the members of the league.<sup>27</sup>

Such was the effort of the Church to obtain peace. This undertaking could have no definite and serious result unless it was supported by the authority of the rulers. In the very first years of the eleventh century, Henry visited the provinces of Germany, proclaiming the local peace (*Landfrieden*) in large assemblies, like those of Zurich in 1005 and Merseburg in 1012, where all, from the lowest to the mightiest, swore "that they would maintain the peace, that they would not be accomplices in brigandage." Many lords and bishops followed this example. Burchard, bishop of Worms, published an edict of peace that his subjects, "rich and poor," should be subject to the same law. Others opposed the movement. The Emperor, judging that in this matter he was dealing with a question of the highest public concern, proceeded with rigor against them, even depriving some margraves of their office.

In France, with energy perhaps less severe, but with equally firm patience, King Robert gave much attention to convoking assemblies of peace.<sup>28</sup> No longer were belligerents forbidden to use violence merely against churches, clerics, and farmers; they were now required to respect the rights of all inoffensive persons. At Verdun the peace agreements were for seven years; at Beauvais, for six years. In one council the agreement was probably without time limitations.<sup>29</sup>

In the Kingdom of Burgundy, then usually called the Kingdom of Arles, the peace movement went back to the last years

<sup>27</sup> Luchaire in Lavis, *Hist. de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 134.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>29</sup> Pfister, *op. cit.*, pp. 170 f.

of the tenth century. The memory of the oaths previously taken may have begun to fade out. In several councils about the year 1020, notably at the council of Verdun-sur-le-Doubs, at which (1016) the eminent personages of Burgundy and the bishops of the first Lyonnaise assembled, a proposal was considered to "re-establish" and confirm the peace.<sup>30</sup> After that council the practice became general to take an oath containing a detailed list of forbidden things. In the peace oath presented to King Robert in 1023, by Bishop Warin of Beauvais, we read:

I will in no manner invade churches or the cellars of churches, except to seize a malefactor who has violated the peace or committed a murder. . . . I will not attack clerics or monks who are not bearing secular arms. I will not carry off either ox or cow or any beast of burden. I will not seize any peasant or merchant; I will not take their money, and I will not force them to give ransom. I will not so act that they lose their possessions on account of their lord's war. From the first day of May to All Saints I will seize neither horse nor mare nor colt in the pasture. I will not destroy or burn down houses; I will not root up a vineyard or gather grapes in it on the pretext of war.<sup>31</sup>

The peace of God was enthusiastically received by all the oppressed. Raoul Glaber describes how throngs of people came to the councils and, with hands stretched out to heaven, cried: "Peace, peace, peace," while the bishops held their crosiers aloft. The institution grew and assumed unexpected proportions. The Church excommunicated noblemen who violated the peace and also interdicted the whole extent of their feudal jurisdiction.<sup>32</sup> In a conference at Mouzon Abbey in the diocese of Reims, Emperor Henry II and King Robert of France studied the means to render this peace universal. Many lords, however, were still stubbornly opposed to the plan. Even the papacy was

<sup>30</sup> R. Poupardin, *Le royaume de Bourgogne (888-1038). Etudes sur les origines du royaume d'Arles*, p. 301.

<sup>31</sup> Luchaire, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 f.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

unable to direct the enterprise until the latter part of the eleventh century.

In this half-pacified Christendom, Benedict VIII could accomplish only a half-reform. The general council of the West, which he planned to assemble with the concurrence of Henry II, could not be held. But he succeeded in convoking an important council at Pavia in 1018.<sup>33</sup>

This council holds a considerable place in the history of Church reform in the eleventh century.<sup>34</sup> The Pope presided at it in person, and probably the Emperor was present. The seven canons promulgated at it all refer to the reform of morals in the clergy, particularly the observance of clerical celibacy.<sup>35</sup> These canons the Emperor made laws of the state<sup>36</sup> and tried to have them applied by relying upon the bishops and the monasteries.

### St. Henry II and the Church

Henry II has been blamed for abusive interference in the appointment of bishops. By virtue of the right and practice then prevailing, the privilege of electing the head of a diocese belonged to the principal members of the local clergy. But the ruler's wish ordinarily had the force of law for the electors, and their choice was then confirmed by the same ruler, who transmitted to the newly-elected the symbols of his office: the crosier and ring. This interference by the temporal ruler is to be explained by the fact that the bishops at that time combined in their own person the spiritual power and a notable part of the temporal power, and that they were the head of a diocese and also the lord of the territory attributed to their see. The

<sup>33</sup> Duchesne says 1020; but Hefele's arguments for maintaining the date of 1018 seem conclusive (Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 919).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Mansi, XIX, 343.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381.

Ottos almost always employed their influence wisely. Rarely did the right of investiture involve anything but advantages in the hands of a ruler like Henry II, who was especially solicitous for the honor of the Church and the welfare of souls. Nearly all the bishops chosen in his time were men of high worth and exemplary life. Among them we may mention Tagino of Magdeburg, Meinwerk of Paderborn, Eberhard of Merseburg, Meginaud of Trier, and Dithmar of Merseburg.<sup>37</sup>

The monasteries supplied the Emperor with collaborators no less useful in his undertakings for social regeneration. In his journeys through his Empire, he liked to tarry in the monasteries and spend time in the midst of the monks. He was edified by the regularity of the good; but, when he observed abuses, he was ready to interfere courageously for the purpose of effecting reform. He maintained relations with the great reforming monks of his time. He had a particular friendship for St. Odilo, the illustrious abbot of Cluny; no exaggeration is to be found in the saying that, in the work of monastic reform, Odilo was the head, and in Germany Henry was the right arm.<sup>38</sup> Owing to this unbroken collaboration of two saints, the purity of the Cluny rule reached into most of the monasteries of Lorraine; the powerful monasteries of Hersfeld, Reichenau, Fulda, and Corvey accepted it. Strengthened with Odilo's approval, Henry did not hesitate, when necessity required, to crush resistance, to remove unworthy prelates, and to place over recalcitrant monks superiors that he knew were able to govern them according to the spirit of their state. This he did at Monte Cassino, and in the two great monasteries of Stavelot and Malmédy in the diocese of Liège, both of which he placed in the hands of Poppo, a monk of St. Vaast whose learning and holiness he knew.

By acting thus, the saintly Emperor was working for the

<sup>37</sup> Lesèvre, pp. 170 f.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.



good of his states and for that of the Church. Germany, which had just emerged from barbarism, was located on the frontiers of Christian civilization and was in contact with races imperfectly won to the teachings of the Gospel. More than any other nation, it needed to keep intact the deposit of faith and of Christian morality. Henry II grasped this important truth. He thought he would not be fully performing his office of "sergeant of Christ" if he did not endeavor to extend the domain of the Gospel. When he asked the Pope to establish the diocese of Bamberg, he had in mind to destroy the paganism of the Slavs. If the cares of the internal government of his Empire had left him time to do so, he would have attempted to open new paths for the missionaries of Christ.

Upon Henry II the Church has bestowed the title of saint because of the noble purposes of his rule and the lofty virtues of his private life. He married a wife worthy of him. Both of them, at their marriage, vowed to sanctify their union by the practice of absolute continence. The mention of this royal virtue by the old chroniclers has provoked the skepticism of some historians, and the ironical smile of others. But the fact has all the certitude vouched for by reliable history,<sup>39</sup> and every person

<sup>39</sup> "Some have refused to St. Henry and St. Cunigundis the honor of having reached that summit where man and angel meet. The chroniclers of the eleventh century, we are told, do not speak of it. Furthermore, in the acts of the foundation of Bamberg, Henry declares that, 'being without hope of having anyone of his race to succeed him, he chooses Christ as his heir.' But the historians who were contemporary with the saint could not have spoken. The most complete of them all, Dithmar, bishop of Merseburg, died six years before St. Henry. Of the work of Adalbold, bishop of Utrecht, we possess only a fragment. The other annalists of the period, whose accounts are very succinct, scarcely mention anything but external happenings. Their silence on the point in question is the more naturally explained since St. Henry was not a man to parade his virtue and to take everyone into his confidence about his personal conduct. This matter was that 'secret of a king' which Scripture (Tob. 12:7) says should be hid. The prince's manner of mentioning it in the act of Bamberg is sufficiently discreet so as not to reveal the loftier motive which had prompted his resolve. But later, for the edification of the Church, the mystery was revealed either because, as some think, Henry let it be known on his deathbed, or because the depositary of the secrets of his conscience or even St. Cunigundis herself spoke of it to the glory of the saint. At the end of the eleventh century, Leo, cardinal of Ostia,

solicitous for Christian regeneration should recognize that such a virtue was in its right place upon the throne of an emperor and an empress at the beginning of the eleventh century. That period, when sensual passions invaded even the sanctuary, could well profit by seeing, even at court, the brightness of the virtue which makes men resemble angels. The holy Emperor died on July 13, 1024. With him the house of Saxony came to an end. By its first representative, Henry the Great, it had mightily labored to group the Germanic peoples about it: <sup>40</sup> by its last representative, Henry the Saint, it had nobly served the Church.

### King Robert the Pious

King Robert the Pious of France, without giving so heroic an example of virtues as that of the German Emperor, placed at the service of the Church an earnest piety and sincere devotion. We have remarked his efforts to convoke everywhere assemblies of peace. He was much concerned with keeping unworthy candidates out of the episcopacy. Says Raoul Glaber: "When an episcopal see became vacant in his states, his sole concern was that the new bishop be chosen on the basis of merit and virtues, not of birth and rank. In this matter he was often forced to strive against the great nobles of his realm." <sup>41</sup> His zeal was no less concerned with maintaining the purity of the faith. In 1019, Richard V, duke of Normandy, made known to

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set down the fact in the Chronicle of Monte Cassino. Other writers mention it subsequently. Finally, in the bull of canonization Pope Eugene III declares, in 1145, that a serious inquiry was made . . . and he praises Henry II for having sanctified his marriage by a chastity preserved intact to the end of his life" (Lesètre, *Saint Henri*, pp. 187 f.).

<sup>40</sup> We say, "had labored"; not, "had succeeded." The ambition of the house of Saxony had been too vast. In the time of St. Henry the Empire, outside of the Germanic countries, included Belgium, the Netherlands, almost all Switzerland, and some provinces of Italy and of France. Such an agglomeration was essentially unstable, and even the union of the Germanic countries was destined to perish.

<sup>41</sup> Glaber, *Hist.*, III, 2; *PL*, CXLII, 649.

him the existence at Orleans of a mysterious sect which, maintaining the eternal coexistence of a good principle and an evil principle, rejected the authority of the Old Testament, denied the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and the virginity of the Mother of God; it seemed to be one of the links connecting the old Manichaeism with the Albigensian heresy.<sup>42</sup> King Robert assembled a council at Orleans, summoned the heretics to appear there, and, after finding them guilty of pernicious errors, had thirteen of them condemned to the stake. The devout King thought that whatever attacked Catholic doctrine and morals, the foundations of the social edifice, was an attack upon the whole of society. His severity toward those whom he regarded as corrupters of souls, was merely a form of his charity. His contemporary biographer tells us that in King Robert this virtue was ardent and tender.

He had a special predilection for the lepers. In imitation of his divine Master, he permitted them close approach to his person and, when he was asked where he derived his courage, he replied: "I remember that I am but dust and that I shall return into dust." God rewarded this heroic virtue by the gift of miracles. He restored sound health to some lepers by making the sign of the cross upon them.<sup>43</sup>

To Robert the Pious is supposed to go back the tradition that the kings of France, on certain days, touched persons afflicted with scrofula, saying to them: "The king touches you; may God heal you." In spite of opposition by certain political interests, Robert the Pious and Henry II always joined hands in any project for promoting the welfare of the people and for maintaining respect for religion. In 1023 they met at Ivois in Lorraine to agree upon means for assuring universal peace and for assisting the Church in the reform of its clergy. The two rulers, accompanied by a numerous suite, gave each other the

<sup>42</sup> See J. Guiraud, "Le consolamentum cathare" in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXXXV (1904), 112; Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 924-34; Pfister, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-31.

<sup>43</sup> Helgaud, *Vita Roberti*; PL, CXLI, 931.

kiss of peace, heard mass together, dined at the same table. Although their noble ideal could not be realized, it was the object of their best efforts to the very end of their lives.

A year after the Ivois meeting, Pope Benedict VIII breathed his last. According to some calculations, his death probably occurred on June 11, 1024.<sup>44</sup> The last son of the count of Tusculum was an irreproachable pope, whose character equaled the height of the great duties of his office. Says Duchesne: "Scarcely anything but good can be said of Benedict VIII."<sup>45</sup> The pontificate of his brother John XIX and especially that of his nephew Benedict IX would be less fortunate for the Church.

### Pope John XIX

The office and authority which Benedict VIII conferred upon his brother Romanus rendered the election of his successor a delicate matter. To suddenly strip the "Senator of the Romans" of his title and of the temporal government of the Church, would gravely displease the most powerful family in Italy, and perhaps stir up a revolt. If a member of the Sacred College were made pope, he would be placed in tutelage or would be condemned to ceaseless strife. A third plan seemed possible: to confer the spiritual power upon the one who already held the temporal power. But Romanus was a layman. True, this circumstance would make the election irregular, but would not nullify it beyond remedy. It could be ratified by implicit consent subsequent to his ordination. This solution seemed to involve the least disadvantages; at any rate, it was the only one practically available. Romanus, the younger son of Count Gregory of Tusculum, was elected and, after receiving all the sacred orders in rapid succession, was enthroned under the name of John XIX.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Jaffé, I, 4059.

<sup>45</sup> Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical*, p. 372.

<sup>46</sup> The enthronement took place between June 24 and July 15 (Jaffé, I, 4059).

No one can deny that John XIX was a capable administrator and a prudent statesman. He had given proof of these qualities for many years under the guidance of his brother. His morals were altogether free from blame. He has been charged with cupidity and with unconcern about things religious. To be quite just, we must say that, when deprived of his brother's counsel, he too often let human considerations influence his policy and did not vigorously pursue the reform work so courageously undertaken in the preceding pontificate.

The coming of such a pope, coinciding with the vacancy of the Empire, left by the death of Henry II, revived the ambitions of the Eastern Emperor Basil II, who always coveted the hegemony in southern Italy and had not given up the design to raise the patriarchal see of Constantinople to the level of that of Rome. The Byzantine potentate's conspicuous victories over the Russians and the Saracens, his recent massacre of the Bulgarians, which led to his being called Bulgaroktonos, greatly exalted his pride and that of his subjects. Two years before, when they were besieged in Troja by the German army, they threatened their enemies with the proximate arrival of the great monarch of the East and declared that the Emperor of the Romans would be forced to kiss his feet.<sup>47</sup> Says Raoul Glaber :

In the year of the Lord 1024, the head of the Church of Constantinople <sup>48</sup> and Emperor Basil decided that, as the Roman pontiff was called universal pontiff in the whole world, the pontiff of Constantinople should be called ecumenical pontiff in the Greek world. But he failed to obtain the pope's assent. To Rome they sent ambassadors bearing a large number of valuable gifts, both for the pope and for whatever personages they thought might be able to serve their cause.

<sup>47</sup> Glaber, *op. cit.*, III, 1; *PL*, CXLII, 647.

<sup>48</sup> The person referred to is the patriarch Eustathius, who governed the Church of Constantinople from 1019 to 1025.

Our chronicler proceeds to exclaim:

Alas, we are living at a time when gold is king of the world, and at Rome this ruler seems to have established the seat of his power. The rich presents of the Greeks disturbed the heart of the Romans, who tried to find some subterfuge by which they might grant what was asked of them. But in vain. No one could overcome the word of truth, which says of the Apostolic See: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The plots that were being contrived in the conclave promptly leaked out; the report of them became widespread all over Italy. Wrathful clamor and cries of revolt were heard on all sides.

The venerable Father William, abbot of St. Bénigne of Dijon, wrote to Pope John XIX about the matter. His letter, short but eloquent and expressive, was as follows: "The Apostle of the Gentiles tells us to respect persons in high office; but this did not keep him from writing also: 'I am become foolish; you have compelled me.'<sup>49</sup> We, too, out of a sense of filial love, feel impelled to exhort your Paternity to recall at this moment the Savior's conduct and to put to some one of your friends the question which our Lord put to St. Peter when he asked him: 'Who do men say that I am?'<sup>50</sup> The reply you receive, provided it is sincere, will deserve your attention. If it is clearly favorable, take care to justify it by our conduct; if it is embarrassed and obscure, beg the Father of lights to scatter the clouds so that you may guide all the faithful children of the Church in the fulness of the light and in the way of the divine commandments. We have received news that scandalizes all who hear it and deeply troubles men's souls. Although the ancient Roman Empire, which once extended over the whole world, is today divided into a countless number of separate monarchies, the supreme power of binding and loosing on earth as in heaven has remained one; as always, it now belongs, by the Lord's gift, to the inviolable magisterium of Peter. Therefore the Greeks are entirely unjustified in presuming to claim a privilege which, we are told, they have obtained from you. We implore you to show more vigor for the correction of abuses and the

<sup>49</sup> See II Cor. 12: 11.

<sup>50</sup> Mark 8: 27.

## 112 DOMINATION BY ITALIAN FACTIONS

maintenance of discipline in the bosom of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. This is the duty of a universal pontiff. Thus may you reign happily here on earth and in eternity." <sup>51</sup>

We have no evidence that the Pope had, as St. William believed, yielded to the urgent request of the Byzantine envoys; at least he broke off the negotiations.<sup>52</sup> Following this rupture, the patriarch of Constantinople, so we are told, removed the name of the Pope from the diptychs, and the sparks of schism, which were never extinguished in the East, again flared up. Thus John XIX's policy, in his dealings with the East, displeased popular opinion and likewise the Eastern Emperor. His diplomacy with regard to the Western Emperor, notwithstanding the apparently brilliant results of its beginning, was no less unfortunate for the Church.

### Emperor Conrad II

The last emperor of the house of Saxony was succeeded by the first monarch of the house of Franconia. The founder of the new dynasty, Conrad II, was the son of a daughter of Otto the Great and of Conrad the Red, who was one of the most valiant warriors of the Emperor. He married a daughter of Rudolf III, king of Burgundy, who was a descendant of Charlemagne. Personally the new Emperor was brave, solicitous for orthodoxy, but fond of magnificence and display. He boasted of his descent from two great races. But the trait which he possessed especially was their vast ambitions; in him was not to be found the humble piety of Henry II. To thwart the schemes of the Byzantine emperor in Lower Italy, to conquer Bohemia, to annex Burgundy to his domain, to crush the upper nobility

<sup>51</sup> Glaber, *Hist.*, IV, 1; *PL*, CXLII, 671. St. William's letter, with more extensive corrections, following various manuscripts, has been published by Pertz in the *Monum. Germ.*, VII, 66.

<sup>52</sup> Bréhier, *Le schisme oriental du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 9-12.

of Germany by himself becoming the protector of the lesser feudal lords: these were his first projects. He carried them out in part.

Before accomplishing these designs, he went to Italy in 1026 to put on the royal crown of Pavia; then to ask the imperial consecration from the Pope, for Easter, 1027, which that year fell on April 26. John XIX did for Conrad II what Benedict VIII had done for St. Henry, John XII for Otto the Great, St. Leo III for Charlemagne. The coronation ceremony surpassed in splendor all that had been seen before. In the account by the chronicler Wippo, we read: "Upon leaving St. Peter's Basilica, the Emperor and Empress Gisela were escorted by two kings, Rudolf of Burgundy and Canute the Great of England, who conducted them in great pomp to the triclinium of the Lateran." <sup>53</sup> John XIX, regarding the new Emperor and the dynasty as a mighty power, was eager to be associated with it.

But the former "Senator of the Romans," suddenly raised to the priesthood and the papacy after his brother's death, seemed not to grasp that a protectorate dominated by pride, however devoted it might proclaim itself, could not labor for the welfare of the Church. And he did not foresee that the powerful house of Franconia would soon oppose the papacy in the most violent struggle that the Church ever experienced since the persecutions of the first centuries, and that Conrad II himself would take the first steps in that strife. Says Hefele:

Emperor Conrad II's policy was to place the Church in the service of the Empire. . . . Under this brutal and tyrannical ruler, the German episcopate was reduced to dependence upon the crown and was diverted from its true vocation to a political or military end. Consequently, in the matter of obtaining a bishopric, talent was a better recommendation than virtue, and the Emperor was more concerned with acquiring external luster for the Church than with promoting that internal reform which was preached by the order of Cluny. In-

<sup>53</sup> Wippo, *Vita Conradi*; PL, CXLII, 1235.



vestiture helped him to enrich the treasury, and he rarely made an appointment without receiving payment for it. This manner of domineering over the Church carried with it in germ the terrible strife which his son and his grandson later waged against the Roman Church.<sup>54</sup>

We should here repeat that no feeling of systematic hostility animated the first Franconian emperor, while he thus enslaved the episcopacy. The idea of crushing a high feudal power seems to have been his chief motive; even this purpose was not amply justified. But his chief mistake was to subordinate the sacred interests of religion to his purely political motive. By the very declaration made on the day of his coronation, he proclaimed himself the defender of those interests. Religion suffered greatly from this state of affairs. The old abuses, for a time suppressed by the combined efforts of Benedict VIII and Henry II, sprang up again with new strength.

### Manichaeian Heresy

Germany was not the only one to suffer.

A fresh appearance of Manichaeian heretics prompted the assembling of a council at Arras in 1025. At the beginning of that year, Bishop Gerhard of Cambrai, according to his practice, was visiting his second see of Arras. There he learned that some heretics from Italy were settled in the neighborhood. They rejected baptism and the Eucharist, denied the usefulness of penance, looked upon marriage with horror, set aside the Church, declared that, except the Apostles and the martyrs, no saint should receive veneration, and held that salvation depended solely upon good works. Bishop Gerhard ordered their immediate arrest<sup>55</sup> and summoned them to appear before a council at Arras the following Sunday. He regarded them as Pelagians, because they placed so much emphasis upon good works. Up to a

<sup>54</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 977.

<sup>55</sup> *PL*, CXLII, 1270.

certain point they were Pelagians. But the real dogmatic basis of their errors was that unwholesome spiritualism already noted at Orleans, a religious attitude that for centuries to come would disturb many districts of the West.<sup>56</sup>

The acts of the Council of Arras set forth how Bishop Gerhard refuted the doctrines of the heretics point by point. The latter acknowledged themselves vanquished, abjured their errors, made a profession of orthodox faith, and signed it with their own hand, marking a cross beside their signatures.<sup>57</sup>

Councils in the East (1026, 1027, 1028, and 1029) bore witness to the sad condition of the Church in that region. These councils lamented the frightful cupidity which stripped the churches of their possessions and led to monasteries being deserted; they stigmatized the bishops who administered ecclesiastical property in their own personal interest; and they threatened with anathema anyone who should take part in an uprising or revolt.<sup>58</sup>

### Camaldolese Order

Such were the plagues afflicting the East and the West. As the Emperor was unmindful of the ills of the Church and thought only of the interests of his personal power, and as the Supreme Pontiff seemed not fully aware of the gravity of the peril, who would cure these distressful conditions? Providence, never abandoning the Church, supplied the remedy. In some respects John XIX's pontificate was lamentable. But during it, besides the Order of Cluny, whose influence continued to be felt in many monasteries, another and even stricter order, that of the Camaldolese, sprang up. From the very heart of a feudalism which was now turbulent and now submissive, arose

<sup>56</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 940 f.

<sup>57</sup> Mansi, XIX, 423-60; Pfister, *op. cit.*, pp. 335 f.

<sup>58</sup> Mansi, XIX, 461-78, 491.

the first elements of chivalry. And in the churches sacred music, receiving new life through the genius of a Benedictine monk, Guido of Arezzo, revived the people's piety.

The Order of the Camaldolese became for Italy what the Order of Cluny was for France, a center of regeneration. It was founded in 1024 by St. Romuald. The life of this holy patriarch, as related by his disciple St. Peter Damian, is particularly informative about the disturbed period in which he lived. Romuald was born in Ravenna in the ducal family of the Honesti. Until he was twenty years old, his heart and will fluctuated between the keenest passions of youth and the inspirations of grace which drew him to a life of solitude and prayer. His witnessing of a terrible duel, in which he saw his own father kill his adversary with a sword thrust, awoke in him a remorse that inclined him definitely to the call of grace. He withdrew to Monte Cassino, where he soon took the monastic habit. But even in the monastery he found the spirit of the world, and his conduct and maxims were a continual reproach to some of the lax monks. They persecuted him and even planned to assassinate him.

Romuald fled to the neighborhood of Venice to a holy hermit named Marino. There some companions, wishing to share his austere life, joined him and chose him for their master. With them, near Arezzo in a solitude of the Apennines, called Camaldoli, he founded a community, the cradle of his order. He and his first disciples followed the eremitical life, fasting on bread and water, abstaining absolutely from meat and wine, letting their beards grow long, having their heads shaved, going barefoot, and wearing a white robe. The Benedictine Rule, with more austere practices added, was the basis of their observances. Later, besides the Camaldolese hermits, cenobites were established, with a mitigated rule. Romuald, after witnessing the first developments of his work, left this world in the peace

of the Lord on June 19, 1027. When the foundation of the Camaldolese Order was confirmed by Pope Alexander II (1072), it counted nine monasteries subject to the prior of Camaldoli. It had already given to the Church the learned Guido of Arezzo and the great reformer of the clergy, St. Peter Damian.<sup>59</sup>

### Chivalry

The period that saw the birth and development of the Camaldolese Order witnessed also the beginning of chivalry. We cannot assign a precise date for this beginning.

Chivalry had nothing in its origin that reminded one of the foundation of a religious order. One may in fact declare that every single monastic order had been conceived in the mind of an individual. The great Benedictine Order arose out of the intelligence of St. Benedict, and the Franciscan Order from the heart of St. Francis. There is no parallel to this in the case of chivalry, and it would be useless to search for the place of its birth or for the name of its founder. What a great archaeologist of our day has said of Romance architecture is scientifically applicable to the birth of chivalry. It was born everywhere at once, and has been everywhere at the same time the natural effect of the same aspirations and the same needs. There was a moment when the Christians in the East experienced the necessity of sheltering themselves at prayers in churches built of stone which could not be burned; and then, to use the graceful terms of Raoul Glaber, the Christian soil was everywhere covered with the white robes of new churches. Hence the Roman architecture. There was another moment when peoples everywhere felt the necessity of tempering the ardor of old German blood, and of giving to their ill-regulated passions an ideal. Hence chivalry.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Hélyot, *Hist. des ordres rel.*, V, 236 f.; St. Peter Damian, *Vita S. Romualdi*; *PL*, CXLIV, 953 f.; Mabillon, *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, Volumes III and IV; *Revue bénédictine*, IV (1887), 356-63.

<sup>60</sup> Léon Gautier, *Chivalry*, p. 1.

When the Church, after all her efforts to establish the "peace of God," became convinced that she could not entirely prevent war, she undertook to Christianize the soldier. Many volumes have been written upon this noble subject, and a few words will suffice for a clear definition of chivalry and knighthood. "Chivalry is the Christian form of the military profession: the knight is the Christian soldier."<sup>61</sup> But how was the soldier to be Christianized? This the Church accomplished by Christianizing an old ceremony going back to the origin of the German peoples. Tacitus relates that, when a German boy reached the age of manhood, he was brought into the midst of an assembly of warriors, and there the chief of the tribe solemnly handed him a spear and a shield. "Such was the manly dress of this race," says Tacitus.<sup>62</sup> The barbarian ceremony was the starting point of an elaborate military ceremonial, Christian and liturgical, which included the vigil of arms, the blessing of the sword and of the knight himself, and his resolve to devote himself to the welfare and honor of religion.<sup>63</sup> The ceremonies observed in the consecration of kings and emperors may have influenced the origin of chivalry. If a ruler could take a vow to defend the Church, why could not a simple vassal do likewise? Why could not every warrior?<sup>64</sup>

The institution of chivalry did not prevent the Church from seeking to promote the establishment of the peace of God. The year 1027 is precisely the date from which we trace the origin of the truce of God strictly so called, which forbade warfare during certain carefully designated periods. "The Council of

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, XIII.

<sup>63</sup> Gautier, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

<sup>64</sup> "Chivalry is clearly distinct from feudalism. . . . The feudal system soon became hereditary. Chivalry . . . had never been hereditary. . . . Feudalism has disputed with the Church over and over again, while chivalry has protected her a hundred times. Feudalism is force—chivalry is the brake" (Gautier, pp. 15 f.). Montalembert and other historians, too, are mistaken when they confuse chivalry with feudalism.

Elne, which met that year, confirmed the ordinary provisions about the protection of clerics, monks, and women, but it added the following measure: 'In the entire countship or bishopric of Elne, every inhabitant is forbidden to assault his enemy between the ninth hour of Saturday and the first hour of Monday.' " The council gave its reason for this prohibition in these words: "This is decreed so that every man may render what he owes to God during the Lord's Day." Here in germ we have the truce of God, limited to Sunday. Before long the idea advanced, and the truce was lengthened.<sup>65</sup>

### Church Music

While thus protecting the observance of Sunday prayer, the Church gave its public devotions a new brilliance by the renewal of the sacred chant. The promoter of this progressive step was a disciple of St. Romuald, a Camaldolese monk, Guido of Arezzo.

Says one historian of the Gregorian art:

At the beginning of the eleventh century, in the length and breadth of Italy we can cite the name of only one artist, but this name has filled the following centuries by its importance: Guido of Arezzo.<sup>66</sup> He was born in 990, probably at Arezzo, where we find him again in his advanced age. Some writers have thought he was of French origin. Probably he owed part of his learning to the musical teaching of the Parisian abbey of St. Maur des Fossés at the time when Odo the Younger was teaching there. That Guido spent some time in Eng-

<sup>65</sup> Luchaire in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 136.

<sup>66</sup> In recent years the life and works of this musician have given rise to a number of writings. See Germain Morin in the *Revue de l'art chrétien* (1888), pp. 133 f., and in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, April 1, 1891, pp. 547 f.; Michel Brenet in the *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* April, 1902, p. 126; Henri Stein in the *Bull. des antiq. de France*, 1900, Part III, p. 237; Terrasse in the *Rev. du clergé français*, April 15, 1902, p. 439; Vacandard in the *Rev. du clergé français*, May 15, 1902, p. 550; Vivell and Gastoué in the *Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, 1910, nos. 7 and 8.

land is also likely. He then returned to Italy. When he was abbot of the Camaldolese at Avellana near Pomposa, he was called to Arezzo by Bishop Theodulus to teach his method in the episcopal *schola*. He presented to Pope John XIX a copy of the Gregorian antiphonary with the notes written on lines for the first time. Again we find Guido at Pomposa, where he ended his career on May 17, 1050.

Guido's part in the reform of teaching and of musical notation is enormous. In his *Micrologus* he propagated the method of Odo, freeing it as much as possible from the philosophical considerations that encumbered it. The process of adapting the six notes of the major hexachord to the syllables of the hymn *Ut queant laxis*, which Guido praised and spread, is not his invention, although he is often credited with it. His two chief innovations are the fixation of the musical staff, with the arrangement of the notation signs on lines suitably spaced, then the absolute suppression of whatever was not diatonic in the Church chants. So well did he succeed in his work, so completely did the notation of unstable and fluctuating notes, which he proscribed, disappear after him from the treatises and books, that a great number of musicians have doubted that the liturgical chant was ever regulated by other methods than the rigid diatonism in which Guido fixed it.<sup>67</sup>

### The House of Tusculum

The partial regeneration of the clergy by the foundation of the Camaldolese, the moral raising of feudalism by the beginning of chivalry, the increase of peace in the country districts by the truce of God, and the edification of the faithful by the restoration of ecclesiastical chant were providential events in the hour when the Church was about to experience what was perhaps the most humiliating trial it has known in the course

<sup>67</sup> The works of Guido of Arezzo are: *Micrologus de disciplina artis musicae*; *Regulae rythmicae*; a letter to the monk Michael, *De ignoto cantu*; *Tractatus correctorius*, which perhaps is interpolated; *Quomodo de arithmetica procedit musica*; *De modorum formalis*; a revision of a work of Odo the Younger. Guido's works will be found in Migne, PL, CXLI, 375-444.

of the ages: the spectacle of a twelve-year-old boy, who was thoroughly immoral, placed by intrigue in the see of St. Peter, and the scandal of an ambitious and rapacious family placing its hands upon the government of Christendom, attempting to seize for its own profit the outward prestige recently added by the pontificates of Sylvester II and Benedict VIII to the supreme authority of the Roman pontiff.

Of the three sons of Gregory of Tusculum, the youngest, Theophylactus, then the second, Romanus, had successively been popes. The eldest son bore the name of the famous ancestor, Alberic. Instead of taking the power for himself, he preferred to divide it between two of his sons. One of these, as was the case with several members of his family, was to have the temporal government under the titles of senator and consul; the other was to wear the tiara. The latter, like his distant ancestor and like his uncle Benedict VIII, was named Theophylactus. He was twelve years old. Even at that early age he had scandalized those about him by his licentious immorality. But a corrupt boy could be a docile tool in the hands of the Count of Tusculum and of the German Emperor, who were in agreement in this matter. The gold profusely bestowed by some and the intimidation exercised by others overcame all resistance.<sup>68</sup> Theophylactus of Tusculum was elected pope sometime in the year 1033,<sup>69</sup> under the name of Benedict IX.

### Pope Benedict IX

As we read in the chronicles of Raoul Glaber, "this was a horrible beginning of a pontificate that would end even more

<sup>68</sup> On the character of this election, all contemporary chroniclers are agreed: Glaber, Bonizo, St. Peter Damian, the author of the *Annales romani*, Pope Victor III. See *PL*, CXLII, 679-98; CXLV, 428; CXLIX, 1003; *M. G.*, *SS.*, V, 468; XI, 575.

<sup>69</sup> On the date of the election of Benedict IX, see Jaffé, I, 4107.



shamefully.”<sup>70</sup> The deplorable consequences of such a scandal were soon felt. “From the Supreme Pontiff to the lowliest porter, traffic and bargaining invaded all ranks of the clergy.”<sup>71</sup> Following the example of those in high places, people of the lowest rank and those of the middle classes indulged in the most abominable excesses.<sup>72</sup> What was to be done? The plague came from the see of Rome, where, against all law and regulation, a twelve-year-old boy had just been elected, where gold and silver counted more than age or holiness.”<sup>73</sup>

Was such a personage, elected under such conditions and by such means, a lawful pope? Some have maintained that he was not.<sup>74</sup> The Church, which has kept his name in the official lists and which has regarded as antipopes those who later attempted to contest his power, no doubt considered his election tacitly ratified by the prolonged acceptance of his authority by the clergy and people of Rome, his lawful electors, and by the whole Christian Church. Such is the interpretation of the learned Cardinal Baronius. He says: “The Christian world by acknowledging the jurisdiction of this pope conferred on him, after the event, an authority which he did not have in the beginning. So great at that time was the veneration of the Catholic world for the Roman Church! Whoever was raised to the throne of St. Peter, in his person the world honored the Prince of the Apostles, whom he represented.”<sup>75</sup>

The dignity of the supreme power did not alter the morals of the newly elected Pope. In his private life the pursuit of pleasures and the love of wealth remained his great passions; in his public life he became the willing tool of his family’s greed and the Emperor’s despotism. But, as in the case of John XII,

<sup>70</sup> *PL*, CXLII, 698.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 697.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 679.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 698.

<sup>74</sup> Darras, *Hist. gén. de l’Eglise*, XX, 572–83.

<sup>75</sup> Baronius, *Annales*, year 1033.

we should observe that Benedict IX never tried to give doctrinal approval to his conduct. His official teaching was the condemnation of his life. God, to make conspicuously clear that sinister consequences follow when the civil power interferes in the choice of His pontiffs, allowed corruption to reach even to the throne of St. Peter in the person of an unworthy pope. But He did not permit that a single line of such a pope's bullarium should bring the least discredit upon the Church. Benedict IX's bull proclaiming the honors of canonization for the recluse Simeon of Trier "was written in a truly Apostolic style."<sup>76</sup> When he extended the jurisdiction of Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg, over the northern regions of Europe (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and the neighboring islands),<sup>77</sup> the purpose and the happy effect of his decision were to facilitate the spread of the Gospel among the peoples of the North. His making the Churches of Poland dependent upon the bishop of Cracow<sup>78</sup> was prompted by an intelligent solicitude for the religious needs of that country. In dispensing Casimir, the son of Mieczyslaw II, from the vows of religion so as to enable that prince to save Poland from anarchy by accepting the royal crown, he was not exceeding the rights of the Apostolic See. This act accorded with the wishes of St. Odilo of Cluny and led to beneficial results: Casimir I upon the throne kept the virtues that won the great regard of St. Odilo and brought to Casimir the honor of being inscribed in the Benedictine menology with the title of Blessed.<sup>79</sup> Says Cardinal Hergenröther: "Benedict had ample gifts of mind and often showed good practical sense; had he been better brought up and had he been accustomed to curb his passions, he might have become an excellent pope."<sup>80</sup> Unfortunately those whose duty was to train him, depraved him;

<sup>76</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, June, I, 97. This bull will be found in *PL*, CXLII, 1362.

<sup>77</sup> Jaffé, 4119.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Mabillon, *S. Odilonis elogium*; *PL*, CXLII, 885.

<sup>80</sup> Hergenröther, *Hist. de l'Eglise* (French trans.), III, 260.

those who should have taught him to repress his passions, stirred them up instead. And so his life was spent amid tumultuous disturbances.

Twice (in 1036 and 1044) <sup>81</sup> he was driven from Rome by popular uprisings; he returned at the head of the vassals of Tusculum. The second time he barricaded himself and his followers in Trastevere, while the city was in the power of the rebels. The old dissensions, which formerly had led to clashes between the house of the Crescentii and the house of Tusculum, were revived. The resort to arms at first favored Benedict. But his foes, by their profuse gifts of money, succeeded in having an antipope elected, Bishop John of Sabina, who took the name of Sylvester III. Benedict's party then invested Rome on all sides and, on April 10, 1044, forcibly reinstated him in the Lateran Palace. Sylvester, after forty-nine days of ephemeral power, returned vanquished to his diocese of Sabina.

### Pope Gregory VI

A year later (May 1, 1045) Benedict IX, fearing a fresh revolt, abdicated in favor of his godfather, the archpriest John Gratian, who is spoken of by all contemporaries as commendable. He was accepted by the clergy and people and took the name of Gregory VI. Benedict, however, withdrew only after stipulating with his successor that he should receive a large sum of money by way of indemnity,<sup>82</sup> which Gregory, to avoid excessive evils and to end the shame of the Church, agreed to pay. This simoniacal contract did not prevent Benedict, two years later, after the death of Clement II, from again seizing the power and holding it from November, 1047, to July 16, 1048, when Emperor Henry III drove him from Rome by

<sup>81</sup> Jaffé, 4107, 4116.

<sup>82</sup> The data regarding the value of this sum vary between 1,000, 1,500, and 2,000 livres. See Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, III, 345; Watterich, *Rom. pontif. vitae*, I, 70; *Lib. pontif.*, I, 270; *M. G., SS.*, XX, 244.

force. The circumstances of his death are clouded in mystery. Some writers hold that he was moved by repentance and took the religious habit in the Abbey of Grottaferrata, where he died shortly afterward; others think that he died impenitent and that his premature end was a consequence of his dissolute life.<sup>83</sup>

The manner of Gregory's elevation to the papacy was exploited against him subsequently by his enemies; but the most eminent personages in the Church applauded his election. Peter Damian from his solitude at Fonte-Avellana, where he hid his glory under the white robe of the Camaldolese, wrote to him as follows:

I offer thanks to Christ the King of kings. God alone can thus change the times and transfer kingdoms. Let the heavens rejoice and let the earth be thrilled. The head of the venomous serpent is crushed. The false Simon no longer coins false money in the Church. May the golden age of the Apostles now return and, under your prudence, may the discipline of the Church flourish. The hour has come to repress the avarice of those who aspire to the episcopal office, to overturn the seats of the merchants in the Temple.<sup>84</sup>

Peter Damian was born of very poor parents in Ravenna in 1007. This future cardinal of the Roman Church was, in childhood, a swineherd. The devotedness of one of his brothers, who perceived Peter's inclination for study, enabled him to go to school. As soon as Peter finished his schooling, he himself became a teacher. His reputation spread throughout Italy. But

<sup>83</sup> Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, adds to the account of these events, a strange story. According to this story, Benedict IX's effrontery went to such a point that, even though pope, he intended to get married, taking as his wife the daughter of his cousin, Count Gerhard of Saxony. But the count required that he resign from his office. Benedict sold the papacy to Gregory VI. When Gerhard then refused to give his daughter to Benedict, the Tusculum party again placed Benedict on the papal see. (Bonizo, or Bonitho, *Ad amicum*; Jaffé, *Monum. gregoriana*, p. 628.) Bonizo's account is highly doubtful (Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 983 f.).

<sup>84</sup> *PL*, CXLIV, 205.

the young teacher's virtue was equal to his talent. He was attracted by the strict life of the Camaldolese monks and, amid the loud praise of his growing renown, he withdrew to a retreat where, according to Dante's poetic expression,

'Twixt either shore  
Of Italy, nor distant from thy land,  
A stony ridge ariseth; in such sort,  
The thunder doth not lift his voice so high.<sup>85</sup>

The words of the monk of Fonte-Avellana voiced the feelings of the noblest portion of Christendom; but the abuses that had accumulated under the preceding regime had increased the causes of disturbance. Says the chronicler William of Malmesbury: "When Pope Gregory, a man of deep religious spirit and great austerity, assumed the government of the Church, as a result of the recklessness of his predecessors he found himself almost without resources. The cities and the possessions belonging to the Church had been the prey of the ravishers. In the whole extent of Italy the highways were infected with brigands. At Rome itself, in the forum, assassins strolled about without hindrance. Swords were drawn even above the bodies of the holy Apostles; and no sooner were offerings placed on the sacred altars than they were snatched away."<sup>86</sup>

Gregory tried at first to cure these evils by gentle methods, by warnings. These measures were futile. He then acted with greater sternness. He excommunicated the greatest criminals and any persons who should thereafter hold social intercourse with them. These malefactors in their rage organized uprisings and raised troops. Gregory was obliged to repulse force with force. Aided by a young monk, Hildebrand, he bought arms and horses, equipped an army, with which he occupied the Basilica of St. Peter, forced the rebels from the positions they

<sup>85</sup> These lines of Dante occur where he is speaking of St. Peter Damian.

<sup>86</sup> *PL*, CLXXIX, 1183.

were holding in Rome, and, encouraged by this first success, carried his expedition beyond the city and gained possession of several fortresses that had recently been wrested from the domain of the Church.<sup>87</sup>

### Hildebrand

The monk here mentioned for the first time would become, along with Peter Damian, one of the early workers in the reform of the Church. He belonged to a monastery founded by St. Odo on the Aventine.<sup>88</sup> He was born about 1020<sup>89</sup> in the little town of Sovana in the southern part of Tuscany not far from the city and lake of Bolsena. According to Benzo, bishop of Alba, his father was a poor goatherd married to a woman of the Roman campania.<sup>90</sup> Entrusted to his uncle, abbot of St. Mary's Abbey on the Aventine, who undertook the care of his bringing-up and education, he had as fellow students some young men of the Roman aristocracy. Early, at least in a distant way, he became acquainted with the spirit of intrigue which was agitating the upper ranks of Roman society in the time of Benedict IX. But at St. Mary's on the Aventine he learned especially to know and love the monastic life which was there maintained in all its purity by constant relations of the Roman monastery with the order of Cluny. If we are to accept the statements of Cardinal Beno, the young Hildebrand was there taught by the learned Archbishop Lawrence of Amalfi,

<sup>87</sup> William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*; PL, CLXXIX, 1183. The fact that the monk Hildebrand took part in this warlike expedition in company with Gregory VI would later be made a matter of bitter reproach against him by his enemies. See Guido of Ferrara, *De scismate Hildebrandi*; M. G., SS., XII, 69.

<sup>88</sup> Now Santa Maria del Priorato. On the founding of this monastery, see M. G., SS., XI, 536.

<sup>89</sup> On Hildebrand's date of birth, his family, his native country, and his name, see O. Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, I, 393-97.

<sup>90</sup> M. G., SS., XI, 660.

whose lofty culture is praised by Peter Damian,<sup>91</sup> and by the archpriest John Gratian, who later became Pope Gregory VI. Both of these men were pupils of Sylvester II; through them the young Hildebrand was introduced to the whole intellectual movement of his time.

Upon reaching young manhood he went to France,<sup>92</sup> and perhaps spent some time at Cluny. Next he visited Germany and preached before the German court. We are told that the King was impressed by his eloquence. Upon returning to Rome, his only thought was to engage in the work of his own spiritual perfection. This may have been the period when he embraced the monastic life.<sup>93</sup> But, we are told by one of his earliest biographers, "he soon found out that at Rome he had dangerous enemies. He experienced the truth of the proverb that no one is a prophet in his own country. Wishing to remove all jealousy, he decided to return to Germany and Gaul. However, he reached no farther than Acquapendente in Etruria. In that city he had a dream in which the Apostle Peter appeared to him. Thereupon he decided to return to Rome and remain there."<sup>94</sup> The opposition and jealousy mentioned by his biographer were probably provoked by some protest on the young monk's part against the morals of the time.

Says the most complete of the historians of St. Gregory VII: "Such are the most reliable data regarding the early

<sup>91</sup> St. Peter Damian, *Vita Odilonis*; *PL*, CXLIV, 944.

<sup>92</sup> Bernried, *Vita Gregorii VII* in Watterich, *Rom. pontif. vitae*, I, 477.

<sup>93</sup> W. Martens (*Greg. VII, sein Leben und Werkes*, Vol. I) has maintained that Hildebrand never was a monk. His arguments have not convinced all scholars. Along with Duchesne, Leclercq, and most of the historians, we hold that Hildebrand was a monk. See Berlière, "Grégoire VII fut-il moine?" in the *Revue Bénédictine*, X (1893), 337-47; Delarc, "Hildebrand jusqu'à son cardinalat" in the *Correspondant*, Vol. X; Grisar, "Una memoria di S. Gregorio VII, e del suo stato monastico in Roma" in the *Civiltà cattolica*, III (1895), 205-10. Leclercq concludes that "Gregory VII's monastic profession is certain" (Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 992 note 5).

<sup>94</sup> Bernried, *loc. cit.*

youth of Hildebrand. Other items of information are to be found, but they are of a legendary sort or such as cannot be harmonized with the established dates in Hildebrand's life."<sup>95</sup>

Gregory VI, when he accepted the supreme pontificate, remembered his former pupil and made the young Tuscan monk his private secretary, or, to use the expression in vogue, his chaplain.<sup>96</sup>

Strengthened by the support he received from Peter Damian and from Hildebrand, confident that he would fulfil the wishes of St. Odilo, with whom he at once entered into relation,<sup>97</sup> and of the entire Order of Cluny, whose rights and privileges he promptly confirmed,<sup>98</sup> Gregory VI at the very outset undertook to restore the Roman churches, particularly St. Peter's, which had fallen in ruin through the neglect of his predecessors. In a letter to the universal Church on this occasion, he says:

Beloved brethren. Some emperors, kings, princes, and persons of other rank, incited by a wretched cupidity, have invaded the possessions of the holy Roman Church and have turned them to their own use. Behold the Church which possesses the bodies of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, from which the light spreads out to the entire world, now threatened with ruin. Some clerics filled with the spirit of religion and also some laymen have volunteered to give us annually, for the restoration of St. Peter's Church, a portion of the offerings they receive.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, I, 9.

<sup>96</sup> We should not attach to this title the meaning that it has today. At that period Hildebrand was not yet a subdeacon. A bishop's chaplain, *capellanus episcopalis*, was primitively the cleric who had the care of the bishop's chapel and who assisted him at ceremonies. Later he was a confidential, private secretary. We see *capellani* represent their bishop in councils, in important missions, and in other weighty affairs. See Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*, art. "Kaplan." Cf. Du Cange, under the word "capellanus."

<sup>97</sup> Jaffé (1st ed.), no. 3136. We do not know why the second edition omits mention of the bull of Gregory VI in this place.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Mansi, XIX, 621.



The Pope then promised the suffrage of his prayers and the blessing of God to all who would contribute to this holy work.

But the work undertaken by the courageous pontiff soon encountered various difficulties. Although the devout Duke of Aquitaine heeded Gregory's appeal and had contributions collected among his subjects, most of the other princes remained deaf to the Pope's appeal. Some of them, such as Count Gehard of Saxony and the heads of the house of Crescentius, openly opposed the new Pope.

Gregory turned to the ruler who, by the titles which he assumed, should have been the protector and defender of the Roman Church and who, calling himself the successor of Charlemagne, should have continued the services of the illustrious emperor.

### Emperor Henry III

Emperor Conrad II died in 1039. His successor, Henry III the Black, twenty-two years old at his elevation and endowed with a surprising maturity, brought the Empire to the culminating point of its power. But his conduct toward the Church presented a singular contrast. He was a man much given to all the practices of piety, a friend of the clergy and the monks, an avowed enemy of simony. But he allied himself to the Church only with the idea of ruling it; and he dislodged the Tusculum family from the position it had assumed toward the Roman Church only that he might attempt to confiscate the papacy for his own profit.<sup>100</sup>

The Emperor promptly answered the appeal which the Pope sent him. His desire to reform the abuses of the Churches may

<sup>100</sup> Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. 9, p. 151; Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 977 f.; Delarc, I, l-lII. Hefele and Delarc express a more favorable judgment of this emperor. We do not think this judgment is well founded. Hefele acknowledges that "Henry III considered himself the master of the Church, with the right to confer and to revoke the office of bishop and even of pope" (*op. cit.*, p. 978).

have been sincere. But what he most desired was to come to Rome to have himself crowned there.

First he went to Pavia. There, October 25 and 26, 1046, he assembled a well-attended council. Many German bishops of the royal suite participated in the council at the side of the Italian bishops. This council apparently was the place where he delivered <sup>101</sup> the famous discourse against simony. This address has been highly praised by certain historians <sup>102</sup> and would deserve our full admiration if it had served as the Emperor's guide during the rest of his reign. He declared:

With tears I address you, you who hold in this Church the place of Jesus Christ. . . . The Word of God, when sending forth His Apostles to preach the Gospel to the whole world, said to them: "Freely have you received, freely give." Why, then, do you let yourselves be dominated by cupidity and avarice? My own father, for whose salvation I am much disturbed, during his life also evidenced reprehensible avarice. . . . Ask God, in His gracious mercy, to pardon him. As for myself, just as, solely through the Lord's mercy, He has freely given me the crown, so I will freely give what concerns the worship of the Lord. I wish that you act in like manner.<sup>103</sup>

A short time after this, King Henry III and Pope Gregory VI held a conference at Piacenza. Together they went to Sutri, eight leagues from Rome, and there, in conformity with the King's desire, Gregory convoked a new council, over which he presided in person, on December 30, 1046. This wish of the King was a trap, which neither the Pope nor his confidential secretary Hildebrand was able to discern at the very first. Only later, through the experience of life, did Hildebrand learn to mistrust men's words, and even then excessive confidence in his enemies always remained the noble weakness of this grand

<sup>101</sup> This is the opinion of Steindorff (*Jahrb. des deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich III*, I, 307 f.). Hefele agrees with it (*op. cit.*, p. 985).

<sup>102</sup> Delarc, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-111.

<sup>103</sup> Glaber, *Hist.*, V, 5; *PL*, CXLII, 697.

character. The King's purpose in having this council assembled was to have it pass judgment, according to his own views, upon the question of the lawfulness of Gregory's election and to place Gregory, in the assembly over which he would officially preside, in the position of one accused.

First, the election of Sylvester III was declared null. The case of Benedict IX, who had refused to attend the council, was reserved. Then they came to the election of Gregory VI. Says the chronicler Bonizo:

The Pontiff, a simple and unsuspecting man, without any evasions set forth the account of his election. He enjoyed a large fortune, which he was willing to employ for the welfare of the Church. Seeing how the party of the nobility was disposing of the Holy See in utter contempt for the canonical regulations, he considered he was performing a good work in purchasing and in restoring to the clergy and people of Rome the right to elect the pope. The members of the council told him that such subtlety had been dictated to him by the serpent and that what could be bought should not be considered holy. Gregory replied: "God is my witness that, in acting as I did, I believed I was meriting the pardon of my faults and the glory of God." To this the bishops answered: "It would have been better for you to be poor as Peter than rich like Simon Magus. Pronounce your own condemnation." Then Gregory pronounced against himself the following sentence: "I, Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, judge that, having made myself guilty of the shameful crime and heresy of simony, ought to be deposed from the Roman bishopric." <sup>104</sup>

After such a sentence, Henry III should have been satisfied. This pretended defender of the canons and of morals, who for

<sup>104</sup> Jaffé, *Monumenta gregoriana*, pp. 626 f. A sharp controversy has arisen among historians over the question whether Gregory VI was deposed at the Council of Sutri or whether he abdicated. Bonizo's simple account seems to furnish the solution. Gregory abdicated, as in the course of the ages many kings have abdicated, bowing before a successful rebellion. In this sense we can understand the words of St. Peter Damian, who was present at the council, and who, thinking of the substance of things rather than the form, says that Gregory "was deposed."

seven years had remained silent in the presence of the scandals of Benedict IX, at length broke the power of a pope who was animated by the purest intentions; but Henry had imposed his wishes in the matter of a papal election. In an assembly held at Rome on December 23 and 24, 1046, Benedict IX was also deposed. On December 24, Henry informed the Roman clergy and people of the candidate of his choice, Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, who was consecrated the next day under the name of Clement II. That same day the new Pope at Rome crowned Emperor Henry III and Empress Agnes. The German monarch also received the title of Roman patrician. Gregory was sent to Germany with his chaplain Hildebrand and was treated as a state prisoner in the custody of the Archbishop of Cologne.

Henry had accomplished his purpose: he took the place of the counts of Tusculum and was ready to play the part which that family had so long filled in the elections to the papacy. We shall see four transalpine popes, one after the other, imposed on Rome: the bishops of Bamberg, of Brixen, of Toul, and of Eichstätt: Clement II, Damasus II, Leo IX, and Victor II. But in all truth we must say that none of these popes repeated the scandal of the popes that sprang from Tusculum; on the contrary, more or less effectively, all labored for reform. But the principle of the imperial supremacy remained a danger which the sharp mind of a Hildebrand did not lose sight of and from which he later attempted to free the Church of God. When, on April 22, 1073, Hildebrand was raised to the supreme pontificate, he took the name Gregory VII as a protest against the removal of Gregory VI from the list of the popes and against the decision of the Council of Sutri.<sup>105</sup>

Although it is true that the new Pope, Clement II, was chosen

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Delarc, "Hildebrand jusqu'à son cardinalat" in the *Correspondant*, LXXXVI (1874), 587. In the account we have just given of the events preceding and following the Council of Sutri, we depart from the chronology followed by a large number of historians and take that which Hefele has adopted and which he justifies in the second edition of his *Histoire des conciles*, IV, 983-90.

upon the proposal of Emperor Henry III, it is equally true that this election took place according to the canonical regulations. We are told that the consent of the people and clergy was unanimous; and Suidger, a worthy and pious bishop, did not consent to accept until the council of Rome plainly manifested its wishes.

"On January 5, 1047, Clement II assembled at Rome, in the Emperor's presence, a great council against various abuses, particularly against simony. Whoever should accept money for consecrating a church, for ordaining a cleric, for conferring a benefice, an ecclesiastical office, an abbey, or a provostship, is to be anathematized. Whoever, without being personally guilty of simony, receives holy orders from a simoniacal bishop, must do penance for forty days, but he will keep his office. To put an end to discussions between the archbishops of Ravenna and Milan and the patriarch of Aquileia, Pope Clement II decided that, in the emperor's absence, the bishop of Ravenna should take the first place at the pope's right."<sup>106</sup>

Clement II died October 9, 1047. The pontificate of his successor was even shorter. When requested to designate a new pope for them, Henry III named Poppo, bishop of Brixen, who was elected and took the name Damasus II. This was the third German to ascend the throne of Peter. His consecration could not take place for six months after his election. Immediately upon being elected, he was obliged to place himself at the head of an army to drive out the deposed pope, Theophylactus, the former Benedict IX, who had again been enthroned at Rome. The Tusculum family made a last attempt to recover its power. Less than a month later (August 10, 1048), Damasus II died a mysterious death. The Tusculan party, Theophylactus himself, were accused of poisoning him.<sup>107</sup>

The trials of the Church were not over. We might ask whether

<sup>106</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 991. Cf. Mansi, XIX, 617-27, *supplem.*, I, 1275-78.

<sup>107</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 993.

they were not going to become even more dreadful than ever. The imperial power, which had just so boldly declared its pretended right to interfere in the papal elections, was carried by Henry III to its highest point. At the time when the yoke of such a power seemed insupportable, what force would be able to shake it?

Peter Damian was at the head of the monastery of Fonte-Avellana; and Hildebrand, after his return from exile, was studying the Cluny rule to make it the basis of his future reforms. Besides them, God was increasing, in Italy, two new forces: the house of Tuscany and the Norman people.

The house of Tuscany held the pre-eminence in northern Italy. Founded in the preceding century by Azzo, the lord castellan of Canossa, the generous protector of Queen Adelaide, this family was enriched by the munificence of the Saxon emperors with the territories of Mantua, Ferrara, Brescia, Reggio, and Modena, and with the important marquisate of Tuscany. It was at this time represented by a man of energy, Marquis Boniface, who in the recent political events courageously took sides against Emperor Henry III.

The Normans occupied southern Italy. "Solid warriors, eager for gain, not very scrupulous," coming to the country in successive bands, they had continued "to engage in the service of anyone who paid them and made permanent settlements for themselves. Two of these they had already founded: at Aversa near Capua, and at Melfi between Benevento and Byzantine Apulia." <sup>108</sup>

These two new powers, the Tuscans and the Normans, soon play a notable part in the strife engaged in by the popes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the liberty of the Church against the German emperors. From the house of Tuscany comes Countess Matilda; from the Norman people comes Robert Guiscard.

<sup>108</sup> Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical*, p. 386.

## PART II

### THE LIBERATION OF THE CHURCH

FOR almost a century, from John XII to Clement II, the great concern of the Church had been to elude the tyranny of the Italian factions by relying on the imperial power. Emperor Henry III, so it seemed, at last gave that tyranny its coup de grâce; but in doing so he replaced the influence he had just overthrown by his own dominance.

The Church could not think of attacking the Holy Empire in its essential constitution. In the mind of the Church that institution still remained the guaranty of the union that ought to exist between Christian nations. But, while respecting that great power and even attempting to strengthen it on firmer foundations, the Church considered the possibility of limiting its prerogatives, of clarifying the limits of its lawful jurisdiction, and of better safeguarding the independence of the Church against the alleged rights of the Empire.

This work of liberation was the chief concern of the popes from St. Leo IX to Callistus II.

The three principal undertakings of this period were the investiture conflict, the elaboration of autonomous Church legislation by the holding of several councils, and the Crusades. By the investiture conflict the Church freed herself from the Empire and from feudalism; by the doctrinal and disciplinary work of the councils she strengthened her own life; by her part in the Crusades she displayed her supreme influence with regard to Christendom as a whole.



## CHAPTER IV

### *From St. Leo IX to St. Gregory VII (1048-73)*

IN the brief course of two years, five popes in succession ascended the Apostolic throne under tragic circumstances. Benedict IX, Sylvester III, and Gregory VI were deposed; Clement II and Damasus II died in a mysterious manner. The peace of the Empire no less than the tranquillity of the Church was concerned in the election of a pope who would offer well-grounded hope of stability. Emperor Henry III appointed Christmas, 1048, as the date for the meeting of a large assembly at Worms. We know that the monk Hildebrand was there, either personally invited or coming of his own accord so as better to serve the interests of the Church. From the outset of the meeting, the eyes of all turned to Bishop Bruno of Toul as the person most worthy to occupy the vacant see.

### Pope St. Leo IX

Bruno was the son of Count Hugh of Egisheim and of Heilwig (the only daughter of the Count of Dagsburg). He was also closely related to the Emperor. His devotion to the Apostolic See was well known. Since on his father's side he was German, and on his mother's side a Gallo-Roman, he seemed destined to pacify those nationalist conflicts that had so largely contributed to the disturbance of the Church and the Empire during the preceding regimes. Born June 21, 1002, in the country of "mild Alsace," as his biographer tells us,<sup>1</sup> he had by this

<sup>1</sup> *In dulcis Elsatiae finibus*, says Wibert, *Vita S. Leonis*, Bk. I, chap. 1; *PL*, CXLIII, 457.

time reached mature age and was capable of conducting successfully the formidable undertaking in the office which he was asked to assume. A residence of two years at the imperial court as chaplain of Emperor Conrad II had made him acquainted with public affairs. His part (in 1026) in an expedition against the rebellious Milanese showed his courage, his prudence, and his resolute character. For more than twenty years his government of the diocese of Toul—"in that artificial kingdom of Lorraine, its eastern portion dependent on the Holy Empire, its western part gravitating in the French orbit"<sup>2</sup>—showed that Bruno was a prudent and vigorous administrator and an austere and devout bishop, not concerned about perishable interests, but wholly devoted to the interests of God and God's Church.<sup>3</sup>

When Bruno was asked to accept the papacy, he replied: "I will go to Rome. There, if the clergy and people spontaneously choose me for their pontiff, I will yield to your wishes. Otherwise I will not accept election."<sup>4</sup> Under other circumstances and from anyone except his close relative, Henry III would perhaps have shown his dissatisfaction with such a reply. Bruno's election had to be accepted. The unanimous vote of the assembly acclaimed him.<sup>5</sup> Dressed in a plain pilgrim's cloak,<sup>6</sup> he set out for the Eternal City. After a month's hard journey, he arrived in Rome at the end of January, 1049. He was already known there on account of the many pilgrimages he had made to the tomb of the Apostles while he was bishop of Toul.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> E. Martin, *Histoire des diocèses de Toul, de Nancy et de Saint-Dié* (1900-2).

<sup>3</sup> E. Martin, *Saint Léon IX*, pp. 33-68.

<sup>4</sup> Bruno de Segni, *Vita S. Leonis IX*, in Watterich, I, 96.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Wibert, Bk. II, chap. 2, in Watterich, I, 150. Bonizo and Otto of Freising are mistaken when they say that Leo again assumed the papal insignia at Worms. See Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, I, 106-8 and note.

<sup>7</sup> His biographer's assertion that he made the pilgrimage to Rome every year, need not be taken literally. But it indicates at least the frequency of his pilgrimages. Cf. E. Martin, *Saint Léon IX*, p. 63.

On the Feast of the Purification (February 2) the metropolitan of Trier, Eberhard, presented him, in the Emperor's name, to the immense throng gathered in the Basilica of St. Peter. A unanimous acclaim was their reply. Ten days later (February 12), which was the first Sunday of Lent, Bruno was enthroned. He took the name Leo IX.

Probably the new Pope had brought the monk Hildebrand to Rome with him.<sup>8</sup> But we are certain that he who would be the Pope's best adviser was in the Eternal City very soon after him,<sup>9</sup> that thereafter he had the Pope's full confidence, and that presently he was made cardinal-subdeacon of the Roman Church.<sup>10</sup> "The mild and firm Pontiff and the energetic and tenacious monk would rely on each other and would supplement each other in the hard strife that was being waged."<sup>11</sup>

To appreciate fully the bitterness of that strife, one must read the *Liber Gomorrhianus*,<sup>12</sup> which Peter Damian wrote and dedicated to Pope Leo IX in the early part of his pontificate. In frank and plainspoken terms, the austere Camaldolese monk made a candid exposure and opened all the sores, denouncing to the Pope and to the whole Christian world the crimes committed among the clergy. He found fault with the inadequacy of the measures thus far employed to cure these disorders and begged Leo IX to be uncompromising in removing all clerics guilty of such offenses. The Pope, probably following the publication of this work, appointed Peter Damian prior of the Ocri monastery in the district of Saxeno.<sup>13</sup> However, the vehemence of such a

<sup>8</sup> Delarc holds this as certain (*op. cit.*, I, 109 note 2).

<sup>9</sup> See the evidence in Delarc, *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> *PL*, CL, 821; Mansi, XIX, 921.

<sup>11</sup> E. Martin, *Saint Léon IX*, p. 74.

<sup>12</sup> *PL*, CXLV, 159-190. Cf. Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, XIII, 312.

<sup>13</sup> Delarc, *op. cit.*, I, 127. Peter Damian's little work, *Liber Gomorrhianus ad Leonem IX*, is undated, but every reason leads us to believe it appeared at the very beginning of the pontificate of St. Leo IX. This is the view of Delarc (I, 126 f.) and Bareille (art. "Damien" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, IV, 42).

reformer destined him rather to utter cries of alarm than to be closely associated with the government of the Church, as was Hildebrand already. Leo IX, although continuing to esteem Peter Damian and generously encouraging him, gently removed him from the papal entourage. The outspoken hermit, thinking he was a victim of unjust denunciations, wrote proudly to the Pope, saying: "I do not seek the favor of any mortal; I fear no one's anger; I appeal only to the testimony of my own conscience."<sup>14</sup> This frankness was not displeasing to Leo IX. But the hour had not yet come for the ardent reformer to be introduced into the councils of the papacy; age and experience must first moderate his holy outbursts.

The Pope declined to apply rigorously the penalties proposed by Peter Damian against the disorders in the Church. But he felicitated the zealous monk and showed, by his conduct, that he understood the timeliness of the zeal. The new Pope's first care was vigorously to undertake the reform of the clergy.

In his deep spirit of faith, the holy Pontiff resolved to place this painful campaign under the protection of the archangel Michael and of the patriarch of Western monastic life, St. Benedict. During Passion Week he went on pilgrimage to Monte Gargano. He returned by way of Monte Cassino, where he prayed at the tomb of St. Benedict. He designated the week following Low Sunday of that same year as the date for an assembly of all the bishops of Italy and several bishops of neighboring regions. The purpose of this synod was to provide for the reform of morals.

### Councils

Present at this Roman council, besides a number of Italian prelates and abbots, were the Emperor's delegate Eberhard,

<sup>14</sup> See Leo's letter to Peter Damian, felicitating him on his *Liber Gomorrhianus*; PL, CXLV, 159 f.

who had not left Rome, and Halinard, the archbishop of Lyons. Directly attacking the two great vices afflicting Christian society, clerical simony and incontinence, the Pope began by proposing to the council that it declare the deposition of all who obtained their sacred offices by a simoniacal pact and furthermore that it declare null any ordination conferred by them. Part of the assembly hesitated to approve the second penalty. Gregory VI, Sylvester III, and Benedict IX, in different ways and with various degrees of responsibility, had given money on the occasion of their elevation to the Apostolic See. Should all the ordinations of bishops and clerics performed by those pontiffs therefore be held as null?

After long discussion, the synod declared that it abided by a decision of Clement II. That decision merely imposed a penance of forty days on clerics ordained by simoniacal bishops. But the measures adopted against the latter were extremely severe. Upon the Pope's order, each member of the council was required publicly to declare whether he had received or conferred orders in consideration of some temporal payment. The Bishop of Sutri, guilty of this crime, was on the point of trying to exculpate himself by introducing false testimony; but, as he began to speak, he collapsed suddenly, another Ananias, in the presence of the successor of St. Peter. This example overawed the assembly, which declared that every simoniacal cleric would be deposed. Next they renewed all the former laws regarding clerical celibacy.

But a matter of prime importance was that these enactments should not remain a dead letter, that they should pass beyond the limits of the council chamber and of the city of Rome. Often similar decisions of councils had been rendered ineffective by the inertia of some persons and the timidity or weakness of others. Would bishops and abbots, more or less involved in these disorders, have the necessary courage, strength, and moral authority to repress them? Who would be capable of promulgating

and applying these decisions in Italy, France, Germany, Spain, England, and Hungary?

Leo IX made an energetic resolve. He himself took the pilgrim's staff and journeyed through Europe to make known, respected, and carried out the penalties decreed by the Roman synod. Few popes have traveled so extensively as Leo IX; few journeys have been as fruitful as his.

In the week after Pentecost (1049) he was at Pavia, gathering the bishops of Lombardy in a council. The official report of the proceedings of this council have disappeared, but what we know indicates that the canons of the Roman council were there renewed and were applied without delay. On September 3, the Pope was at Mainz, presiding over an assembly of German bishops. No sooner had he succeeded in having that council pass similar decrees, than he convoked the French prelates to meet at Reims, where he intended to consecrate the abbey church of St. Remigius and to hold another council.

He reached Reims on September 29, the feast of St. Michael. A vast throng was awaiting him. Clerics and laymen, lords and peasants, Frenchmen from Île-de-France, Normans, people from Lorraine and from Champagne, all filled the streets of the city. Says a chronicler of the time: "It seemed that the whole world had sent pilgrims."<sup>15</sup> On October 2, in the presence of the reliquary of St. Remigius, which the Pope ordered to be placed on the altar so that the great apostle of the Franks might, as it were, preside over the council, twenty bishops and fifty abbots, along with a large number of priests and deacons, began their deliberations. Following the procedure inaugurated at the Roman synod, each bishop in turn arose and publicly declared whether he had received or conferred holy orders in a simoniacal manner. The ones who were most guilty were deposed; those who had merely profited by an agreement of which

<sup>15</sup> Anselm, *Historia dedicationis ecclesiae Sancti Remigii* in Watterich, I, 113, and in *PL*, CXLII, 1410-42.

they were unaware and which they regretted, benefited by the Pope's indulgence.<sup>16</sup> Then the council put into force certain canons that had fallen into neglect, and decreed new canons regarding the holy laws of marriage, laxity in the monastic life, usurpation of Church property by laymen, the sin of Sodom, certain "heretics recently appearing in Gaul,"<sup>17</sup> the oppression of the poor, the immoderate desire of certain clerics for combats.<sup>18</sup>

Knowing well that all these decrees would not be fully effective unless the rulers supported them with their authority, the Pope appealed to the zeal of King Henry I of France, Emperor Henry III of Germany, King Edward the Confessor of England, and King Ferdinand of Castile. Henry I, circumvented by advisers who had reason to dread a reform council, avoided the interview which the Pope proposed to him at Reims; but he did not oppose the execution in France of the council's decrees. Henry III of Germany attended a large council at Mainz (1050) that renewed the canons about the duties of clerics; Edward of England and Ferdinand of Castile favored the movement of religious restoration. To this end, Ferdinand assembled the bishops of his states at Coyaca (1050).

### Reform Movement

Leo IX did more than travel everywhere and urge the reform. He mobilized the army of the monks. Under his influence, the character of monastic activity was transformed.

At that time the monasteries were like those defensive fortresses which merely prevented the enemy from taking possession of the country. With Leo IX the monastic citadels opened their gates; the soldiers whom they had trained in the combat for God, sallied forth

<sup>16</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1019-23.

<sup>17</sup> *PL*, CXLII, 1437.

<sup>18</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, pp. 1023 f.

armed with spiritual weapons and took the offensive against evil. They no longer merely prayed in solitude; they preached; they exhorted the common people and the great; they reminded priests and bishops of their forgotten duties; everywhere they made known the decrees (without appeal) which St. Peter's successor had issued and confirmed and which the selfish lack of vigor on the part of faithless pastors left unknown to their flocks. The monastic order became a sort of army, acknowledging the pope as its commander-in-chief and ready to march, under the guidance of its abbots, who themselves received their guidance from the Holy See.<sup>19</sup>

Leo IX's reform work was powerfully aided by the appearance, in 1050, of a collection of Church laws, known as the *Collectio 74 canonum*, which became the basis for the important *Collectio canonum* of Anselm of Lucca, a contemporary of Gregory VII, which was considerably utilized by Gratian's *Decretum*. This collection contained decrees about the rights and obligations of clerics, the privileges and obligations of churches, the accusatory procedure, the right of appeal, and the primacy of the Apostolic See. It was the first manifestation of a juridical movement which, as it progressed, would exercise a preponderant influence in the reform of discipline and morals.<sup>20</sup>

With St. Leo IX's work of reform we should connect what he did for the construction and adornment of the churches and for the better execution of the sacred chant. "He was honored by his contemporaries, especially by the people of Beneventum, as a heavenly patron, because of the churches he built."<sup>21</sup> A capable singer, particularly qualified to execute the "circumvolutions of the quilisma,"<sup>22</sup> says his epitaph, he was also a composer. "To him is credited the composition of the responses for the feasts of St. Gregory the Great, St. Odilo, and St. Gorgo.

<sup>19</sup> Brucker, *L'Alsace et l'Eglise au temps de S. Léon IX*, I, 227.

<sup>20</sup> The *Collectio 74 canonum* is studied by Fournier in Vol. XIV of the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* published by the Ecole française de Rome in 1894.

<sup>21</sup> Hergenröther, *Hist. de l'Eglise* (French trans.), III, 269.

<sup>22</sup> An ornamental neume.



Leo IX's compositions were for a long time famous in the churches of Alsace and Lorraine."<sup>23</sup>

The task undertaken by the holy Pope was the more difficult because, in addition to the old ills of the Church, new trials arose. Berengarius' heresy, the schism of the Eastern Churches, and the deeds of violence by the Normans in Lower Italy were the chief of these trials.

### Berengarius

We have reason to suppose that the Council of Reims, when it condemned "certain heretics recently appearing in Gaul,"<sup>24</sup> had in mind Berengarius and his followers. He was a rhetorician, with a vacillating mind and versatile character. He gathered about his person and won to his teaching a mass of restless souls who were intolerant of any yoke and eager for every novelty; such persons form the nucleus of every heresy in every period of history. Berengarius did not at all possess the powerful personality of an Arius, a Pelagius, or a Luther.

Born at Tours about the year 1000, a pupil of Fulbert of Chartres, but even then considered by that teacher as an unsound and dangerous spirit,<sup>25</sup> he rose rapidly, through the brilliance of his talent and his intrigues, to the offices of *scholasticus* at Tours and archdeacon of Angers.<sup>26</sup> His ambition was further stirred by the elevation of his friend Eusebius Bruno to the see of Angers in 1047, the protection offered him by Godfrey Martel, the count of Anjou, and the success of his own teaching. From the first teachers of Gnosticism to John Scotus, most of

<sup>23</sup> A. Gastoué, *L'art grégorien*, p. 89. To Leo IX is also attributed the *Gloria in excelsis* which is placed as no. 1 *ad libitum* in the Vatican edition of the Roman Gradual.

<sup>24</sup> *PL*, CXLII, 1437.

<sup>25</sup> Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen Age*, p. 105.

<sup>26</sup> *L'Anjou historique*, II, 3-18.

the great heresiarchs who have appeared in the Church conceived and taught a new metaphysics. Berengarius was not capable of doing so. "To assume a theatrical manner, to strive particularly to win praise for what is most striking and brilliant in the teaching office rather than for what is staid, to pretend long meditations, to speak with impressive modulations of voice, in short, to deceive undiscerning minds in such a way as to win a reputation for learning without being learned": according to the description by one of his contemporaries,<sup>27</sup> such is the truest account of his talent. We may consider the portrait exaggerated. But what we know of the heresiarch's life and writings shows that the picture is substantially true.

What will this schemer do? He will try to combine, with the current doctrines being spread around him by the new Manichaeans<sup>28</sup> about baptism, marriage, and the Eucharist, the most brilliant and daring teaching of Scotus Erigena; he will attempt to cover his imprudent statements with isolated texts from St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine; and he will adopt an attitude of haughty independence toward the Holy See, calling the pope *pompifex* and *pulpifex*.<sup>29</sup> If it is true, as Guitmund, bishop of Aversa, relates, that afterward he hired poor students and sent them into all parts of France that they might spread his popularity, we more easily understand the nature and promptness of his success.

On account of the blatant propaganda of his followers and the boldness of his statements Berengarius' heresy appeared as one of the greatest dangers that had threatened Christian society. The doctrine of the Eucharist, which was the object of the heresiarch's most violent attacks, was, in the eleventh century, not only the center of faith and Catholic piety, it was also the

<sup>27</sup> Guitmund, bishop of Aversa, *De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate in Eucharistia*, Bk. I; *PL*, CXLIX, 1428.

<sup>28</sup> See *supra*, p. 108.

<sup>29</sup> *PL*, CXLVIII, 1456; CXLIX, 1422; CL, 426, 442.

center of the whole social life. Precisely in honor of the Eucharist so many masterpieces of architecture were built and religious music revived; in the presence of the Eucharist, agreements concluded for the peace of families and of society took on a sacred character; to the judgment of God present in the Eucharist appeal was made, with a faith sometimes mixed with superstition, by an accused person who alleged that he was the victim of a false charge. Although Berengarius did not altogether deny the doctrine of the Eucharist, he obstinately attacked the dogma of transubstantiation, gave the doctrine of the real presence an interpretation so idealistic that in the minds of the uneducated it amounted to a negation, and rejected the theory of the "material" *manducatio corporis Christi* in communion so vigorously that communion appeared to be nothing more than the symbol of a nourishment that was wholly spiritual.<sup>30</sup>

Pope Leo IX, informed of the proportions which the new doctrine was assuming, judged that the vague condemnation decreed in 1049 by the Council of Reims was not sufficient. In a council held at Rome in 1050, he pronounced sentence of excommunication against Berengarius. However, he summoned Berengarius to appear before a council that would open at Vercelli in September of the same year, so as to give him an opportunity to make a public retraction or, if possible, to explain his opinion in an orthodox sense.<sup>31</sup>

Ever solicitous to win the support of the temporal powers, the heresiarch first went to see William, duke of Normandy, the future conqueror of England, whose favor he hoped to gain. He went also to Paris to obtain the good will of King Henry I. But Henry, either distrustful of the innovator or prompted by

<sup>30</sup> Such is the interpretation that results from a close study of the writings of the heresiarch. For a full study of these writings, from this point of view, see Vernet, art. "Bérenger" in Vacant's *Dict. de théologie*, II, 728-36. See also the scholarly study by Renaudin, "L'hérésie anti-eucharistique de Bérenger" in the *Université catholique*, XL (1902), 415-47, and a work by Heurtevent, *Durand de Troarn et les origines de l'hérésie bérengarienne*, 1912.

<sup>31</sup> *PL*, CXLVIII, 1454; *CL*, 413.

political calculation,<sup>32</sup> did not let Berengarius set out for Vercelli. He imprisoned him. This imprisonment, however, did not last long. Berengarius bought his way out and sought refuge with the Count of Anjou.

The Council of Vercelli, after mature examination and long discussion, condemned both the doctrine of Berengarius and Scotus' book to which he appealed.<sup>33</sup> The heresiarch inveighed against "the band of simpletons," against the "council of vanity" that had condemned him, he said, without understanding him.<sup>34</sup>

The movement took a revolutionary turn. The King of France was alarmed for the peace of his kingdom. Without consulting the Pope, he assembled at Paris (October 16, 1051) a national council to pass judgment on Berengarius. The latter, foreseeing that the decision of the council would be against him, did not attend and was condemned.

But the Pope could not let this interference by the King in ecclesiastical matters pass without a protest, at least an implicit protest. To solve the problem, he turned to the monk Hildebrand, who was living in Rome in obscurity and retirement, engaged with his usual ardor in the temporal and spiritual restoration of the monastery of St. Paul Outside the Walls,

<sup>32</sup> At that time Henry I was in conflict with his powerful vassal, Count Geoffroy of Anjou. He knew that Berengarius was a protégé of the count. Perhaps his imprisonment of Berengarius was simply to irritate Geoffroy. See Ebersolt, "Bérenger de Tours et la controverse sacramentaire au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle" in the *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.*, 1903, p. 32. Probably King Henry I was prompted by both reasons. The sequel shows us that he had no liking for Berengarius, and that he dreaded the disturbances which Berengarius' heresy might stir up in his kingdom. But he preferred to condemn the heretic himself rather than see him judged by the pope. Henry was always excessively jealous of his authority as related to the authority of the Holy See.

<sup>33</sup> John Scotus had said: "The Eucharist is the figure, the sign, and the pledge of the body of Christ." Scholars are not agreed about Scotus' doctrine in his *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (PL, CXXI, 125-70). Bossuet (*History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*, Bk. IV, no. 32) speaks of this work as "an ambiguous book, where certainly the author did not always understand himself." Cf. Vernet, *op. cit.*, col. 731.

<sup>34</sup> *De sacra coena*, pp. 46 f.; Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1058 f.

leaving his monastery only to fulfil missions entrusted to him by the Pope. Leo IX asked him to go to France along with Cardinal Gerard and there to treat of affairs of the Holy See. The chief affair was that of Berengarius. The Count of Anjou's reconciliation with the Pope had made the heresiarch lose all his confidence. Hildebrand, with his usual resoluteness, convoked a council at Tours (1054). Berengarius, feeling that the decisive combat was going to be against him, went, but resolved to employ every subterfuge, to invoke every right of appeal. But, from the very first, Hildebrand imposed on him the choice of immediate recourse to the direct judgment of the Pope or of letting the French council, assembled in the Pope's name, pass judgment on the main point at issue. The whole assembly favored the latter alternative and desired to hear the innovator's explanations. Under Hildebrand's vigorous direction, the discussion began. Berengarius was called upon to declare, yes or no, whether he subscribed to the following proposition: "After the consecration, the bread and wine of the altar are the body and blood of Jesus Christ." Berengarius, as he himself avows, subscribed to this formula and swore that such was his faith, from the bottom of his heart.<sup>35</sup>

The heresiarch later revoked this declaration, distorted it while pretending to explain it. Thus began that confused series of affirmations and retractions that fill his career up to his last abjuration, made at the Council of Bordeaux in 1080, which seems to have been sincere and final.

### Eastern Schism

The final result of Berengarius' heresy was an increase of devotion to the Eucharist in the whole Church. That same year

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* (ed. 1834), pp. 49-53. "The Council of Tours was certainly held in 1054. Lanfranc is mistaken when he puts off the date of this council until some time in the pontificate of Victor II. He is confusing the Council of Tours of 1054 with a council held in 1055 by Hildebrand in a city of the province of Lyons" (Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1109 note 2).

(1054) a painful conflict broke out at Constantinople, with very different results: it led to the withdrawal of the Eastern Churches from the Roman communion.

Most futile pretexts were alleged as justification of this grievous break. In the ninth century Photius had attempted to proclaim the independence of the Church of Constantinople by blaming the Latins for certain liturgical practices, especially for the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed. Thanks to the council held at Constantinople in 869, thanks also to the firmness shown by Emperor Leo VI after Photius was again placed in the patriarchal see, the schismatic attempt failed. But the causes of misunderstanding between the East and the West were by no means removed. Constantinople still regarded Rome and its pontiffs with a jealous and distrustful eye; and we must confess that for a century the conduct of certain popes was scarcely such as to inspire respect. The schismatic tendencies of the East had an even deeper cause. The great misfortune of the Easterners was always the confusing of the spiritual and the temporal in the person (which they considered sacred) of their basileus, making their monarch more than the head of a state, and of their patriarch more than the head of a Church. And they felt that this confusion would always be opposed by Rome, that it could be solidly established only in the complete autonomy of their Church.<sup>36</sup>

The step taken in 1024 jointly by the patriarch Eustathius and Emperor Basil to win John XIX, a move happily frustrated by the abbot of St. Bénigne, was prompted by this twofold feeling of jealousy toward the Roman See and of Caesaropapist autonomy.

<sup>36</sup> The famous Russian philosopher Vladimir Soloviev gives this tendency as the essential cause of the Eastern Schism, and even as the explanation of the whole history of Byzantium. He says: "People confused the divine and the human in the sacred majesty of the emperor. . . . Therein lay a principle of death for the Byzantine Empire. It was the real cause of the Empire's ruin. That it perished, and also that it perished at the hands of Islam, was but just. Islam is Byzantinism logical

Yet all hope of an understanding did not seem lost. The relations between Easterners and Latins increased in the course of the Middle Ages. Ever since Charlemagne became the protector of the Holy Land large numbers of people went there on pilgrimage. Latin monasteries were established in Palestine and even at Constantinople, and Greek monasteries were built in Italy. Leo IX, upon receiving notification of the election of Patriarch Peter III to the see of Antioch, thanked him and felicitated him for his cordial feelings toward the Roman Church.<sup>37</sup>

But when a determined and obstinate man revived the old causes of antipathy, the result might be a division that would even become a definite rupture. This man was the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Caerularius. He was sprung from a noble Byzantine family. All the bitterness and all the prejudices of his race seemed to be transmitted to him. The prolific and versatile writer Psellus, his contemporary and intimate, relates that Caerularius "from his youth manifested a solitary spirit"; that "he was inclined to political meditations and even then indicated what he would some day be."<sup>38</sup> Austere as an ascetic, a dreamer and mystic, and also imperious and dogmatic, but more than all else ambitious, in 1040 he was the heart and soul of a conspiracy to overthrow Emperor Michael IV, whom he hoped to succeed. The plot was discovered, and Michael Caerularius was exiled. The exile's meditations and the death of his only brother, to whom he was much attached, seemed for a while to turn all his activity toward religious asceticism. He became a monk. But soon the truth was perceived, that, beneath the monastic habit, the old man was by no means dead. After his return from exile, following the death of Michael IV, under Constantine IX Monomachus he became the most influential

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and unequivocal, freed from every contradiction" (*La Russie et l'Eglise universelle*, Introd., p. xlv).

<sup>37</sup> Jaffé, no. 4297; *PL*, CXLIII, 769.

<sup>38</sup> *PG*, Vol. CXXI.

personage of the Empire. He was consecrated patriarch of Constantinople on March 25, 1042. At once he took first place both in the Church and in the state.<sup>39</sup>

From that hour, according to the words of his panegyrist, his overbearing disposition knew "neither measure nor bounds."<sup>40</sup> However, open hostility against Rome did not break out until eleven years later, in 1053. At the instigation of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop Leo of Achrida (Ochrida) in Bulgaria published a manifesto which he said was intended "for all the princes of the priests, the priests of France, the monks, the peoples, and the most reverend pope."<sup>41</sup> Four errors were imputed to the Latins: the use of unleavened bread in the celebration of mass; the custom of fasting on Saturdays; the use of meat from strangled animals; the practice of not singing the *Alleluia* during Lent. Declared the impetuous Archbishop: "anyone who thus observes the Sabbath and the use of unleavened bread, is neither Jew nor pagan; he resembles a leopard. . . . Why are you laboring at the reform of the people? Labor first at reforming yourselves." About this same time a monk of Studium, by name Nicetas Stethatos (in Latin, Pectoratus, "the man with the big chest"), was circulating all through the Greek Church a diatribe even more violent. To the earlier complaints, he added two others. He blamed the Latin Church for its alleged heresy about the Holy Ghost and for the obligation of celibacy imposed on priests. The fiery monk exclaimed: "Whence do you derive the custom of forbidding and dissolving the marriage of priests? What doctor of the Church has taught you this abomination?"<sup>42</sup> He thus appealed to the lowest instincts in defending the cause of the separation.

Michael Caerularius was the one who instigated this second manifesto as he had the first. The plan of campaign had been

<sup>39</sup> J. Bousquet, *L'unité de l'Eglise et le schisme grec*, pp. 173-75.

<sup>40</sup> Psellus, funeral oration; *PG*, Vol. CXXI.

<sup>41</sup> *PL*, CXLIII, 929. Cf. *PG*, CXX, 385 f.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 981.



cunningly devised by him to progress step by step. He reserved to himself the adding of further charges in addition to those that were launched at his order. Meanwhile he thought the time had come to confront the clergy and faithful with an irreparable situation. "Of his own authority, without any plausible pretext, he closed the Latin churches of Constantinople. He ordered all the priests living in the Latin monasteries to adopt the Greek rite at once and, upon their refusal to do so, anathematized them. Then ensued scenes of violence and savagery that he made no attempt to hinder. Nicephorus, the chancellor of the patriarchate, even threw on the ground and trod under foot consecrated hosts on the pretext that, as they were made of unleavened bread, their consecration was not valid." <sup>43</sup>

Leo IX realized that the hour had come for him to raise his voice. This he did with a dignity and gravity that was in contrast with the bitter language of the rebellious Greeks. Passing over questions of little moment, he went straight to the essential question: Which was the Church whose practices had most right to the respect of all? Was it not that Roman Church, so venerable in its origin, ever indefectible in its doctrine, and so tolerant in its government, that it was seen in Italy not merely permitting Greek monasteries to retain their customs and rites, but even exhorting them to do so? <sup>44</sup>

The principle of the Roman primacy, which the Pope thus recalled to mind, was precisely the principle that Caerularius wished to destroy. But, at least for the moment, he had to submit. Just then the Normans were in conflict with the Byzantines for the possession of Lower Italy. The imperial forces were defeated (June 17, 1053) at Civitella. The Emperor considered the moment ill chosen for a break with the West. By some unknown means he influenced the Patriarch so that the latter sent a respectful and conciliatory letter to Rome.

<sup>43</sup> Bousquet, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>44</sup> *PL*, CXLIII, 764.

The Pope felicitated the Patriarch for his declarations of loyalty, but was not deceived by his promises. He sent three legates to Constantinople, instructing them to settle with the Emperor and the Patriarch all the difficulties that had arisen. One of these legates was the chancellor of the Roman Church, Frederick, who later became pope under the name of Stephen IX.

When the envoys reached Constantinople (June, 1054), Leo IX was no longer of this world. Michael Caerularius received them with insolence, declared his purpose of persisting in all his positions, and, as though he were the supreme pontiff of the Universal Church, ordered the Patriarch of Antioch to remove the name of the Pope from his diptychs.

The legates (July 16, 1054), in the Church of St. Sophia, pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against Michael Caerularius. Four days later, Caerularius, assembling a number of bishops in council at Constantinople, pronounced anathema against the Pope. The schism was consummated.

Up to the time of his death in 1059, the life of Michael Caerularius was much agitated. But he had established the "Orthodox" Church as it would continue for centuries.

Less learned but more practical than Photius, he left in the background the disputed theological questions, which affect the mass of the faithful very little, and gave more emphasis to the outward differences in matters of discipline and ritual, those matters which impress the people. He was able to stir the popular imagination by interpreting the practices of the West in the most abominable sense. Furthermore, he won over a power which previously had been by choice at the service of the Catholic Church and of the papacy: that of the monks, who were very numerous at Constantinople and throughout the East. In the course of the tenth century, some maneuvers by Roman envoys gave them scandal; Michael succeeded in winning them to his side and turning them against Rome. Thereafter the

monks became the most fanatical partisans of Byzantine autonomy and the most intense enemies of whatever was Roman. . . . For those various reasons the work of Michael Caerularius still perdures.<sup>45</sup>

### International Affairs

The last years of St. Leo IX's pontificate were taken up with various international questions. One after the other, the republic of Pisa, the king of England, the king of Scotland, the king of Hungary, the duchess of Tuscany, the king of France, and the emperor of Germany turned to Leo IX to ask his counsel, his arbitration, or his support.

In 1050 a dreaded Saracen corsair, Muset, captured Sardinia from the republic of Pisa and was threatening all the seacoast cities. The Pisans, then at strife with Lucca, were unable to confront two foes at once. They acquainted the Pope with their distress, and he arranged a truce between the two states in Italy and enabled Pisa not only to recover Sardinia, but also to overcome the terrible Saracen, make him a prisoner, and free Europe from a pressing danger.

The next year (April, 1051) Leo IX received a solemn embassy sent by the king of England, Edward the Confessor. This ruler the Church venerates as a saint. Although history has not given him the title of "Great,"<sup>46</sup> he deserves to be called a just and good king. Says David Hume: "The English bore him great affection on account of his humanity, justice, and piety, as well as the long race of their native kings from whom he was descended."<sup>47</sup> He was banished from his country during the reigns of the conquering Danes, Canute the Great and Canute II. For obtaining the recovery of the kingdom of his fathers he made a vow to observe perfect continence and, once re-estab-

<sup>45</sup> Bousquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 187 f.

<sup>46</sup> *Erat Eduardus mitis ingenii minimeque sagacis, et apprime bellorum ac caedis abhorrens* (*Acta sanctorum*, January, I, 291).

<sup>47</sup> David Hume, *History of England*, year 1041 (1866 ed., I, 137).

lished in his states, to make a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to the tomb of the holy Apostles. God heard his prayer. Upon the death of King Hardicanute in 1041, the English, shaking off the yoke of Denmark, called to the throne the descendant of the old royal Saxon race.

The new King showed himself worthy of this confidence. "To preserve peace and promote religion, to enforce the ancient laws, and to diminish the burthens of his people, were the chief objects of his government."<sup>48</sup> The collection of laws published by him still serves as the foundation of the constitution of the English people. But when the King spoke of going on pilgrimage to Rome in fulfilment of his vow, his advisers, fearing the disorders that might be provoked by his absence, begged him to obtain from the pope a dispensation from his vow. The embassy which was sent to the Pope in the King's name accomplished its mission. The Pope gave them for transmission to the King a letter full of fatherly kindness. In this letter he says: "As evidently your presence is necessary in the midst of the English nation, we free you from the vow made by you and from the obligation of performing it. But, in return for this dispensation, we command, in the name of holy obedience, that you distribute to the poor the amount of money which you have set aside for your journey to Rome and that you erect and endow, in honor of the Prince of the Apostles, in your capital city, a monastery for the glory of God and for the instruction and edification of your people."<sup>49</sup> In carrying out this command, King Edward undertook to re-establish the old monastery of St. Peter, founded near London at the beginning of Christianity in England. It was named Westminster (monastery of the West) because of its location.<sup>50</sup> Such was the origin of the famous Westminster Abbey, which was enlarged and embel-

<sup>48</sup> Lingard, *History of England*, year 1043 (1912 ed., p. 328).

<sup>49</sup> St. Leo IX, *Ep.*, 57; *PL*, CXLIII, 674.

<sup>50</sup> Henry III and Edward I had already started the construction of the monastery that would become Westminster Abbey (Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1069 note 2).

lished by King Edward's successors and became the burial place of the kings and other eminent men.

At about this same time (1050) King Macbeth of Scotland made the pilgrimage to Rome. This monarch, whose tragic adventures supplied Shakespeare with the subject of his most pathetic masterpiece, came to Rome, tortured with remorse, there to expiate his crimes at the tomb of the Apostles. On that occasion he distributed immense alms in the Eternal City.<sup>51</sup>

In 1052 the King of Hungary, besieged in Presburg by the Emperor of Germany, turned to Leo IX, begging him to act as mediator between himself and his terrible foe. Since the death of King St. Sephen in 1038, Hungary had suffered many painful blows. King Peter was able to remain on the throne only by taking an oath of vassalage to the German Emperor. That was an unwise step. From then on, the emperors sought to make the land of the Magyars a fief of the Holy Empire. King Andrew, whom the national Hungarian party raised to power in 1041, continued in power only by subscribing to conditions that were humiliating for his country. In 1050 a sudden and brutal incursion of the Germans into Hungary started open war. Attacked in Presburg by an army which Henry III commanded in person, Andrew remembered that the holy King Stephen had placed his kingdom under the suzerainty of the Holy See. He wrote to Leo IX to put his imperiled kingdom under the safeguard of the papacy. We know that Leo answered this appeal by himself going at once to Hungary and proceeding to meet Henry III in the imperial camp. We are less precisely informed about the outcome of the affair. Hermann Contractus maintains that King Andrew refused to agree to the conditions of peace proposed by the Pope,<sup>52</sup> but Wibert declares that the Kingdom of Hungary recovered its autonomy.<sup>53</sup> Of this we are

<sup>51</sup> Baronius, *Annales*, year 1050, no. 15.

<sup>52</sup> Hermann Contractus, *Chronicon*, year 1052; *M. G.*, SS., V, 131.

<sup>53</sup> Wibert, *Vita Leonis IX*, Bk. II, chap. 8.

certain, that "Hungary developed along the path opened by St. Stephen and, when in 1077 he had a successor worthy of him, St. Ladislaus, a period of power and progress began for the Magyar state."<sup>54</sup>

Tuscany was governed, not by a king, but by a duchess, a simple woman. But Beatrice, duchess of Tuscany and Mantua, the excellent mother of Countess Matilda, had a virile and noble soul equal to that of the greatest kings. In 1053, at the Council of Mantua, a number of Lombard prelates, whom history has stigmatized with the name of "Lombard bulls," emboldened by the death of Duke Boniface and fearing a reform that would oblige them completely to alter their lives, invaded the council and there brought on a sanguinary brawl. Beatrice was not a woman to let the ducal authority or that of the Church be compromised. She prepared to punish the guilty; but she wished to have the Pope's advice. Leo IX requested and obtained a full amnesty for the guilty prelates. The manifestation had been directed chiefly against his personal authority; he resolved to pardon.

On the other hand, he was unbending in settling a dispute where justice seemed to him to be manifestly wronged. One Bertrand, archdeacon of Mende, who was a simoniacal priest but powerfully backed by the Count of Toulouse and by King Henry I of France, was claiming a right to the crosier against a certain Peter, who was the lawfully elected bishop of Puy-en-Velay. The Pope without hesitation decided against the protégé of the French King and in favor of Peter, who had justice on his side.<sup>55</sup>

At Worms (1052) Leo IX concluded with the Emperor a treaty that was important from the standpoint of the development of the temporal power of the Holy See. The Pope agreed to abandon the rights accruing to him by title of foundation from the bishopric of Bamberg and the monastery of Fulda; in re-

<sup>54</sup> Ernest Denis in Lavis and Rambaud, *Hist. gén.*, I, 722.

<sup>55</sup> E. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

turn, the Emperor gave to the domain of St. Peter the district of Benevento and the other possessions of the German crown located south of Rome.<sup>56</sup> Further, as a guaranty of the tranquil possession of these domains, the Emperor promised to put a contingent of troops at the Pope's disposal.<sup>57</sup>

### Normans in Italy

Besides the notable advantages which this treaty assured to the papacy for the future, it enabled the Pope immediately to repress the turbulent incursions of the Normans in southern Italy. The Norman nation, which later on rendered the Holy See eminent services (intermittent services, interrupted by many a quarrel and revolt), had continued, ever since the establishment of its settlements on the Italian shores in 996, to fortify itself there and to grow.<sup>58</sup> Still impetuous with an ill restrained barbarian vigor, the Norman warriors frequently indulged in scenes of pillage and devastation. Leo IX was grieved at this. But he thought the best policy, unless he should be driven to extremities, was not to undertake a military expedition, and for a long time counted on the intervention of the Greek troops for the repression of these excesses.<sup>59</sup> However, the scenes of pillage increased. According to the report of Bruno of Segni, some people of Apulia came to Rome, their eyes gouged out, their noses cut off, their feet or hands mutilated, lamentable testimony of a shameless barbarism.<sup>60</sup> At the end of May, 1053, Leo IX decided that the time had come for him

<sup>56</sup> *M. G.*, SS., VII, 685.

<sup>57</sup> Poncelet, *Anal. bolland.*, XXV (1906), 284. Subsequently the Emperor gradually withdrew these forces from the pope. Cf. Chalandon, *Hist. de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, I, 134 f.

<sup>58</sup> On the settling of the Normans in Italy, see Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, I, 48-72.

<sup>59</sup> *PL*, CXLIII, 779.

<sup>60</sup> Bruno de Segni, *Vita S. Leonis IX*; *PL*, CLXV, 1116.

personally to take the direction of an expedition against the Normans.

Unfortunately the troops which the Emperor placed at his disposal were purposely made up of adventurers and vagabonds who regarded the campaign merely as an occasion for booty. In the first big battle, which was fought near Civitella, the papal troops fell back. After the defeat the Pontiff, however, when appearing in the presence of the terrible victors, was able to impress them with the prestige of his majesty. He appealed to their loyalty and, says a witness, obtained from them not only the promise that they would end their deeds of brigandage, but even a promise under oath that they would remain faithful to him and that they would replace from their own numbers the soldiers he had just lost.<sup>61</sup> "Such abrupt change of front was not rare in those times of violent contrasts. Leo IX's dignity in his distress, his firmness tempered with gentleness, his calm valor as father and pope, thus procured for him and for the Holy See more than he could have hoped to obtain by military success. Instead of unconquerable enemies, ever inclined to revolt, he now had vassals who came to him spontaneously."<sup>62</sup> However, the holy Pope seems to have retained a deep grief over the defeat of his forces at Civitella. And perhaps his feelings were tinged with bitterness toward the Emperor, whose conduct had done him such a disservice, and with doubt as to the perseverance of those who had just declared their subjection. A few days after these events, as though the great physical and moral effort he had just made had shattered his strength, he felt himself stricken by approaching death. With difficulty he returned to Rome. On April 19, after making his confession, hearing mass, and receiving holy communion, in a saintly manner he rendered his soul to God.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Anonymus benevetensis* in Watterich, I, 102.

<sup>62</sup> E. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>63</sup> Bruno de Segni, *op. cit.*; *PL*, CLXV, 1119.



## Pope Victor II

At the first news of Leo IX's death, Hildebrand, who was then at Tours, returned to Rome. He had an important part to play there. Day after day the likelihood appeared more evident that, although the emperor's assistance could render real services to the action of the popes, his abusive interference in their election was of a sort to place them in a position of dependence upon him, which was humiliating for the Church and harmful to the rightful freedom of their spiritual mission. The Romans appreciated this fact so well that their idea was this time to name, without any recourse to the emperor, a pope of Italian nationality. Hildebrand's name was on everyone's lips. That such a procedure would exceedingly displease Henry III, was undeniable. To satisfy the two rival susceptibilities: on the one hand, to obtain from the clergy and people of Rome recourse to the emperor and the abandonment of a national candidate; on the other hand, to induce the emperor to renounce the exercise of his right of patrician of Rome and thereby of the imposition of his own candidate: such was the mission which Hildebrand undertook.

To obtain the required sacrifices from the Romans and from the Emperor required all the prestige and confidence which the monk enjoyed with the Romans, the promise that the new pope would be proposed by Hildebrand himself, and a guaranty that the imperial authority would not interfere with the freedom of their votes. Henry III at length renounced the abusive exercise of his rights as patrician, on condition that the pope should be of German nationality. Probably the able negotiator gave him to understand that a rupture with Rome, at the very time when southern Italy was slipping from him and when even in Germany his star was beginning to grow dim, would be disastrous for his personal authority. But when Hildebrand proposed his candidate, new difficulties arose. The one whom he named was

the Emperor's most valued counselor, Bishop Gebhard of Eichstätt, of the family of the Bavarian counts of Tollenstein and Hirschberg. He was a man in the prime of life. A real statesman, experienced in handling affairs, he was, upon several questions of international concern, in disagreement with Leo IX, but his unqualified devotion to the Church, the perfect correctness of his private life, these qualities nobody doubted. Henry III protested that he could not do without such a counselor.

Gebhard himself, fully understanding the formidable difficulties of the office to which they wished to raise him, resisted all entreaties for five months. He yielded only at the diet of the princes held at Ratisbon in March, 1055. Henry III had to agree to the conditions that were clearly laid down by the future pope. Said the Bishop of Eichstätt to the Emperor: "I give myself body and soul to St. Peter, and I bow before you; but on condition that you also will render to St. Peter what is his due." "By these words he was certainly alluding to the possessions of the Roman Church, but also to its rights and freedom, especially to the participation of the clergy and people in papal elections."<sup>64</sup> Gebhard, after being canonically elected by the Romans, was consecrated at Rome, April 13, 1055, and took the name of Victor II.

Of all the diplomatic successes won by Hildebrand in his career as monk and pope, this one was the most characteristic. The clear view of the difficulties, the perfect unselfishness, all the gifts that would characterize St. Gregory VII in his government of the Church, were revealed in these negotiations which resulted in the election of Victor II.<sup>65</sup>

During his short pontificate, scarcely two years long, the new Pope fulfilled the hopes that had been placed in him. In his relations with rulers, he succeeded in having the freedom of

<sup>64</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1116.

<sup>65</sup> On this election, see Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1113-16; Delarc, *op. cit.*, II, 5-10.

the Roman Church respected; in the reform of the clergy, he was able with a firm hand to repress the abuses of his time.

He profited by the Emperor's journey in Italy during the summer of 1055 to remind him of his promises regarding the protection of the domains of the Holy See. From him the Pope obtained not only the restitution of certain property wrongly retained, but also the concession of the duchy of Spoleto and of the countship of Camerino.<sup>66</sup> Then, commissioning Hildebrand to restore the papal finances, the Pope himself reduced to obedience several castles that claimed to be exempt from such obedience. In this undertaking he had to oppose even the Emperor.<sup>67</sup>

The next year Victor visited the Emperor at Goslar in Saxony, to obtain from him sufficient troops to hold in respectful submission the Normans and Tusculans, who were again being stirred up. At this interview, various other important matters were treated.<sup>68</sup> One question settled was an acute conflict between Henry III and the Duke of Lorraine. The Emperor, the year before, had been displeased at seeing his relative Beatrice, the duchess of Tuscany, marry Duke Godfrey of Lorraine, whose political interests were opposed to those of the Emperor. This marriage he regarded as a sort of conspiracy to rob Germany of its preponderance in southern Italy. So violent was his irritation that he brought to Germany and kept prisoners at his court Duchess Beatrice and her young daughter Matilda. Pope Victor's intervention dissipated the Emperor's unjust suspicions. The Emperor's two relatives returned to Italy. But Countess Matilda later, at the hands of Henry III's son, had to atone for the measures of his father.<sup>69</sup>

The Pope and the Emperor cherished some new projects for the good of the state and of the Church. But on October 5, 1056, after a few days' fever, Henry III died. He was thirty-nine

<sup>66</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1119 note 2.

<sup>67</sup> Anonymus Haserensis; *M. G.*, SS., VII, 265.

<sup>68</sup> Delarc, II, 17.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

years old. He breathed his last piously, in the Pope's arms, asking aloud pardon of those whom he had offended. "He left as his successor, under the tutelage of Empress Agnes, a six-year-old boy. This was Henry IV, who was born November 11, 1050, and crowned July 17, 1054. The dying Emperor, thoughtful of the future of the mother and the child under such critical circumstances and with a turbulent nobility, commended them to his friend Pope Victor. The Pope it was who, following Henry III's death, governed for some time in the name of the Empress and of the young Henry IV. His presence at such an hour was a priceless blessing for the country. That Germany at that period escaped anarchy and civil war was owing to the wisdom and authority of the Pontiff." <sup>70</sup>

What the Pope, at the time of this intervention in the political affairs of that country, witnessed in Germany, made him see that he should less and less count on the crown of Germany to come to the succor of the Holy See. Therefore, on his return to Italy, he strengthened the bonds of friendship with Duke Godfrey and Duchess Beatrice. The people of Lorraine and Tuscany seemed to him to be more reliable supports. Did he already foresee the hostile attitude that Henry IV would one day take?

Personally or by his legates, Victor II held several councils which had as their aim the reform of the Church, particularly the suppression of simony. Among these councils we should mention those of Chalon-sur-Saône and Toulouse in France, Llandaff in Wales, Santiago de Compostela in Spain, and the Lateran in Rome.<sup>71</sup> Hildebrand, Peter Damian, Archbishop Raimbaud of Arles, and Archbishop Ponce of Aix were his chief auxiliaries in this work of reform. Hildebrand later related to his friend Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino (the future Victor III) how, at one of these councils, God Himself

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>71</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1120-25.

by a miracle seconded the campaign undertaken by the Pope against the simony of clerics. Says Hildebrand:

It was in Gaul. The bishop of the city where I had gathered a council was accused of having obtained his bishopric for money. As he kept denying the charges against him, I adjured him in these words: "I call upon you, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to answer, yes or no, whether you are guilty of the crime with which you are charged; and, if you are really guilty, may Heaven make you unable to pronounce the name of the Holy Ghost, whose gifts you have purchased for money." The Bishop began to speak, saying: "In the name of the Father, of the Son . . ." But he was unable to go farther. All those present thereupon were convinced that the wretch was stained with the crime of simony. He himself trembled and confessed his fault.<sup>72</sup>

According to Bonizo, the council here referred to was held at Embrun in 1057.<sup>73</sup> In fact, in 1057 Archbishop Hugo of Embrun ceased to administer that diocese and was at once replaced by Winimann.<sup>74</sup> In any event, Hildebrand must have left Gaul soon afterward, because he was at Arezzo on July 28, 1057, at the deathbed of Victor II.

### Pope Stephen IX

As soon as the news of the Pope's death became known at Rome, the clergy and the people assembled to choose his successor. Since Hildebrand had not yet come back from Tuscany, many proposed that they wait for his arrival. Others advanced various names, among which was that of Hildebrand himself. On the third day unanimous agreement was reached on the name of Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine. As the day was the feast of St. Stephen, pope and martyr, he took the name of Stephen IX.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Victor III, *Dialogi*, Bk. III; *PL*, CXLIX, 1013.

<sup>73</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, Bk. VI; *PL*, CL, 826.

<sup>74</sup> Jaffé, no. 4369; Bouche, *Hist. de la Provence*, II, 74.

<sup>75</sup> Others say Stephen X, because in the list of popes they reckon Zachary's suc-

This election, which took no account of the emperor's approval, was significant for its spontaneity and for the person chosen. Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine, abbot of Monte Cassino, was the brother of Duke Godfrey, the brother-in-law of Duchess Beatrice. He represented the great house of Tuscany, in which the preceding popes had recognized a powerful auxiliary, and Emperor Henry III a rival. The new Pope's past was without reproach. His devotion to the reform of the Church was known to everyone. Several diplomatic missions, particularly one to Constantinople at the time of the schism of Caerularius,<sup>76</sup> had shown the prudence and firmness of his political sense.

Stephen's pontificate was very short, lasting less than eight months. But it marked an important hour in the history of the warfare against simony. We may rightly consider it the starting point of the strife against lay investiture.<sup>77</sup>

The raising of Peter Damian to the cardinalate and his appointment to the bishopric of Ostia were the signal for the beginning of a vigorous campaign against clerics guilty of concubinage and simony. The hermit of Fonte-Avellana, the courageous author of the *Liber Gomorrhianus*, by his new office became the chief dignitary of the papal court.<sup>78</sup> Attempts have been made, by appeal to a few somewhat sharp expressions in Peter Damian's letters, to picture him as a rival of Hildebrand. Such an inference is wholly unjustified. The austere Camaldolese monk wrote to his illustrious friend as follows: "In all your

cessor, Stephen, who was elected in 752 and died three or four days after his election without having been consecrated. Cf. Mourret, *History of the Catholic Church*, III, 328 note 19.

<sup>76</sup> See *supra*, p. 157.

<sup>77</sup> "The part played by this pope in the investiture dispute seems to have escaped the attention of all who, in recent years, have had occasion to treat this question. . . . Gregory VII so attracted the attention of his period upon himself that, in this dispute, the part taken by other popes, except Callistus II, is quite lost sight of." U. Robert, "Le Pape Etienne X (IX)" in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX (1876), 49.

<sup>78</sup> At this period the bishop of Ostia had become the first of the cardinal-bishops of the Roman Church.

combats, in all your victories, I have eagerly joined your following, not merely as a comrade in arms or a squire, but as your thunderbolt. Your wish I have regarded as equivalent to the authority of the canons.”<sup>79</sup> Peter Damian was, above all else, a great agitator; Hildebrand, a great diplomat. The former, relying more upon measures imposed by authority, was rather inclined to look for aid from the Empire; Hildebrand, more zealous for the freedom of the Church, placed more hope in spiritual arms. To use an expression that is of a later date, Peter Damian was rather Ghibelline, and Hildebrand was rather Guelph. But they were one in their aims; because they differed from each other in their procedure, they supplemented each other.

Cardinal Peter Damian was no sooner clothed with his new office than he wrote to his colleagues of the Lateran a letter as outspoken as the letters he had recently sent from his monastic retirement.<sup>80</sup> In this letter he says:

Brethren, excuse my boldness. But, since this church of the Lateran is regarded as the church of churches, let our life be a radiance. Let us announce to the people words of life, not only by word of mouth, but by the strictness of our morals. . . . Towering head-dress made of sable or of fur of animals obtained beyond the seas does not make a bishop, nor does a numerous military escort scarcely able to control their foam-covered mounts. What makes a bishop is holiness of life, unceasing efforts to acquire the virtues of his state.

In the Sacred College the voice of Peter Damian found echoes. One of the most important events in Stephen IX's pontificate was the appearance of a book written against simony by the scholarly Cardinal Humbert, bishop of Silva Candida.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> St. Peter Damian, *Ep.*, II, 8; *PL*, CXLIV, 273.

<sup>80</sup> St. Peter Damian, *opusc.*, 18; *PL*, CXLV, 409. The seven cardinals of the Roman Church were attached to the Lateran Basilica.

<sup>81</sup> Humbert, *Adversus simoniacos*; *PL*, CXLIII, 1007 f.

Going more deeply to the root of the question than had been previously done, Humbert, after describing the ravages of simony and opposing it with the most solid theological considerations and the most explicit scriptural texts, showed the source of this evil in the part granted to the laity in the election of clerics, in the custom assumed by nobles and kings to invest bishops and abbots of their choice by the crosier and the ring.<sup>82</sup> He thus pointed to the remedy for the evil in the strife against lay investiture.

Was this writing inspired by Stephen IX? We do not know. He himself was so convinced of the evil produced by the interference of the German emperors in the affairs of the Church, that he was on the point of venturing upon a most daring attempt. Even after being raised to the supreme pontificate, he purposed retaining the title of abbot of Monte Cassino. In March, 1058, he ordered John, the provost of the monastery, to bring him in secret and without any delay whatever gold and silver was in the abbey treasury. According to the *Chronicle of Monte Cassino*—in all matters concerning Stephen IX its testimony is trustworthy—the Pope intended to join his brother Godfrey in Tuscany, to bestow the imperial crown upon him, then, in concert with him, to introduce a reign of order in Italy.<sup>83</sup> The monks of Monte Cassino were grieved at the Pope's request, but they had to obey. They set out on the road to Rome with their treasure. Pope Stephen, upon receiving it, says the *Chronicle*, began to tremble and, upon learning that the monks of Monte Cassino obeyed him but sadly, regretted that he had made such a request of them.<sup>84</sup>

Perhaps what made the Pope tremble was also the risks of the undertaking and the responsibility for so formidable a project. As a learned biographer of Stephen IX supposes, "Godfrey's success might have changed the face of things and, out

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 1148 f.

<sup>83</sup> *Chronicon Montis Cassini* in Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, IV, 411.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*



of gratitude to Rome, which would have given him the imperial crown, he might have become the defender of the Church and perhaps thus the investiture quarrel would have been, if not permanently stifled in its germ, at least postponed for a long time.”<sup>85</sup> The sincere piety of Duchess Beatrice and of her daughter Matilda was weighty guaranty of the happy outcome of such a political transformation. Under the regency of Empress Agnes the weakness of the imperial government offered chances of success. But the Pope finally judged that a wiser policy would be not to involve the authority of the Holy See in an adventure of this sort and to confine himself to striving for the reform of the Church on the terrain offered by the actual circumstances.

Beyond question, the people were with him. Wherever a speaker appeared, preaching against the abuses that sullied the sanctuary, he aroused the populace. At Milan a young priest, Anselm of Baggio, who preached outdoors against unworthy clerics, in the name of the rule of Cluny and in the name of his master Hildebrand, attracted throngs of people.<sup>86</sup> In that same city, under the direction of two clerics, Arialdo and Landulf, a league was formed for the purpose of expelling from their positions all scandalous clerics, either through the pressure of popular indignation or even by force. As the league was made up, for the most part, of persons from the ranks of the common people, the implicated clerics and the nobles who were their protectors called the leaguers contemptuously Patari (i. e., peasants, ragamuffins).<sup>87</sup> But these Patari caused them terrible panics. Forcing their way into the houses of clerics, they drove out suspected persons with sticks and clubs, pursuing them even

<sup>85</sup> U. Robert, *loc. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>86</sup> On the preaching of Anselm of Baggio, see Landulf, *Hist. mediol.*; *M. G.*, SS., VII, 76.

<sup>87</sup> Unless this name came to them from the district where they used to meet. We should not confuse the Patari of the eleventh century with the Patarines of the twelfth.

into their churches. At Capua the citizens took away from the monks the Church of St. Vincent, which was in their possession, and gave it to a priest whom they judged more worthy. A Roman council issued an interdict against the citizens of Capua.<sup>88</sup> A council at Fontanetto, in the province of Novara, excommunicated Arialdo and Landulf, the leader of the Patari. Pope Stephen IX ordered an inquiry into the matter, blamed the excesses committed by the followers of Arialdo and Landulf, and reprovved them, but he revoked the decision of the Council of Fontanetto and allowed the league to continue the struggle for the reform of morals, on condition that they avoid inciting lawlessness and deeds of violence.<sup>89</sup>

While Stephen IX was thus laboring to appease the strifes in Italy and at the same time to spread reform there, his legate Hildebrand was journeying through other parts of Europe, carrying out a like mission. At Christmas, 1057, in an interview at Goslar in Saxony with Empress Agnes and King Henry IV, he finally obtained from the German sovereigns the official recognition of the election of Stephen IX.<sup>90</sup> One of the Pope's letters gives us reason to suppose that Hildebrand undertook a second mission in France.<sup>91</sup> When he returned to Italy, he found Rome mourning its pontiff. Stephen died at Florence on March 29. Foreseeing that a violent reaction of the unworthy clerics and their powerful protectors would take place after his death, he had ordered the Romans to await Hildebrand's return before electing another pope. He said: "I know that after my death self-conceited men among you will attempt to seize this holy see with the aid of laymen and in contravention of the decrees of the ancients."<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Mansi, XIX, 865.

<sup>89</sup> C. Pellerini, *I santi Arialdo e Erlembaldo, storia di Milano nella metà del secolo XI*; *Acta sanctorum*, June, V, 279-81; *Anal. bolland.*, XVI (1897), 527-29.

<sup>90</sup> Lambert, *Annales*, year 1058; *M. G.*, SS., V, 159.

<sup>91</sup> *PL*, CXLIII, 870.

<sup>92</sup> Giesebrecht, *Kaiserzeit*, III, 1085.

## Antipope Benedict X

This last fear of the pope was soon realized. In the night of April 4, 1058,<sup>93</sup> Count Gregory of Tusculum, with a band of armed men, slipped into the city; then, the next day, after a lavish distribution of money in the inns, he had a member of his own family proclaimed pope. It was John Mincius, bishop of Velletri, who took the name of Benedict X. This time the Tusculum party and that of the Crescentii combined, bringing in their train all the nobility. To count upon the Empire to repress the scandal, was useless: the regent Empress, rendered powerless by the factions that were in restless agitation around the six-year-old King, could offer no help; an agitation on the part of the Patari would have been, just then, too perilous. But the triumphant revolt found itself confronted by two men who were not accustomed to flee before a duty to be performed, however formidable it might appear to them: Peter Damian and Hildebrand. Peter Damian, who as cardinal-bishop of Ostia exercised a preponderant influence over the clergy and people,<sup>94</sup> remained in the city. He became the leader of an opposition party, which included the best members of the clergy, the mass of the population, and some members of the nobility.<sup>95</sup> With his untiring zeal, he enlightened some, encouraged others, laid bare the schemes of the factious, "those satellites of Satan," he said, "who have compelled a priest of Ostia to raise to the height of the apostolate a man so worthless, and so devoid of intelligence that he has been unable to appreciate what is taking place around him." He said further: "Anyone acquainted with the canons of the Church, knows that such an ordination is radically null."<sup>96</sup>

<sup>93</sup> On this date see Neukirch, *Das Leben des Petrus Damiani*, p. 64.

<sup>94</sup> By his title he had the privilege of consecrating the new pope. He refused to give consecration to the so-called Benedict X.

<sup>95</sup> E. g., the Pierleoni, whom we encounter in the history of the next century.

<sup>96</sup> *PL*, CXLIV, 291. This passage does not apply to the election of Cadalous, as Migne's text indicates, but to that of Mincius. Cf. *PL*, CXLIV, 104.

## Pope Nicholas II

While Peter Damian was thus discrediting the usurper, Hildebrand without delay prepared for the canonical election of a pope worthy of the supreme pontificate, capable of continuing the reform work undertaken by the three preceding pontiffs. He turned his eyes to the bishop of Florence, Gerard, who was regarded by all as worthy of respect because of the uprightness of his life and the extent of his learning. By an embassy, promptly despatched to the German court, Hildebrand made sure that the Empress regent would not be opposed to him.<sup>97</sup> From Godfrey, duke of Lorraine and Tuscany, he obtained a promise that, if need should arise, his troops would support him. He rallied the cardinals who, in the first moment of perturbation, had fled from Rome. Then at Sutri he assembled the representatives of the Roman clergy and people, who solemnly elected Bishop Gerard as pope under the name of Nicholas II.<sup>98</sup> The antipope's followers resisted for a while, withdrawing to one of the regions of Rome, hoping to make him take the part once played by Benedict IX, to harass the new Pope, to contest with him the fidelity of the Roman people. But they failed to reckon with the energy of Hildebrand.

Hildebrand's plan was to gather about the papacy, as a substitute for Germany and, if necessary, against it, the two young forces that had recently been formed in Italy: the Tuscans and the Normans; at the same time, to draw up definite rules for the papal election, in such a way as to assure its independence in the future. The alliance of Tuscany was obtained; the two chief acts of the pontificate of Nicholas II were the alliance with the Normans in 1059 and, in the course of the same year, the famous decree of the Lateran Council about the election of the popes.

<sup>97</sup> *M. G.*, *SS.*, V, 159, 470.

<sup>98</sup> *PL*, CL, 827.

The Norman tribes established in southern Italy had again and again caused disturbance there. Stephen IX even considered taking up again the struggle against them. But their power was now so strong that to defeat it or shatter it seemed henceforth impossible. As the Normans were recognized by the papacy as masters of the country, would not their own interests incline them to favor the action of the Roman Church? They were turbulent but sincere Catholics and furthermore they were "too prudent not to see that the Roman reformers, enthused in a merciless struggle against the native aristocracy and the simoniacal clergy, would no longer care to render Italy to the Byzantines."<sup>99</sup> The intermediary between the Pope and the Normans was Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino.

In a synod held at Melfi (July, 1059), Robert Guiscard, the leader of the Normans, received from the Pope the title of duke and the recognition of his sovereignty over Calabria, Apulia, and some domains of Lazio. Then he took the following oath: "I swear to remain faithful to the Roman Church and to the lord pope. . . . I will, without wavering, lend my support to the Holy Roman Church to maintain and to claim the royal rights of St. Peter and his possessions, and I will remain a faithful vassal toward all the true successors of the lord Pope Nicholas, who will confirm the investiture which has just been accorded me."<sup>100</sup> One of the first results of this alliance was the abdication of the antipope. At Galeria, fifteen miles south of Rome, he received hospitality from one of his followers, Count Girard. At news of the Pope's approach with an escort from the Norman army, Girard begged his guest to flee. We read in the *Roman Annals*: "The antipope stood on the ramparts and, as soon as he perceived the Romans, he cried out to them: 'It was in spite of myself that I was made your pontiff.

<sup>99</sup> Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin*, p. 516.

<sup>100</sup> Baronius, year 1059, no. 70. This text is taken from the *Liber censuum*. See Duchesne, *Liber censuum de l'Eglise*.

Promise that my life will be spared, and I will renounce the papacy.' Three representatives of the city of Rome swore that his life would be respected. Pope Nicholas reached Rome with his army; the antipope, stripped of his papal insignia, went to live with his mother"<sup>101</sup> near the Church of St. Mary Major.

"This scene," says the *Roman Annals*, "occurred at harvest time." Four months earlier, in April, without waiting for the result of his negotiations with the Normans, Nicholas assembled at Rome a large council at which the question of papal elections was regulated.

We can reduce the essential provisions of the decree to five chief points. 1. In the future, the right to choose the pope will belong exclusively to the cardinals. "After the death of the pope, the cardinal-bishops will meet to consider the election; they will then call the cardinal-clerics; and lastly the clergy and the people will give their consent thereto." 2. The new pope must be chosen from the Roman clergy, unless no suitable subject can be found among them. 3. If the election cannot be held at Rome, it will take place wherever the cardinals judge proper. 4. If, owing to some hindrance, the ceremony of enthronement is delayed, the newly elected pope will nevertheless enjoy complete jurisdiction. 5. Care must be taken to safeguard the honor and respect due to King Henry, by virtue of concessions to him made, and also the honor and respect that may be due to his successors because of eventual and personal concessions.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>101</sup> *Annales romani*, in Watterich, I, 217. Cf. Delarc, "Le pontificat de Nicholas II" in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XL (1886), 391 f.

<sup>102</sup> "We have two editions of this decree. The one in which the rights of the emperor are the more emphasized, is according to *Vatic.* 1984, in *M. G., Leges*, II, app., p. 177, and in Watterich, II, 229. The other has been handed down by the canonists of the eleventh century and is found in the collections of the councils. The latter is the better of the two. That of the *Vat.* 1984 is merely a text revised by the partisans of antipope Guibert" (Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical*, p. 399). See a scholarly comparison of the two texts in Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1139-65. The summary of the canons of the council may be found in the encyclical by which the Pope promulgated its decisions (Mansi, XIX, 897), in the papal letter

In these important decisions, Nicholas was prompted not only by the violent conduct of the Italian princes and the intimidating measures of the German emperors; he also had in mind the possible interference in papal elections by the new protectors of the papacy, the Tuscans and the Normans. When the Church was acquiring new allies, it made provision against the dangers of these alliances. The law of April, 1059, was a stage in that well-calculated and well-balanced policy inspired by Cardinal Hildebrand.

To him also should be attributed the attitude which Nicholas II adopted toward France. A penetrating mind like his could not fail to grasp the future reserved to that nation, which, while stubbornly refusing to enter into the organization of the Holy Empire, showed itself ready to take the part of "knight of God." Following negotiations which we are unable to trace exactly but which appear by their results, we see Henry I's distrustful attitude weaken and change. He promulgated the decisions of the council of 1059,<sup>103</sup> favored the holding of reform synods at Vienne, Tours, Avignon, and Toulouse,<sup>104</sup> and when (May 23, 1059) he had his young son Philip, seven years old, crowned at Reims and associated him with himself in the kingship, he had him, in the presence of the legates of the Holy See and of sev-

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to the bishops dependent on the metropolitan of Amalfi (Mansi, XIX, 907), and in another letter addressed to the Churches of Gaul, Aquitaine, and Gascony (Mansi, XIX, 873). These three summaries do not completely coincide, as in each instance the Pope selected what more particularly interested the country concerned. The question has been raised whether the assent of the people, although required only secondarily, was strictly demanded under pain of nullity. Hefele seems to maintain that it was. The opposite view will be seen adopted and upheld by an important text of St. Peter Damian in Ortolan, art. "Election des papes" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, IV, 2313. The cardinal-bishops at that time numbered seven, and their bishoprics were those of Ostia, Albano, Porto, Silva Candida or St. Rufinus, Sabina, Preneste or Palestrina, Tusculum or Frascati. Callistus II later united St. Rufinus with Porto. These bishops were already in very close relations with the pope; they were often summoned to assist in his functions. The decree of Nicholas II increased their importance.

<sup>103</sup> Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, II, 136.

<sup>104</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1192-1204.

eral bishops, make the following declaration: "I, Philip, soon, with the help of God, to become King of the Franks, promise to maintain the canonical privileges for each of you and for the Churches entrusted to you." <sup>105</sup>

We should not forget that the ultimate purpose of the measures we have been speaking of was the reform of the Church in its discipline and its morals, and the confirmation of its doctrine. The Roman Council of 1059, after voting its decree about papal election, and the reformation of Christian life according to the canons, <sup>106</sup> reaffirmed against fresh quibbles of Berengarius the dogma of the real presence, <sup>107</sup> and issued severe penalties against clerical misconduct and simony. <sup>108</sup>

Nicholas II communicated the decrees of the council of 1059 to the Christian world by an encyclical. <sup>109</sup> He urged execution of the decrees in letters to the bishops of Gaul, Aquitaine, and Gascony, <sup>110</sup> and the metropolitan of Amalfi, <sup>111</sup> and by means of special legates whom he sent to certain provinces where the reform needed to be watched more closely. Thus Peter Damian was sent to Milan to remedy the deplorable situation of the clergy, who were gathered around the simoniacal Archbishop Guido and were seconded by an excited populace. There Peter had to display all his qualities of courage and composure, withstanding the storm with incredible fearlessness, presenting himself before the most furious, haranguing them, and finally succeeding in making the Archbishop and the chief members of the clergy sign a declaration by which they promised not to tolerate in the diocese clerics notorious for their misconduct. <sup>112</sup>

At the same time another storm, arising in Normandy, was

<sup>105</sup> *Historiens des Gaules*, XI, 32.

<sup>106</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1172.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1169-77.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1167-69.

<sup>109</sup> *PL*, CXLIII, 1315.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1314.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1317.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, CXLV, 89-98.



calmed by the prudence of the Holy See. Duke William, the future conqueror of England, had been excommunicated for marrying, without dispensation from the impediment of consanguinity, his cousin Matilda (daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Flanders). But he obstinately refused to submit and defied the interdict upon his states. Negotiations undertaken by Lanfranc, prior of the Abbey of Bec, ended in a peaceful solution. Nicholas II granted a dispensation to legitimate the marriage of William, who agreed to establish and endow two monasteries. This was the origin of the two masterpieces of architecture of the eleventh century, which still adorn the city of Caen: the church of St. Stephen and that of the Trinity.<sup>113</sup>

The hostile movement manifesting itself at this same period in Germany was less violent, but in reality more lasting. Certainly Henry III could blame his policy and that of his predecessors for the opposition which the papacy was bringing about to the detriment of the imperial supremacy. The alliance concluded with the Normans, the closer relations with France, the friendly feeling shown to Duke Godfrey, the decree of the Roman council about papal elections, all these were manifestations that were turning the Holy See away from the Empire. Lastly, Nicholas II, who was of Burgundian race, did not have the same bonds of attachment to Germany as did his predecessors. Cardinal Stephen too, sent as legate to Germany, failed in his mission there. A schismatic conciliabulum, held by a few bishops and some representatives of the German government, declared null all the decrees issued by Pope Nicholas II.<sup>114</sup>

This attitude was a foreboding of the great strifes that were preparing on the part of Germany. The Pope and especially Hildebrand, his adviser, faced the coming struggle courageously and persisted in their line of conduct.

Shortly afterward, about the end of July, 1061, Nicholas II

<sup>113</sup> *Vita Lanfranci*; *PL*, CL, 35.

<sup>114</sup> *PL*, CXLIX, 463; *M. G.*, SS., XI, 672; *PL*, CXLV, 79.

died at Florence. We are without detailed information concerning his last hours. His political testament had been made when, in the autumn of 1059, he gave Hildebrand a mark of the highest confidence by naming him cardinal archdeacon of the Roman Church, that is, his coadjutor for the government of the diocese of Rome and his most authorized representative for treating of the affairs of Christendom.<sup>115</sup>

### Pope Alexander II

The death of Nicholas II was a signal for the Italian factions to lift up their head again. To back antipope Benedict X, the two rival houses of Tusculum and of the Crescentii joined hands. To combat the new pope, whoever he might be, who would be chosen by the cardinals, both of these parties, followed by most of the great Roman families, turned to their hereditary enemy, the German Emperor.

No time must be lost. At any price something must be done to prevent the arrival at Rome of a pope imposed by the Roman nobility and by the king of Germany. Hildebrand cast his eyes upon Bishop Anselm of Lucca, had him accepted by the cardinals, and, while a troop of Normans was summoned to Rome to maintain order, went to Lucca and brought his candidate back with him. Anselm was elected pope September 30, 1061, by the unanimous vote of the cardinal-bishops. He took the name of Alexander II.

The newly elected Pope was a man of piety and of learning, a diplomat and a man of action. Born at Reggio near Milan, he had been the first instigator of the popular movement that we have seen fighting so fiercely against simony and clerical misconduct. He was a former pupil of Lanfranc in the Abbey of Bec; and, from the lessons of his illustrious teacher, he had kept a taste for sacred studies. Archbishop Guido, who dreaded

<sup>115</sup> Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, II, 146; *PL*, CXLIII, 1525.

his reform propaganda, sent him away from Milan. In a diplomatic mission to the German court and in the government of the diocese of Lucca, he showed himself the friend of Duke Godfrey of Tuscany and of Duchess Beatrice, without offending Henry III. With him the formidable association of the Patari, held within the bounds of prudence, would form, along with the Normans and the Tuscans, a powerful army ready to defend the papacy in times of crisis. Peter Damian and Hildebrand, the one as cardinal-dean of the Sacred College, the other as archdeacon of the Church, both of them as personal friends of the new Pope, would be preferred advisers of Alexander II. Thus, under the prudent and firm hand of Hildebrand, all the Catholic forces were organized around the Roman pontiff. The daring of such a plan might encounter the assault of a violent and desperate opposition on the part of the enemies of the Holy See; but it likewise gave hope of a pontificate productive of works of reform and liberation. These fears and these hopes were both fulfilled.

Twenty-eight days after Alexander II's election (October 28, 1061), Henry IV, surrounded by a number of Lombard bishops, gave political investiture, by the crosier and the other insignia of the papacy, to Cadalous, bishop of Parma, who took the name of Honorius II. Says the chronicler Bonizo: "He was rich in money and poor in virtues." Another writer assures us, with some irony, that the Lombard bishops wished to choose a pope "who would have consideration for human weakness."

The schism came to an end only with the death of the antipope. But it appeared formidable and disturbed the Church seriously only for a few months. Cadalous' first attempt to seize Rome by force at the end of 1061 failed before the Tuscan troops, commanded by Duke Godfrey and his wife Beatrice. A second expedition, undertaken in April, 1062, was more successful for the antipope. His army entered Rome by the Leonine City and crossed the Tiber. The fighting went on in the streets

of the city. Alexander fortified himself in the monastery of the Capitol, and Cadalous took up his position in the Cencius tower near the bridge of St. Peter.<sup>116</sup> But at that very time a palace revolt occurred at the German court. Archbishop Anno of Cologne, tutor of the young King Henry IV, supplanted the Empress regent, who withdrew to a convent and, abandoning the cause of Cadalous, began parleys in favor of Pope Alexander. On October 27, 1064, a German and Italian synod, held at Mantua, acknowledged the legitimate pope and excommunicated Cadalous; finally his authority was acknowledged only in his diocese of Parma.<sup>117</sup>

Alexander II did not wait for this issue of the conflict before laboring actively for reform. His reform work differed from that of his predecessors in this respect, that he not merely made his decrees known to the guilty persons, but he vigorously saw to the execution of the decrees. He deposed the simoniacal Archbishop of Milan, expelled a usurping bishop of Chartres, deposed at Capua clerics guilty of concubinage. His work also reached all classes of the clergy and of the faithful. He forced the metropolitans to maintain contact with the Roman court;<sup>118</sup> he demanded the freedom of episcopal elections;<sup>119</sup> he forbade people to attend mass said by a scandalous priest;<sup>120</sup> he forbade clerics to accept any church from the hands of laymen, even without simony;<sup>121</sup> he was watchful over the rigorous observance of the regulations about marriage between relatives.<sup>122</sup> That he was able to speak and act with this vigor was owing to the support he received from the Romans, the Tuscans, and the Patari.

His personal authority and the worth of the men he chose as

<sup>116</sup> *M. G.*, SS., V, 472; Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1224.

<sup>117</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1234-55.

<sup>118</sup> Jaffé, no. 4507.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 4535.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 4501.

<sup>121</sup> Gratian, *Decretum*, caus. XVI, q. 7, can. 20.

<sup>122</sup> Jaffé, no. 4525.

legates made possible his speaking also to rulers with an authority that was not possessed by the popes before him. He admonished Philip I of France to regard the papal decrees as on a par with the canons; he directed King Harold of Norway to have a care that the bishops of his realm were consecrated by the archbishop of Hamburg, vicar of the Holy See for the North, and not by any other;<sup>123</sup> he demanded tribute from King Sweyn of Denmark.<sup>124</sup> In Italy he encouraged Count Roger of Sicily in his conflict with the Saracens, and sent to William of Normandy a blessed standard for his campaign of conquest in England. In 1069 he obtained from King Henry IV of Germany a promise not to break his marriage with Bertha of Savoy,<sup>125</sup> and felicitated him upon it. But as the young ruler's counselors had trafficked in ecclesiastical offices and installed in the see of Milan an archbishop imposed by the King, the Pope in 1073 fulminated a sentence of excommunication against them.<sup>126</sup>

This last measure, which the Pontiff felt he was obliged to take out of regard for his duty as supreme guardian of discipline, revived all the old hatred on the part of the imperial courtiers against the reforming papacy. Sad forebodings clouded the last days of Alexander II. Among the prelates raised to power by the favor of the German government, was the Archbishop of Ravenna, Guibert. This Guibert, who recently, as chancellor of the Kingdom of Italy, had powerfully contributed to the election of the antipope Cadalous, was always, in spite of his later protestations of loyalty, looked upon with suspicion by the Pontiff. But he succeeded in deceiving Hildebrand's confidence. Alexander, yielding to the urging of his archdeacon, finally consented to accept Guibert as archbishop of Ravenna. But the Pope derived no comfort from this decision. A few days

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 4471.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 4495.

<sup>125</sup> Delarc, *op. cit.*, II, 490 f.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 525.

before his death, weakened by the progress of a slow disease and foreseeing the approaching end, Alexander II, referring to the incident of Guibert, said to his faithful counselor these words, which later came back to the mind of Gregory VII: "I am about to die; the hour is near for me to be freed from the griefs of this world; but you will learn what bitterness is in that man."<sup>127</sup> On April 21, 1073, Alexander II went to receive from God the reward for his labors and sufferings. Two days later, Hildebrand was chosen as his successor. He took the name of Gregory VII.

<sup>127</sup> *Tu vero ejus senties acerbitatem* (Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, Bk. VI; *PL*, CL, 835).

## CHAPTER V

### *The Pontificate of St. Gregory VII*

#### The Election

DURING the quarter century that had just passed, from the election of Leo IX to that of Gregory VII, the papacy energetically undertook and partially realized two great tasks. By the canons of its councils, by the preaching of its monks, by popular agitations, especially by the initiative of its popes, it exposed, pursued, and at times in exemplary manner punished incontinent and simoniacal clerics and their powerful protectors. In the second place, even amid this strife, its hierarchy became more strongly centralized about the Holy See. Under the impulse of the papacy the reform councils held their deliberations, under its control the monks denounced abuses; the patriarch who sought to set up his authority in opposition to that of the Roman pontiff ended by producing a schism; lastly, the authority of the metropolitans became clearly defined.

This twofold task had been vigorously conducted in all nations: in Italy as well as in Germany, in France as also in England; in Spain no less than in the northern countries. Although scandals and disorders had been everywhere combated, nowhere were they entirely overcome. From this fact a new danger arose. Driven to their last retreats, incontinence and simony and the spirit of insubordination, all the bitterness and all the vices, were prepared to combine for a supreme and desperate attempt.

No one was better acquainted with this situation than Hildebrand. For twenty-five years he had repeatedly avoided assuming the burden which the voice of people and clergy offered him

at the time of each vacancy in the Holy See. But, after the death of Alexander II, the acclaim was irresistible. On April 22, 1073, immediately after the funeral of the Pontiff, a unanimous cry suddenly broke out: "Hildebrand pope!" The cardinal-bishops, the priests, the clergy of every rank, then shouted, according to custom: "St. Peter has chosen Hildebrand for pope." At once the people seized him and dragged him into the Church of St. Peter in Chains, where he was installed almost by force.<sup>1</sup> But this election filled him with deep anxiety. He wrote later that at that decisive hour a sort of terror seized him, and he seemed of a sudden to be enveloped in darkness. Seven years later he was still bewailing it.<sup>2</sup> However, we shall see that few leaders have shown, in their government, a firmer resoluteness or a more constant assurance than Gregory VII. In that saintly soul a boundless trust in the divine assistance combined with a distrust of his own powers. The feeble Hildebrand felt himself overwhelmed; but the vicar of St. Peter was utterly fearless. In a letter written in 1080, he says: "As you know, Blessed Peter, you have placed me on your throne in spite of myself, in spite of my grief and my tears. By you I was called; by you, despite my groaning, the terrible weight of your Church has been placed upon me."<sup>3</sup>

Gregory VII was small in stature, corpulent, with short legs.<sup>4</sup> He was imposing, not by his physical qualities,<sup>5</sup> but by his intellectual and moral worth. That worth has been disputed by no one. Some have denounced Gregory VII as a despot; others

<sup>1</sup> Gregory VII himself gave an account of this election two days after the event in a letter to Desiderius of Monte Cassino (*PL*, CXVIII, 285). Gregory's election was not altogether regular in its form. But those who later contested its validity were quite wrong. Never did the free choice of an electoral body manifest itself in a more unanimous and more deliberate manner. The report of the election which is at the head of Gregory VII's *Registrum* (*PL*, CXLVIII, 283) is a later revision.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.*, I, 9; II, 49; III, 10; VII, 22; *PL*, CXLVIII, 291, 400, 439, 566.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.*, VII, 14, in Jaffé, *Monumenta gregoriana*.

<sup>4</sup> Benzo calls him *homuncio ventre lato, crure curto* (*M. G.*, SS., XI, 659).

<sup>5</sup> In a passage of William of Malmesbury we find Hugh of Cluny referring to Hildebrand as *homuncio exilis naturae* (*M. G.*, SS., X, 474).



have glorified him as a hero; nobody has ever questioned his genius. The special trait of this genius was an unconquerable firmness in the conception and realization of a plan of government which subordinated everything to the triumph of justice. The words spoken on his deathbed, "I have loved justice and have hated iniquity," was the motto of his whole life. To his mind this triumph of justice required the freedom of the Church. To free the Church from its internal enemies by war on misconduct and simony; to free it from its external enemies by war against lay investiture: this was the work of his pontificate.<sup>6</sup> But this work of liberation could at that time be accomplished only by the exaltation of the Holy See above all other states. The Protestant writer Voigt says: "If the ministers of the Church were to be rescued from the supremacy of temporal powers, the Church itself had to be raised above the state."<sup>7</sup> Says another non-Catholic historian: "In the Middle Ages the independence of the state was not possible; it would have involved the dependence of the Church, and brute force would have dominated the power of the soul."<sup>8</sup> Edgar Quinet is right when he portrays Gregory VII with eyes fixed upon a spiritual ideal, exercising his moral authority over political kingdoms only to the extent that they departed from that spiritual ideal.<sup>9</sup>

What St. Gregory's ideal was and what his work was, will appear from a study of the events of his reign.

The man who, under six successive popes, had been the heart and soul of the reform of the clergy, at the time of his election to the papacy was still only a deacon. On May 22, 1073, he was

<sup>6</sup> Says Voigt: "Gregory's great idea, and he had but one, is plain to our eyes: it is the independence of the Church. That is the point on which all his thoughts centered, all his writings, all his deeds" (Voigt, *Hist. du pape Grégoire VII et de son siècle*, based on original documents; French trans., p. 605).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 606.

<sup>8</sup> F. Laurent, *Etudes sur l'hist. de l'humanité*, VI, 199.

<sup>9</sup> E. Quinet, *Œuvres complètes*, III, 102.

ordained to the priesthood.<sup>10</sup> On June 30 he was consecrated Bishop of Rome, and was enthroned at St. Peter's.<sup>11</sup>

The chief of the evils afflicting the Church, the one most urgently in need of cure, because it was a perpetual scandal for souls, was the incontinence of the clergy. In spite of the severe penalties decreed in the preceding pontificate, the evil still prevailed in Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and Hungary,<sup>12</sup> and in a manner even more scandalous. The clergy most involved in the evil, in their effort to alter popular opinion, boldly attempted, with a great din of arguments, to justify their guilty conduct. To this end, they appealed to the Gospel<sup>13</sup> and St. Paul,<sup>14</sup> to a mysterious Council of Tribur and the words of Paphnutius at the Council of Nicaea,<sup>15</sup> the example of the Greeks, and an alleged privilege of the Church of Milan. In short, they maintained that nobody could be held to observe a law against nature, and they charged with hypocrisy whoever did not publicly proclaim conduct like theirs. The vice, exposed, became impudent and aggressive.

### Simony

The insolence of the guilty clerics went further. Alexander II had deprived several of them of their benefices and offices. They juridically contested the papacy's right to this power. Their benefices and their spiritual offices were their possessions, they said, and for them to be deprived of these possessions was an injustice. Had they not bought them with their money? We have already spoken about the origin of simony. At this point we should explain how the traffic in holy things, condemned in

<sup>10</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, Bk. VII; *Monum. Grégor.*, p. 657.

<sup>11</sup> *M. G.*, SS., III, 203.

<sup>12</sup> Vacandard, art. "Célibat" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, II, 2085.

<sup>13</sup> "All men take not this word" (Matt. 19: 11).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. I Cor. 7: 2, 25; I Tim. 3: 2.

<sup>15</sup> Mourret, *History of the Catholic Church*, II, 57.

the early Church as on a par with the most shameful crimes, became considered, in the time of Henry IV, not only as a general practice, but, according to the words of St. Peter Damian, "as a legally established right."<sup>16</sup> For this lamentable change in Christian feeling, princes and bishops and abbots, even some popes, bore a more or less notable share of responsibility. The ambition and cupidity of the lay princes, desiring to put their hands upon Church property and to grab for their own advantage the social influence of the high dignitaries of the Church, were the primary causes of this abuse. But would this eager cupidity have developed if it had not been provoked by the lure of the excessive riches of certain bishops and abbots? Would it have continued if it had not been protected by the culpable tolerance of certain popes who were guilty of the same vice?

In any event, once introduced into the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the evil invaded it throughout. If a prelate paid the king or the nobleman a high price for his benefice, he attempted to recover the amount thus expended by the sale of even the least offices to his subordinates. This universal triumph of injustice profoundly altered the notion of right, or at least obscured it in many minds. And simoniacal clerics, in their sharp polemics, took shameless advantage of this general obscuring of consciences.

If we consider these circumstances, we understand what courage was displayed by Gregory VII when, about the end of the first year of his pontificate, in the first synod he held at Rome (March, 1074), he decreed, against scandalous and simoniacal clerics, the four following provisions:<sup>17</sup> "1. Whoever has become guilty of simony, that is, of obtaining for money a sacred order or an ecclesiastical office, by this very fact becomes incapable of performing any office in the Church. 2. Whoever has

<sup>16</sup> *PL*, CXLV, 140.

<sup>17</sup> The acts of the synod of March, 1074, are lost, but several letters of the pope, carrying out the application of its decrees, enable us to fill the gap. See Mansi, XX, 404; *PL*, CXLVIII, 752; Jaffé, *Monum. greg.*, p. 525.

obtained a church in return for money, loses that church; in the future, no one will be permitted to sell or buy a church. 3. Whoever has on his conscience the crime of fornication must abstain from saying mass or exercising at the altar the functions of the minor orders. 4. The people should not, in any way, be present at the functions of clerics who do not observe the foregoing ordinances, identical with the ordinances of the fathers; thus the fear of the people and of their blame will bring back to duty those whom the love of God and regard for the dignity of their state leave indifferent."

The most immediate effect of these decrees was a fresh outburst of wrath on the part of several guilty clerics affected by them. The vicar of Christ, taking the scourge, as his Master had done, to drive out the sellers from the Temple, aroused by his act all the hatreds that would one day make him their victim. From these very first days of his pontificate, we see a group of malcontents forming in Italy around Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna. This future antipope Clement III was in many respects the antithesis of Gregory VII.<sup>18</sup> According to some writers, he was descended from an obscure family; others say his ancestors were the counts of Augsburg. He had a brilliant, cultured, eloquent mind, but a soul without greatness and without uprightness; for him truth, justice, and honor were nothing when the interests of his ambition were at stake. He went from the party of the Italian princes to the party of the emperor when he saw that his own advantage lay in that direction.<sup>19</sup>

Thereafter Guibert put all his activity in the service of the imperial cause. He was rewarded by being made archbishop of Ravenna and chancellor of the Empire. In the time of Alexander II he was one of the most ardent champions of antipope Cadalous. He was, more or less openly, always opposed to Hildebrand's policy. At the Roman synod of 1074, he desired to play

<sup>18</sup> Delarc, *op. cit.*, III, 67.

<sup>19</sup> Moroni, *Dizionario de erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, II, 191.

a part. Refuted and confounded by an opponent,<sup>20</sup> humiliated and irritated by this defeat, he at once turned to the party of dissatisfied clerics who were disturbed by the reforms of the new Pope. However, to beguile Pope Gregory's vigilance, he cunningly hid his desertion, promising the Pope that he would bring some troops to subdue the south of Italy. Gregory at first apparently did not see the significance of Guibert's hypocritical moves, which made Bonizo call him a new Catiline.<sup>21</sup>

### Clerical Reform

Henceforth nothing could divert Gregory from the work of reform to which he vowed his life when accepting the supreme pontificate. Even before assembling the synod of 1074 and as though to preface the new laws with works, by his personal action he promptly put an end to certain abuses which prevailed in Rome and St. Peter's Basilica. Even some cardinals, whose spirit of greed had scandalized the faithful, were obliged to submit to his just reprimands.<sup>22</sup>

After the synod, Gregory enlarged the scope of his zeal. He made efforts to have his reform decrees accepted and applied in various nations. He began with Germany. A papal embassy, whose duty was to make sure of the application of the measures decreed at Rome, reached Germany at Easter time (April 20, 1074) and was well received by the young King of Germany, Henry IV, who had just gone through some hard trials. Warred against by the Saxons and betrayed by the great ones of his kingdom, he asked for nothing better than to establish friendly relations with the Pope. He promised everything that was asked of him.<sup>23</sup>

But the German clergy, upon learning that the papal legates

<sup>20</sup> Jaffé, *Monum., greg.*, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Bonizo, *Ad Amicum*, Bk. VII.

<sup>22</sup> On these various reforms, see Bonizo, Bk. VII.

<sup>23</sup> Jaffé, *op. cit.*, p. 106; *PL*, CXLVIII, 357.

intended to hold a reform council, rose up in opposition. A general outcry was made. Archbishop Liemar of Bremen was especially conspicuous by his violence.<sup>24</sup> On the advice of the legates, some courageous bishops then tried to convoke synods in their respective provinces. But they met with the same opposition. Sigfrid of Mainz assembled his suffragans and clergy at Erfurt and, to those whose conduct was irregular, he gave six months to choose between their licentious practices and their sacred offices. But so great was the uproar that the prelate had to bring the assembly to a close without adopting any firm decision.<sup>25</sup> Altmann, bishop of Passau in Bavaria, showed more courage. In the presence of a similar revolt, he dispensed with their deliberations and himself promulgated the papal decrees. But he escaped massacre only by the devotedness of a few lords, who rescued him from the hands of his foes.<sup>26</sup> Gregory then turned to the secular princes. He begged Henry IV,<sup>27</sup> Rudolf of Swabia,<sup>28</sup> and Berthold of Carinthia,<sup>29</sup> to help him repress the scandal. But soon he perceived that he could not rely on their aid.<sup>30</sup> As he faced the frightful difficulties of his task, an immense sadness, a sort of discouragement, seized him. To his friend Hugh, abbot of Cluny, he wrote as follows:

If you knew how many tribulations I am exposed to, you would ask the Lord that that poor Jesus, by whom, however, everything was made and who rules over all things, would deign to stretch out His hand to me and deliver wretched me with His habitual charity. . . . When I survey in thought the east and the west, the north and the south, scarcely do I see a few bishops who are governing the Christian people out of love of Christ and not for reasons of personal

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140; *PL*, CXLVIII, 382 f.

<sup>25</sup> Lambert, *Annales*, year 1074; *PL*, CXLVI, 1168.

<sup>26</sup> *PL*, CXLVIII, 878.

<sup>27</sup> Jaffé, nos. 4903, 4904, 4963.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 4922.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> He wrote to Duchess Beatrice that Henry IV is *ambigua fide* (Jaffé, no. 4966).

ambition. When I consider the Christian princes, I do not know which of them prefer the glory of God to their own, and justice to lucre. If finally I enter into myself, I feel so overwhelmed by the weight of my own life, that the only hope of salvation I have left is in the mercy of Christ.<sup>31</sup>

In France, where King Philip I, disregarding the oath which his father had him take,<sup>32</sup> added to the crime of lay investiture the crime of simony, not to mention his well-known immorality.<sup>33</sup> For the purpose of bringing about an enforcement of the laws against simony and incontinence, the Pope appointed Bishop Hugh of Die as legate to France. This bishop was an austere prelate who in a recent conflict with the Count of Die showed himself capable of remarkable energy.<sup>34</sup> Gregory VII at the same time sent to the French bishops an encyclical to stimulate their zeal. In this he says to them:

In consequence of the weakening of the royal power, a weakening which dates back several years in your country, the laws and the government are powerless to prevent acts of injustice or to punish them. Your king, who should be the defender of the laws and of equity, is the first to violate them. As to you, my brethren, you are in fault in not resisting the detestable acts of this man. . . . Let us not speak of fear; united and armed for justice, you will be strong enough to turn him from his evil path and to place your souls in safety. Even should you have grounds for fear or for danger of death, you ought not to abdicate the independence of your priesthood.<sup>35</sup>

The dependence of the French clergy upon the king was too solidly established for this letter to obtain in full the desired effect. A council, meeting in Paris in 1074 for carrying

<sup>31</sup> Jaffé, *Monum. greg.*, pp. 163 f.; *PL*, CXLVIII, 400.

<sup>32</sup> See *supra*, p. 179.

<sup>33</sup> Luchaire in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 217.

<sup>34</sup> *PL*, CXLVIII, 343.

<sup>35</sup> Jaffé, p. 113; *PL*, Vol. CXLVIII.

out the reform, encountered the same violent opposition as took place at Erfurt and Passau. Confident of being backed by the King, nearly all the bishops, abbots, and clergy, in the face of the ordinances of the Pope about ecclesiastical celibacy, proclaimed the papal orders absurd and declared that no one should or could conform to them. Gautier, abbot of Pontoise, was the only one who had the courage to protest. He declared that, according to St. Gregory, a superior ought to be obeyed even when the reasons for his commands are not evident. Gautier's words stirred up a tumult. He was assailed from every side, beaten unmercifully, and dragged to the King's prisons, from which some friends later succeeded in freeing him. He then returned to his abbey of Pontoise.<sup>36</sup>

Hugh of Die did not let himself be intimidated. Making use of the full powers which the Pope had granted him, he pronounced suspension and deposition in the case of several simoniacal bishops. But the latter appealed to Rome and implored pardon. Gregory VII was never inflexible except when duty obliged him to be so; his heart was easily moved and was ever inclined to have confidence in men. Trusting in their promises, he pardoned them. Hugh bitterly complained of this. He wrote: "The deposed clerics rush to Rome and obtain your absolution; they come back worse than they were before." To this Gregory replied: "The custom of the Roman Church is to tolerate certain things and to feign not to notice certain others. For this reason we have thought we should temper the rigor of the canons with the mildness of discretion."<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, April, I, 753; Mansi, XX, 437; Suppl., II, 6.

<sup>37</sup> If we compare this maxim and the facts just spoken of, with Gregory VII's condescension toward Berengarius, his tireless patience with regard to King Philip I of France (Luchaire in Lavis, *Hist. de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 217), and the readiness with which he accepted the pretended repentance of Guibert (see *supra*, p. 192), we must conclude, with Luchaire, that to charge Gregory VII with "passionate intolerance" (*op. cit.*, p. 216) is utterly unjust and that "his real policy is summed up in the short sentence that we have just quoted from his correspondence with Hugh of Die" (*op. cit.*, p. 217).



In England a synod, held at Rouen in 1074, probably before the decisions of the Roman council were known, rigorously forbade simony.<sup>38</sup> The Pope placed great reliance on the good will of William the Conqueror, who, when he ascended the throne, took an oath to enforce respect for the canonical law of sacerdotal celibacy. But when Archbishop John of Rouen, in another synod, held in his archiepiscopal city about the end of 1074, transmitted the Roman decrees to his clergy, he was stoned out of his church;<sup>39</sup> and the synod held at Winchester in 1076, under the presidency of Lanfranc, did not dare apply the reform to its full extent. The collegiate clergy were strictly held to the observance of chastity. As to the priests of the rural parishes, many of whom had been ordained without any reminder of the law of celibacy, the council considered that their deposition would entail, as an immediate consequence, the suppression of public worship and the privation of the sacraments in the greater part of England. Therefore it decided not to urge the execution of the law, and for the time being to tolerate the actual state of affairs.<sup>40</sup>

Pope Gregory's efforts for a rigorous observance of the law of clerical celibacy in Hungary, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark seem not to have accomplished any important results.<sup>41</sup> We do not know what were the consequences of the steps he took for the same purpose in Russia, Poland, and Bohemia. In Spain the campaign undertaken in 1056 by the Council of Compostela<sup>42</sup> and pursued in 1068 by the councils of Gerona, Barcelona, and Leyra,<sup>43</sup> had already borne fruit. We have no indication that this campaign stirred up, in the time of Gregory VII, outbursts like those in Germany, France, and England.

<sup>38</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 112.

<sup>39</sup> Mansi, XX, 442.

<sup>40</sup> Mansi, XX, 459; A. du Boys, "Lanfranc et Guillaume le Conquérant" in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXX (1881), 352-54.

<sup>41</sup> Jaffé, *Mon. greg.*, pp. 167, 199, 298, 364, 384, 412.

<sup>42</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 1124.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1268.

The Pope, with regard to Spain, was concerned more particularly with regulating Christian life according to the canons.<sup>44</sup>

### Cluny Abbey

Gregory VII was aware that no profound reform could be effected merely by legislative enactments. For the realization of his aim he placed great reliance upon the beneficial influence that radiated from the monasteries, particularly upon the influence of the monastery of Cluny.

Under the government of its sixth abbot, Hugh, the illustrious abbey saw its discipline strengthened and its influence more widely spread. The purest examples of holiness flourished there, and learning was cultivated with brilliance. A new art, which some historians have called Cluny art, adorned its cloisters

<sup>44</sup> The decree of Gregory VII on the life of canons has been published by Germain Morin, "Règlements inédits du pape Grégoire VII pour les chanoines réguliers" in the *Revue bénédictine*, XVIII (1901), 177-83. It will be found likewise in Hefele-Leclercq, V, 94-96. This decree, pointed out by Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum mss.*, as a *Regula canendi Gregorii papae*, had been regarded as having for its purpose a reform of liturgical chant. The misunderstanding arose from the interpretation of an abbreviated word, "*can*," which was taken as referring to chant, whereas it ought to be understood as referring to canons. This decree was also thought to be connected with the abrogation of the Mozarabic rite; but this view is equally wrong. Florez (*España sagrada*, III, 308-36) has related in detail the history of the abolition of this rite by Gregory VII and of its re-establishment in the fifteenth century. He even reports the story of a curious liturgical duel in which we see a knight of Castille and a knight of Toledo at combat against each other in the lists in behalf of the Roman liturgy and of the Mozarabic respectively (*op. cit.*, p. 311). Cf. "Duel judiciaire entre des communautés religieuses" in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, I (1840), 552-64. After centuries of strife and of varying vicissitudes, today we see peace between the two liturgies. That of Rome is followed generally in Spain, "but the old Mozarabic, that which had comforted the Spanish people during the long days of their servitude, that which had celebrated its renaissance of freedom and had sung its first victories, still is heard, with the approval of the Holy See, in the Toledo cathedral" (Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, III, 94. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, V, 284). Says Duchesne: "There is no difficulty in the identification of the liturgy of the Churches of Spain, or Mozarabic liturgy, up to the eleventh century, with that which was followed by the Churches of Gaul before Charlemagne, and with that which obtained in the British Isles before the Roman missions of the seventh century" (*Christian Worship*, p. 88).

and churches. From all sides poor and rich, peasants and lords, came and put themselves under its law: some to find the calming of their agitated life, others to ask for the secret of rising higher in the way of mystical contemplation.

Ten thousand monks <sup>45</sup> there practiced those Cluny customs which, collected in 1085 by the monk Udalric, <sup>46</sup> regulated the daily life of the monks, their prayers, their studies, their liturgical functions, their meals, their sleep, and their recreations. These practices disciplined men's souls, accustomed them to leave nothing to caprice, trained them in constant effort, and especially kept them in a disposition of perpetual union with God. <sup>47</sup>

Around the mother-abbey a score of large abbeys were grouped. The principal ones were Moissac, St. Martial, Uzerche, St. Germain of Auxerre, Vezelay, Figeac, Montierneuf, St. Jean d'Angely, St. Bertin, and Baume. Some of these abbeys were under the government of an abbot appointed directly by Cluny or with its approval; others elected a pro-abbot without any outside control; but all these heads of monasteries, to a greater or less degree, rendered to Cluny an account of their administration. Most of these houses, vassals with regard to the mother-abbey, were themselves suzerains over groups of priories. Under the government of St. Hugh, which marked the apogee of the institution, this vast hierarchy, with Cluny as its center, counted more than two thousand monasteries, located in all the provinces of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, England, and Poland. To this number should be added three hundred fourteen churches (collegiate or monastic) connected with Cluny. <sup>48</sup>

From this mighty metropolis, inhabited, at the close of the

<sup>45</sup> Orderic Vitalis, Bk. XI.

<sup>46</sup> *PL*, CXLIX, 731.

<sup>47</sup> See a summary schedule of the day of a Cluny monk, in Chénon, *L'Ordre de Cluny et la réforme de l'Eglise* (*La France chrétienne dans l'histoire*, pp. 193-97).

<sup>48</sup> Cabrol in *Etudes*, CXXIV (1910), 456.

eleventh century, by about four hundred monks, an intense life radiated. St. Peter Damian, the great ascetic, the dread foe of all forms of corruption, calls Cluny an earthly paradise, a garden of lilies and roses, the arena of heavenly combats, the harvest of heaven. St. Gregory VII, in a Roman council (1077), declares that in the whole world no monastery exists that can rival Cluny: all its abbots, he says, have received the honors of canonization, and thus far not one of its monks is known to have bent his knee to Baal. Study was there held in honor; the abbey supplied the cathedral schools with their teachers; philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and music were studied there with eagerness; architecture, sculpture, and painting were no less in honor. Viollet-le-Duc and many historians of art have even maintained that Cluny was, through its monk-architects, the center of a new architectural school which possessed original traits.<sup>49</sup>

A countless number of documents testify that the "black monks"<sup>50</sup> of Cluny, as they were called, exercised a preponderant influence upon the reform movement of the eleventh century even beyond the confines of the monasteries and priories that were dependent on the mother-abbey and besides the schools which they supplied with teachers. But Gregory VII gave to the Cluny Order a still more important role than it received from his predecessors. Three Cluny monks (Anastasius, a Venetian nobleman whom Gregory sent on a special mission to Spain; the pious and learned Gerald, whom he made cardinal-bishop of Ostia; and Odo, a young lord of Cham-

<sup>49</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. d'architecture*, I, 130, and *passim*; Pignot, *Hist. de Cluny*, II, 490-565. Lasteyrie, while not denying that Cluny gave a great impulse to architecture, maintains that it did not create a special school (R. de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, pp. 235-38).

<sup>50</sup> The Cluny monks wore, as undergarments, a woolen shirt and drawers. The scapular reached to the ground, and to it was attached the hood. Their outermost garment was the cowl. The novices did not wear a scapular, but had their hood fastened to the cowl. These latter garments were black, whence the name "black monks," which the people gave to the religious of Cluny.

paigne, who later became Pope Urban II) held the first rank among these tireless legates, sent out by Gregory to spread and plant his reform work in Europe. But the Pope placed his special confidence in the venerable Hugh. Even after St. Odo, St. Majolus, and St. Odilo, Hugh of Cluny, who entered upon the government of the abbey in 1049, found the means to raise the part taken by his order still higher than his predecessors had done.

### St. Hugh of Cluny

Hugh was born in 1024 at Semur in Burgundy, of a family of the upper nobility. His father, Count Dalmatius, brought him up for the world, whereas his mother, Aremberge, cultivated his natural inclinations for piety. When fifteen years old, Hugh obtained admission to the Cluny monastery. With him he brought, along with dispositions of the tenderest devotion, the lofty distinction that attached to his education and his family. As we are told by contemporaries, he was of tall stature and fine speech.

He was only twenty-five years old when the unanimous vote of his brethren raised him to the abbatial office. Thereafter Hugh took part in almost all the important affairs of the Church. At the councils of Riems and Mainz he courageously fought against simony and clerical misconduct. At the Council of Rome, which condemned Berengarius, he occupied second place, although he was the youngest of the abbots. When sent to Hungary by Pope Leo IX to arrange peace between King Andrew and the Emperor, he succeeded in that delicate mission. At the Council of Autun in 1055, he persuaded Robert II, duke of Burgundy, to pardon the murderers of his son. Emperor Henry III, besides other marks of esteem, asked Hugh to be godfather for one of his sons, the future Henry IV.

Well liked by princes and kings because of his lofty wisdom

and the urbanity of his manners, he could, nevertheless, address them in a tone of blame when they were in fault. To King Philip I of France he wrote: "Open your soul to the fear of God. Alter your way of living, correct your morals. Death comes in all manner of forms; it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God." To William the Conqueror, who offered to pay a very high price for the monks that Hugh would send to England, he replied: "My dear lord, what profit is it for a man to gain the whole world, if he loses his soul? At no price am I willing to sell mine. But I would be selling it if, in return for money, I sent a single one of my brethren where I am convinced he would be lost."<sup>51</sup> Gregory VII never entered upon an important undertaking without consulting Hugh of Cluny; never did he suffer a profound pain without pouring out his heart into that of this faithful friend. He regarded him as, in a way, his permanent legate in France.<sup>52</sup>

### New Religious Congregations

Besides the great Order of Cluny, new congregations, deriving inspiration from the same spirit of reform, were ready to supply the papacy with the auxiliaries it needed. Gregory VII, during his pontificate, witnessed the growth of the young congregations of Vallombrosa in Italy and Hirschau in Germany and, shortly before he left this world, he blessed, as the prelude of a new regeneration of Christian life, St. Bruno's foundation of the Order of the Carthusians.

In 1039, not far from Florence and Camaldoli, in a smiling valley abounding in trees and shade, John Gualbert, lord of Pistoia, founded a hermitage which developed and became the Abbey of Vallombrosa. But the holy founder did more than re-

<sup>51</sup> *PL*, CLIX, 927-32.

<sup>52</sup> On St. Hugh of Cluny, see *Acta sanctorum*, April 19; Mabillon, *Annales*, Bks. LVII, LXXI; *Hist. littéraire de la France*, IX, 465-87; Ceillier, *op. cit.*, XIV, 50-55.

establish the primitive austerity of the Rule of St. Benedict in his monastery; he labored zealously to extirpate around him the leprosy of simony.

His long and painful struggles on this account with Bishop Peter of Florence, whose conduct was far short of exemplary, had already ended with the deposition of the unworthy prelate when Gregory VII ascended the Apostolic throne. John Gualbert died soon afterward. But his spirit was perpetuated in his order, which gave the Church twelve cardinals, more than thirty bishops, more than a hundred canonized or beatified monks, and an almost equal number of notable writers.<sup>53</sup>

The Hirschau monastery in Germany, founded, or rather restored, at almost the same time, deriving its inspiration more directly from the rule of Cluny, exercised a no less militant and fruitful activity. Hirschau, after fifty years of abandonment, was reoccupied in 1066 by a dozen monks from Einsiedeln. Soon, under the direction of the illustrious and holy Abbot William, it became one of the leading monastic establishments of Europe. "Ninety-seven monasteries, founded or reformed by the monks of Hirschau, all located in the south of Germany, formed around the great Swabian abbey a powerful and magnificent congregation. Twenty-three of these houses of God owed their creation to Hirschau; the other seventy-four monasteries already existing were regenerated by its salutary influence. The holy Abbot William, author of the greater part of these reforms and of these foundations, rebuilt both the monastic edifices and the monastic consciences. He also labored to establish a bond of union and of common activity between all these monasteries."<sup>54</sup> In the whole Christian world, Hirschau was the monastic house that counted the largest number of monks from the ranks of the nobility.

<sup>53</sup> Hurter, *Hist. d'Innocent III*, IV, 163.

<sup>54</sup> Montalembert, *Les moines d'Occident*, VI, 484 f.

## Carthusian Order

Another nobleman, like William of Hirschau and like John Gualbert, was the founder of the Carthusian Order in 1084. But the institution of Bruno Hartenfaust had a character different from the foundations or monastic restorations of his time. The other founders or reformers gave to their monks or took themselves a more or less militant attitude and sent the monks forth from their cells for the work of preaching or polemics or even for diplomatic negotiations with great personages. But the new order, as far as possible, avoided the active life and devoted itself to pure contemplation. Its ideal was to resemble that eremetical life which was the first form of the religious life in the East. However, to avoid the hindrances that prevented the work of St. Antony from continuing in its first form,<sup>55</sup> the life of the cell was tempered by a certain participation in community life. Says the pious Lansperge: "In our order you have the eremetical life and the cenobitical life, both so moderated by the Holy Ghost that whatever in either of them might be a danger, no longer exists."<sup>56</sup> "The Carthusian is a cenobite in the choir, in the chapter, in the refectory, and at recreation. Outside these gatherings, he is a hermit. The life in the cell is the chief duty of a Carthusian."<sup>57</sup> At the door of his cell all the noises of the outer world die away.

The founder of the new order, Master Bruno, as the early documents call him, was born at Cologne about 1032, of the noble family of the Hartenfausts. At an early age he came to France and there, according to a well-founded tradition, had as his teacher Berengarius of Tours. He was appointed teacher in

<sup>55</sup> See Mourret, *History of the Catholic Church*, I, 553.

<sup>56</sup> Lansperge, *Enchiridion*, chap. 49.

<sup>57</sup> Autore, art. "Chartreuse" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, II, 2288.



the Church of Reims and thus had before his eyes the grievous spectacle of the misconduct of the archbishop of that city, Manasses de Gournay, a simoniacal prelate. We are told by Guibert de Nogent that the scandals of heresy and simony made the brilliant professor decide to retire, with some noble clerics of Reims, to the deepest solitude.<sup>58</sup> A touching letter of Bruno written later to the provost of the Church of Reims seems to confirm this surmise. In it he says: "Do you recall a conversation we had in the garden adjoining the house where you received hospitality? We were speaking about the seductions of this world and of its perishable goods, and then about the joys of eternal glory. Led on by the divine love, we vowed to quit this world with its fleeting shadows and consecrate ourselves to the eternal things in the monastic life." <sup>59</sup>

Bruno's withdrawal to solitude was carried out in various stages. First he retired to Molesmes, under the guidance of St. Robert, the future founder of Cîteaux, and there he assumed the Benedictine habit. His attraction to the solitary life led him later to join with two of St. Robert's disciples who, with the same attractions, had made an attempt at this sort of observance. But this solitude seemed to him not profound enough. He turned his steps to Grenoble, where his former pupil St. Hugh was bishop, and, with six companions, settled in a solitary wilderness, called the Chartreuse. He did not elaborate any written rules; but he fixed the customs and practices, which his fourth successor, the venerable Guigues, put in writing. A special trait of these customs is that, taken as a whole, they are not connected with the rule of St. Basil or the rule of St. Augustine or the rule of St. Benedict, although the

<sup>58</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *De vita sua*, Bk. I, chap. 11; *PL*, CLVI, 853.

<sup>59</sup> *PL*, CLII, 420 f. The Bollandists do not consider reliable the legend, immortalized by the brush of Lesueur, of the dreadful declaration made by a damned doctor. The biography of St. Bruno which relates this event supposes the existence at Paris in 1082 of a fully functioning university (*PL*, CLII, 483). This biography therefore cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century.

holy founder drew part from each of these rules. Another special trait of these customs is that everything in them is conceived in a way to favor the most solitary sort of life, the most silent and the most contemplative.

Thereafter, while the army of monk-preachers carry on a combat for the respect of the holy laws of the Church under the supreme authority of the papacy, groups of contemplative monks second their efforts by the suffrage of an uninterrupted prayer.

### Lay Investiture

When St. Bruno settled at the Chartreuse with his first six disciples, Gregory VII's reform campaign had entered upon a new phase. We must now give an account of this.

In Germany, France, and England the first measures adopted for the restoration of clerical morals encountered violent resistance which showed that, by attacking incontinence and simony, the reformers had not reached the root of the evil. As a shrewd observer, Cardinal Humbert in 1058 pointed out that the root of the evil was in the lay "investiture" of Church dignitaries.

In the legal language of the eleventh century, "investiture" meant placing a person in possession of an office or of any property. This investiture always took place, in accordance with an old tradition, by the symbolic delivery of some object: of a tuft of grass or a clod of earth to signify the putting of a person in possession of a domain; of a key, for the possession of a house. In the case of a bishopric or an abbey, the objects symbolic of the office were the crosier and the pastoral ring.

In consequence of juridical situations which we have already mentioned,<sup>60</sup> kings and lords, notable benefactors of some chapel, church, or cathedral, put the titularies of these religious edifices into possession by the traditional symbols; these latter

<sup>60</sup> See *supra*, pp. 16 f.

persons were of course regularly elected by the clergy and people, and were canonically confirmed by their hierarchical superiors. Gradually, however, the preponderant will of the temporal prince reduced the election and the canonical confirmation to mere empty formalities or even suppressed them altogether. This serious juridical transformation was hastened by the fact that meanwhile certain Church dignitaries, bishops and abbots, had become feudal lords through the importance of the domains in their possessions and by the administrative and judiciary offices which they held. In the course of the eleventh century, a bishop had, from the temporal point of view, the powers of a count. The kings, making no distinction between this temporal authority and the pastoral office, placed both under the "high domain," *altum dominium*, which public law gave them over the possessions and functions of their vassals.

Such a condition of affairs had serious consequences. As a result of this abuse, the regular election and the canonical confirmation by the metropolitan, the only method provided by the law of the Church for the selection of bishops, were suppressed. Most of the time, in the mind of the king who appointed him, as also in the mind of the cleric who was promoted, the care of the pastoral office was overshadowed by care for the secular preoccupations. This practice readily led to traffic in the sacred offices and to misconduct on the part of those who were raised to these offices. Simony and clerical incontinence were the almost inevitable results of lay investiture.

The same cause made the evil almost incurable. In their resistance to the reform decrees of the Church, the simoniacal bishops and abbots were upheld by the princes and kings who had appointed them. Often, too, for their defense against the reform decrees, they found a power in their good faith. During the proceedings in the eleventh century against simoniacal

clerics, many of the latter advanced arguments based on their perfect sincerity. In 1045 "a very religious personage of well-known holiness,"<sup>61</sup> gave money to rescue, he said, the Holy See from the unworthy pontiffs whom the Roman barons had set up.<sup>62</sup> How could the secular princes be persuaded that they ought to give up their rights of investiture of prelates who, by their temporal situation and political influence, were placed in the rank of the greatest lords? The astute genius of Cardinal Humbert in 1058 pointed out the solution. It consisted in proclaiming and having admitted by all "that the spiritual office is the essential of a bishopric, that the patrimony attached to his office is simply a dependence thereon, and that to reverse the terms and to regulate the spiritual as a function of the temporal, as lay investiture did, was not right and just."<sup>63</sup> Cardinal Humbert wrote: "The episcopal office demands the temporal; the temporal office does not require the episcopal office."<sup>64</sup> Therefore Gregory VII, in his struggle against lay investiture, does not separate the question of the freedom of the Church from the question of the pre-eminence of the spiritual over the temporal.

Gregory VII did not hide from himself the vastness of the strife he was about to undertake. In a Roman synod (February 24 to 28, 1075), he promulgated the following famous decree, which most of the sovereigns regarded as a declaration of war: "Whoever in the future receives from the hand of a layman a bishopric or an abbey will not be reckoned among the bishops and abbots. We forbid him the communion of

<sup>61</sup> *Vir religiosissimus ac sanctitate perspicuus*, says Glaber, V, 25.

<sup>62</sup> See *supra*, p. 124. On the question of the investitures, see E. Lesne, art. "Investiture" in the *Dict. apol. de la foi cath.*, II, 1090.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1095.

<sup>64</sup> Humbert, *Contra simoniacos*, Bk. III, chap. 2, in Jaffé, *Mon. gregor.*, I, 200, and in *PL*, CXLIII, 1142. St. Ivo of Chartres later supplemented this notion by pointing out that the supremacy of the spiritual element over the temporal element was not the absorption of the latter by the former.

Blessed Peter and entrance into the church until he resigns from his office. We issue the same prohibition regarding lower offices. If an emperor, duke, marquis, count, or any lay power or person dares to give investiture of a bishopric or of any other ecclesiastical office, let him know that he is subject to the same condemnation.”<sup>65</sup>

The struggle against lay investiture took place chiefly in France, England, and Germany. In France the two papal legates, Hugh of Die and Amatus of Oloron, mindful of the violent opposition encountered by the application of the decrees of the Roman council of 1074 against simony, did not insist upon the publication of the decrees of the Roman council of 1075 against lay investiture. They followed the advice given them in a letter (January 5, 1075) from Pope Gregory: “You do better to expose yourselves to reproaches for your kindness, than to make yourselves hateful by too great severity. Your children are still ignorant and uncultured; you must improve them little by little.”<sup>66</sup>

At the Council of Clermont (1076) and at the Council of Dijon (1077) nothing was said about investitures. The papal decree was not promulgated by Hugh of Die until a synod of Autun in September, 1077. There he encountered very sharp opposition; but the legate disregarded it and, in virtue of his plenary powers, he suspended *ab officio* the powerful archbishop of Reims, Manasses I, who was convicted of simony and usurpation. Another council, held at Poitiers in 1078, in spite of the opposition of King Philip I, but with the support of the Duke of Aquitaine, recalled that “a bishop must receive investiture only from his metropolitan; a cleric, only from his

<sup>65</sup> Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, in *M. G.*, SS., VIII, 412, and *PL*, CLIV, 277. Such is indeed the sense, if not the very letter of the decree, for evidently Hugh of Flavigny has not transmitted the authentic text.

<sup>66</sup> St. Gregory VII, *Registrum*, II, 14, in Jaffé, *Monum. greg.*, p. 156, and in *PL*, CXLVIII, 394. This letter was addressed to Hugh, bishop of Die, and concerned directly only the government of his diocese; but it was a direction for its whole conduct.

bishop.”<sup>67</sup> Several prelates, instituted solely by the authority of the King, were deposed. Manasses protested, tried to stir the Roman court and the court of France in his behalf, even attempted to defend himself by force of arms. But, weakly backed by Philip I, who did not wish to identify his own cause with that of a personage so suspect, he yielded. “This was an important victory for Rome and for the legates. They had been successful in a conflict with the primate of Gaul, with him who consecrated the kings. What bishop could henceforth resist them?”<sup>68</sup>

In England, William the Conqueror maintained toward the Holy See the attitude he had already adopted as Duke of Normandy. Respectful in his diplomatic relations with the Roman court, favoring the reform of morals in the clergy, but excessively jealous of anything that seemed to him an encroachment upon his royal prerogatives, he retained control over every decision made by a council, the confirmation of every censure pronounced against a cleric dependent upon the crown, and appointed the bishops after consulting the upper clergy. The relations between King William and the Pope continued to be strained. Gregory VII patiently endured this situation. In the war declared against Gregory VII by the antipope Guibert, William at first forbade his subjects to acknowledge any pontiff without the king’s previous authorization; afterward, however, he accepted Gregory and rejected the legate whom Guibert sent.<sup>69</sup> But the religious quarrels soon broke out in Great Britain with unprecedented vivacity.

The conflict in Germany gave promise of reaching vast proportions. The head of the Holy Empire, unlike a king of France or of England, appealed not only to the prerogatives of his crown, the independence of his temporal authority, the

<sup>67</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 231.

<sup>68</sup> Luchaire in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 214.

<sup>69</sup> On the religious policy of William the Conqueror, see Lingard, *History of England*, I, 540 ff.

bonds of vassalage that connected lord-bishops to the throne; he considered himself the head of the religious society. Deprived, by the act of Nicholas II, of the right to interfere in the election of the Roman pontiffs, he was the more energetic in defending his alleged right of intervention in the election of bishops and abbots.<sup>70</sup>

The character of the young King of Germany was of a nature to embitter the conflict. Born in 1050, proclaimed king in 1056, declared of age in 1063, the young King Henry IV was twenty-five years old and had been ruling twelve years at the time of Gregory VII's decree about the investiture of clerics. Henry was not devoid of intelligence and valor. One biographer of Pope Gregory says:

Henry's first misfortune was that he received a detestable education. A mere child at the time of the death of his father Henry III and soon removed from the tutelage of his mother, Empress Agnes, he grew up between Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen, who transmitted to him all his conceits for the maintenance of his power, and Archbishop Anno of Cologne, whose austere virtue frightened him.

Even in childhood Henry IV was immoral; when he reached manhood he soon became dissolute. He was no better after his marriage to the Princess of Savoy. All the authority of St. Peter Damian, legate of the Holy See, was needed to oblige him to take back his wife, whom he had shamefully repudiated. Without any regard for the well-being of his people, the security of his states, or his own high office, Henry IV almost always followed his whims, gave free rein to his hatreds and grudges, even to the point of exasperating both his subjects and his own children. His relations with the Holy See were utterly inconsistent.<sup>71</sup>

He was friendly to the Holy See whenever his enemies threatened his crown, and turned from it, forgetful of his

<sup>70</sup> On the political claims of the German emperors, see Stengel, *Der Kaiser macht das Heer Studien zur Geschichte eines politischen Gedankens*.

<sup>71</sup> Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, I, lxxxiv-lxxxv.

promises and oaths, as soon as the danger passed. In August, 1073, impelled by a formidable revolt of the Saxons, he wrote to the Pope as follows: "My very dear lord, we confess that we have not always manifested to the priesthood the justice and respect rightly due it. Touched by God's mercy, we acknowledge our faults to your most indulgent paternity."<sup>72</sup>

Gregory put trust in the sincerity of these declarations. After promulgating the decree of 1075 on investitures, he wrote a very friendly letter to the King of Germany, saying that he had decided to regulate, in common accord with the King and for the greater advantage of the Empire and of the Church, all the difficulties that might arise from the reform.<sup>73</sup> Henry IV had an additional reason for manifesting friendliness to the Pope: he cherished the project of being crowned emperor. Without delay he sent to Rome two ambassadors, commissioned to discuss the question of the investitures and also that of the coming coronations. In his letter he wrote: "I desire that no one shall know what I have informed you of through them, no one except yourself, my mother, my aunt Beatrice, and her daughter Matilda."<sup>74</sup> The mention of these two princesses, whose devotedness to the Holy See was known, was made to rejoice the heart of the Pontiff. Gregory VII opened his soul to all the most consoling expectations. In reality this secrecy, so strangely requested of the Pope, hid a detestable plot. The negotiations just mentioned took place in December, 1075. But in September of that same year Henry IV had decided to conclude nothing with the Holy See except with the concurrence of the nobles of his realm, that is, those who had the greatest interest in defeating the Pope's reforms.

The King's duplicity soon became evident. Gregory, while

<sup>72</sup> Gregory VII, *Registrum*, I, 29, in Jaffé, *op. cit.*, p. 46, and in *PL*, CXLVIII, 312.

<sup>73</sup> See this letter in *Registrum*, III, 10; *Mon. greg.*, p. 220; *PL*, CXLVIII, 439-42.

<sup>74</sup> Delarc, *op. cit.*, III, 160.



entertaining the most roseate hopes, learned that the King of Germany had, on his own authority, invested Bishop Huzmann at Spire, Bishop Henry at Liège, and Bishop Tebaldo at Milan. This Tebaldo, a nobleman and a cleric of Milan who, according to Bonizo, "had more corpulence than virtue,"<sup>75</sup> received the royal investiture while the lawful bishop, Godfrey, was still living. At this same time, Guibert of Ravenna publicly withdrew from Gregory; and a counselor of the King, Eberhard of Nellenburg, sent on a mission to Lombardy, declared that the Patari were public enemies. A despicable outrage climaxed this series of treasons and plots.

During the night of Christmas, 1075, while the Pope was celebrating the sacred mysteries in the church of St. Mary Major, at that hour rather deserted, a band of armed men rushed upon him as they shouted terrible cries, struck him fiercely, seized him, and brought him, bleeding and fastened to a horse, to a tower near the Pantheon, the property of the Censius family. A member of this family, a man of shameful vices, well known for his relations with Henry IV and with Guibert of Ravenna, was at the head of the bandits, urging them on by words and acts. But, although the drama was quickly acted, the people present at the function in St. Mary Major, had time to scatter in the city and spread the tragic news. This they did so effectively that at daybreak Cencius saw, from the windows of his tower, where he had just joined the Pope, an immense tumultuous throng, preparing an assault upon his place to deliver the Pontiff. Cencius thought his last hour had come. He lost his arrogance. Casting himself at the Pope's feet, he begged for pardon and implored that his life be spared. Gregory promised him both, succeeded in rescuing him from the mob; then, escorted by an immense throng that surrounded him, returned to St. Mary Major and there, amid

<sup>75</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, VII, in Jaffé, p. 664.

universal thanksgiving, concluded the interrupted holy sacrifice.

So many crimes called for prompt punishment. Early in January, 1076, three papal messengers summoned the King, in the Pope's name, to come to Rome on the twenty-second of the following February to appear at a synod there and clear himself of several charges. If he should fail to appear, on that day the Apostolic anathema would separate him from the body of the Church.<sup>76</sup>

Henry IV's wrath was terrible. To anticipate the Pope's move, he convoked, for Septuagesima Sunday, which that year fell on January 24, a national council at Worms. Almost all the German bishops attended. The undisguised purpose of the council was the deposition of Pope Gregory VII. The affair was conducted by the King and his counselors with unusual vigor. Everybody knew that Gregory was without guile, trustful, much inclined to let himself be won by a hypocritical declaration; but once the justice of a cause became clearly evident to him, he was capable of defending it with indomitable energy. The King needed, at any cost, to obtain an almost unanimous vote of deposition against him. In the pursuit of this purpose nothing was neglected. As soon as the prelates were assembled in the council chamber, under the presidency of the King, a cardinal of the Roman Church entered. He was called Hugh Candidus. Candidus belonged to the race of the great traitors. Historians have compared his part to that of Admiral Coligny in the time of the religious strifes of the sixteenth century and to that of Cardinal Loménie de Brienne in the French Revolution.

Born at Remiremont in the diocese of Toul, appointed cardinal by the saintly Pope Leo IX at the same time as Peter Damian on account of his remarkable qualities of mind, he

<sup>76</sup> *M. G., SS.*, V, 241, 280, 431.

sustained the antipope Cadalous, then rallied to Gregory VII and even obtained from him a confidential mission in Spain. Of a sudden he turned against his benefactor, entered upon dubious negotiations with Robert Guiscard, the duke of the Normans, and finally joined the cause of Tebaldo of Milan and of Guibert of Ravenna. In 1076 he was deposed for misconduct. With imposing self-assurance and with a preciseness of fabricated details, which his habitual practice in the Roman curia made easy for him, he made in the presence of the council, according to Hefele's picturesque expression, "a sort of melodrama" on Hildebrand's origin, his alleged youthful misconduct, his crimes of riper age, his usurpation of the papacy, his hateful tyranny, and his infamous morals.<sup>77</sup> In an assembly where many prelates had everything to dread from the reforming Pope, these calumnies found an echo.

William, bishop of Utrecht and personal friend of the King, then rose up and, in a commanding tone, declared that the members of the assembly had merely to choose one of two attitudes: to condemn the Pope or to abandon the King. To close the matter promptly and to prevent the bishops faithful to the Pope from shielding themselves behind reservations, the following declaration was submitted for each one's signature: "I, N. . . ., Bishop of N. . . ., notify Hildebrand that, from this moment, I refuse him submission and obedience and I will no longer acknowledge him as pope and will no longer give him this title." Says the chronicler Bruno: "Only a few persons there subscribed to this declaration wholeheartedly; most of them obeyed only through fear, as they afterward declared to the Pope."<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, year 1076, in *M. G.*, *SS.*, V, 242, and in *PL*, CXLVI, 1211.

<sup>78</sup> Bruno, *De bello saxonico*, in *M. G.*, *SS.*, V, 351.

## Excommunication of Henry IV

After the conciliabulum of Worms, Henry IV sent to Gregory VII a letter beginning with these words: "Henry, King, not by usurpation but by the will of God, to Hildebrand, who is no longer Pope, but only a false monk." The King closes his letter pathetically as follows: "And now, since you are condemned by our judgment and by that of our bishops, descend from that Apostolic See which you have usurped. . . . Descend, descend, you who are condemned forever."<sup>79</sup>

When the Emperor's envoys brought this letter to Rome, the Pope was holding the announced council in the Lateran Basilica. One of these envoys, Roland, a cleric from Parma, was so bold as to accompany this communication with grave insults that aroused the assembly. Some laymen present in the council chamber fell upon Roland and would have slain him if the Pope had not shielded him with his own person.<sup>80</sup> The council declared unanimously that Henry had amply deserved excommunication. Gregory could not postpone the decision any longer. In the presence of Empress Agnes, who was at the council and who with desolate heart declared that she bowed before a measure which the duty of his supreme office obliged the Pope to take,<sup>81</sup> Gregory VII pronounced King Henry's excommunication and consequently released his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Several bishops involved in the King's cause were also excommunicated.<sup>82</sup>

To inform the Catholic world of so important an act, the Pope issued a special bull, which explained to the faithful the

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 352.

<sup>80</sup> Paul Bernried, *Vita Gregorii VII*, in Watterich, I, 512, and in *PL*, CXLVIII, 71.

<sup>81</sup> See the letter written on this subject by the Empress to the Bishop of Passau (Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*; *PL*, CLIV, 308).

<sup>82</sup> For the solemn formula of this excommunication, see *Liber pontificalis* (Duchesne), II, 282, and Jaffé, pp. 222-24.

reasons for this condemnation and its import. Therein he set forth that the King had merited such a sentence by a threefold infraction of the laws of the Church: not merely had Henry IV frequently associated with notorious excommunicated persons and obstinately refused to heed numerous paternal warnings, but he had attempted to effect a schism in the Church.<sup>83</sup> He had thereby excluded himself from the Catholic body. By his conduct he obliged the head of the Church either to abandon the Holy See to the King's caprices or to adopt the severe measures which he had just employed. As to the sentence releasing Henry's subjects from their oath of allegiance, Gregory, without precisely saying whether he issued it in virtue of a direct right or of an indirect right, based it upon the power belonging to him, from Christ, "to bind and to loose" princes and peoples.<sup>84</sup>

The excommunication of the King of Germany and of his chief partisans was like a thunderbolt which, as Bonizo says, made the whole Roman world tremble.<sup>85</sup> Henry IV was at Utrecht when the news reached him on Holy Saturday of the year 1076. Bishop William of Utrecht was one of Henry IV's warmest supporters. At once he ascended the pulpit and declared, in the King's name, that the excommunication pronounced by the Pope should be considered null, and he burst out in invectives of the grossest sort against Gregory. Shortly after this the King, in a long letter accusing the Pope of seeking to unite the two powers, spiritual and temporal in his own hands, invited the bishops of the kingdom to meet at Worms on May 15.<sup>86</sup> But so many deeds of violence were far from helping the royal cause. Every thoughtful person saw that Henry IV had been the first to attempt the use of the two

<sup>83</sup> Bernried, *op. cit.*, p. 68, in Watterich, I, 517.

<sup>84</sup> Gregory VII, *Registrum*, III, 6; *PL*, CXLVIII, 454. Cf. IX, 1; *PL*, CXLVIII, 451-53.

<sup>85</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, Bk. VIII; *Mon. greg.*, p. 670.

<sup>86</sup> *Mon. greg.*, p. 106.

swords, spiritual and temporal. The sudden death of the Bishop of Utrecht, who died in remorse, impressed the popular imagination, which looked upon it as a punishment from God.<sup>87</sup>

The Pope's act releasing the King's subjects from their oath of allegiance was a watchword respectfully followed by sincere Catholics; for most of the others it was a signal of revolt. The feudal world rested especially upon the sacredness of an oath. This was the barrier separating that world from barbarism. Saxony almost entirely rose up, and the number of bishops who went to Worms was so insufficient that the King was obliged to postpone the solution of the conflict to another assembly, which met at Mainz on June 29 of that year.

The assembly at Mainz brought to light especially the anxieties of conscience of the bishops, who consented to declare that the King's excommunication was null because of a defect of form, but they refused to designate a successor of Gregory VII.<sup>88</sup>

However, Henry's enemies exploited to their advantage the sentence of deposition pronounced against him. His castles were pillaged. Defection created a solitude around him. Gregory VII seized upon the occasion to bring back, by one stroke, political peace and religious peace in Germany. He wrote "to all his brethren in Christ, bishops, abbots, priests, dukes, princes, and knights living in the Roman Empire," an urgent letter in which he said to them: "We beg you, as most beloved brothers, to exert yourselves to arouse in the soul of King Henry feelings of true repentance, to rescue him from the hands of the demon, so that we may be able to restore him to the bosom of our common mother."<sup>89</sup>

These instructions arrived opportunely. Nearly all the ecclesiastical and lay nobility, having at its head Duke Rudolf

<sup>87</sup> Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, Bk. II; *M. G.*, SS., V, 361.

<sup>88</sup> Lambert, *Annales*, year 1076, in *M. G.*, SS., V, 243 f.; *PL*, CXLVI, 1218.

<sup>89</sup> Gregory VII, *Registrum*, IV, 1, in Jaffé, *Mon. greg.*, p. 238; *PL*, CXLVIII, 451-53.

of Swabia and Duke Welf (Guelph) of Bavaria, decided to assemble at Tribur on the following October 16 to cure the increasingly disturbed situation of the Empire. Two papal legates, Sieghart of Aquileia and Altmann of Passau, went to the assembly and there in the name of the Pope, against the impulsive desires of the nobles, who wished to depose Henry IV immediately, advocated a moderate course. At the legates' urging, the assembly decided that the King's case should be judged, after free discussion, in a great national diet, to be held at Augsburg under the presidency of the Pope, and that a new king should be elected only if Henry refused submission.

This was a splendid victory for the cause of justice and of the papacy. Thus Gregory, invited by the whole aristocracy of the Holy Empire, Swabians and Saxons, Bavarians and Lorrainians, momentarily united in a unanimous thought, was going, in the very heart of Germany and amid the general friendliness of the people, to act as master in the case of him who a few months before had stirred Germany against his supreme authority.

Before adjourning, the Tribur assembly decided that if at the end of a year Henry was still by his own fault under the weight of excommunication, he would be, according to the ancient law, stripped of all his claims to the kingship. If he chose to submit, he must revoke the pseudo-council of Worms, give the Pope written amends, and, until a final decision was reached, must live at Spire as a private person, without military suite, must not enter any church, and must abstain from any act of government. Should he fail in a single one of these points, the princes would be freed from all obligation toward him.

Henry IV saw that his cause was lost. By carrying violence too far he had turned against himself all the forces of the Empire. Clearly of all his adversaries the most exorable was

the Pope. From that hour Henry's resolve was to do everything to put his cause in the hands of Gregory VII.

His first move, to have his cause judged at Rome and not at Augsburg, was rejected by the Pope, who declared that he would abide by the decisions voted at Tribur: the King would be judged at the diet of Augsburg, and not elsewhere.<sup>90</sup> After writing this letter, the Pope set out for Germany. On December 28, 1076, he was at Florence. Provided with the necessary safe-conduct by Countess Matilda, he crossed the Apennines in the first days of 1077. On January 8, he reached Mantua. In this city he was waiting for the escort which he needed to resume his journey, when he received news that was as grave as it was unexpected. King Henry IV, defying the prohibition against his leaving Spire, had set out for Rome. He had already crossed Mont Cenis pass and was then in Lombardy. What was the Pope to do? To turn back to Rome would be to fail in his promise to the princes that he would go to the diet; to continue on to Augsburg, would be to abandon Rome to the German King, who might stir Rome to revolt by joining the factions, perhaps even by allying himself with those terrible and mysterious Normans, whose uncertain attitude had always been a source of anxiety to Gregory. Countess Matilda,<sup>91</sup> aware of the Pope's perplexity, proposed that he withdraw to her fortress of Canossa and there await the turn of events. The Pope accepted. Neither of them foresaw that they would thus furnish the crafty monarch the occasion for realizing a plan more perfidious than any he had previously devised.

### Gregory VII at Canossa

The fortress of Canossa, built on an impregnable rock ten miles from Reggio in the marquisate of Tuscany, already had

<sup>90</sup> Bruno, *De bello sax.*; *M. G.*, SS., V, 361; Mansi, XX, 379.

<sup>91</sup> Her mother, Beatrice, died on April 18, 1076.



a history. The widow of the last Lombard king, the future Empress of Germany, St. Adelaide, took refuge there under the protection of an ancestor of Countess Matilda, to escape from the persecution of the last king of Italy, Berengarius II. Encompassed by a triple fortified wall, from the heart of which arose a group of towers, the Canossa castle seemed destined to become the stage of one of the most dramatic scenes recorded in history.

As soon as the Pope was installed in the castle, a group of German bishops and laymen arrived, men recently excommunicated for their close relations with Henry IV. They came to ask that their censures be removed. After they had undergone a few days of penance, the Pope granted the absolution which they requested. But at the same time he learned that this group was the herald of the King himself.

In fact, a few days later a royal messenger arrived with word that his master, who was then a short distance from the castle, requested an interview with Countess Matilda and with one of her guests, Abbot Hugh of Cluny. The interview was granted. The excommunicated King was humble, penitent, suppliant. He begged the intercession of the devout princess and of the holy abbot to obtain his pardon. Gregory's position was full of anguish. By his priestly character and the inner feelings of his soul, he was inclined to mercy. But would it be right for him to anticipate a decision that was reserved to the diet of Augsburg? He also remembered the inconstancy of the young King's character. For a long time he resisted. Countess Matilda increased her urging.

In the morning of January 25, 1077, the King resolved to precipitate the issue. He rapped on the gate of the castle. He was barefoot, in the snow, clothed in the woolen garb of penitents. There he remained until evening, groaning, weeping, begging for his pardon. The same scene was repeated on the two following days. In the evening of the third day he went to

a little chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, and there he found the Abbot of Cluny and Countess Matilda at prayer. He renewed his supplications to them. At first Countess Matilda, then the Abbot of Cluny, were greatly moved and agreed to intercede with the Pope. Gregory himself was won over and promised that on the next day he would admit King Henry to communion, but on the following conditions: 1. Henry should appear at the diet of the princes and should there answer the charges brought against him; 2. until his case was decided he should take no part in the government of the kingdom and should give whatever guaranties would be demanded of him. The Pope, foreseeing that his decision might give rise to interpretations unfriendly toward him, at once sent to the German princes an exact account of all that had just occurred.<sup>92</sup>

Gregory's solution of the conflict was most wise. It foiled Henry IV's plan and the cupidity of his followers as also the schemes of some of his foes who sought in this affair their own interests rather than the good of religion and the peace of the Empire. Neither Guibert of Ravenna nor the German party in Lombardy, who expected to see the Pope humbled, was satisfied. We are told that Guibert was greatly displeased and ad-

<sup>92</sup> Gregory VII, *Registrum*, IV, 12; Jaffé, *Mon. greg.*, p. 256; *PL*, CXLVIII, 465-67. This report has been our chief guide in our narrative. It is supplemented by the reports of two Italian cardinals, Bonizo and Donizo, both having close dealings with Countess Matilda; Donizo was living at Canossa (see Bonizo in *Monum. greg.*, p. 672, and Donizo in *M. G.*, SS., XII, 382). The following assertions are utterly false: that Gregory himself imposed the penance on the King; that the King had been condemned to pass three days and three nights without food, in the open air, clothed only in a shirt; that the Pope used the Eucharist as a judgment of God. Such statements in vain attempt to find support in a version of Lambert of Hersfeld (*M. G.*, SS., V, 256 f.). This version is contradicted by the entirety of the other documents. It disagrees with the character of Gregory VII and with that of Henry IV. Most historians reject it (Hefele-Leclercq, V, 191-200; Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, III, 267-78; Hergenröther, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, III, 555-57). Hefele says: "What we can say is that the whole Canossa scene was a comedy played by the King, who came to Canossa to seek, not absolution, but a way out of the political entanglement into which he had put himself" (*loc. cit.*, p. 200). Nowhere do we find a report that the King stood three days in the snow dressed merely in a shirt. The woolen robe of penitents was worn outside the ordinary clothes.

vised the King to seize Gregory at any cost, by trickery or by force.<sup>93</sup> The Lombards, who were displeased both with the Pope and with the King, spoke of promptly designating as king the younger son of Henry and of marching on Rome, there to elect another pope.<sup>94</sup> The German barons who rallied to Rudolf of Swabia and who were much more concerned with the fall of Henry IV than with political and religious pacification, did not hide their dissatisfaction with a solution that sought a totally opposite purpose. Henry IV himself, who had resolved to obtain his political rehabilitation rather than his religious reconciliation, noted bitterly that Gregory had sought only this latter issue, even to the detriment of the former. The King's hypocritical cleverness turned against him. From the very first days that followed the interview at Canossa, no one could fail to see that the King of Germany was going to destroy his promises as though, to use the expression of Lambert of Hersfeld, they were mere cobwebs.<sup>95</sup>

Although the King now had public opinion against him, yet his former counselors, the most involved of his followers, and the habitual companions of his debauchery gathered more closely about him. The "Lombard bulls" begged him to assume the iron crown at Monza. Cencius, the bandit lord who had so cruelly outraged the Pope on Christmas night, 1075, offered his services to him.<sup>96</sup> And Guibert, while awaiting the hour for his elevation to the first rank, remained in the background, inciting rancor and hatred in the King's mind. Says Lambert of Hersfeld: "In the numerous conversations between Henry and his friends, the King indulged in recriminations against the Roman Pontiff, held him to blame for the violent storm

<sup>93</sup> Donizo, in *M. G., SS.*, XII, 382.

<sup>94</sup> Lambert, in *M. G., SS.*, V, 260; *Monum. greg.*, p. 245.

<sup>95</sup> Lambert, *Annales*, year 1077; *PL*, CXLVI, 1245.

<sup>96</sup> According to Bonizo (*Ad amicum*, Bk. VIII), the King had several secret meetings with the bandit. But the latter's sudden death in 1077 put an end to the plot.

disturbing the state, and asked that everyone should gather about him so that he might avenge so many insults.”<sup>97</sup>

On the other hand, the devoted friends of the Pope in Italy and Henry IV's political foes in Germany increased their activity. The Patari of Milan sent a deputation to Rome and, encouraged by Peter Damian, they brought about a triumph of orthodoxy in their province.<sup>98</sup> As to the German nobles who gathered around Rudolf of Swabia, their mind was made up. At an assembly held at Forchheim (March 13, 1077), they decided that the election of a new king was urgent.

The undertaking was rash. The electors, both lay and ecclesiastical, had experienced the need of finding protection under the supreme authority of the Pope and had invited him to their assembly. The Pontiff, who was the defender of the Church and of justice in Christian society, saw the imprudence of letting so grave a step be taken without his participation and control. Therefore he delegated two legates to represent him at Forchheim. He also wrote to Henry IV, requesting him to attend the diet and there present his defense. But the King, perhaps thinking his cause already lost, refused to go.<sup>99</sup>

The assembly chose Duke Rudolf of Swabia, who was elected king of Germany. The event showed how useful the presence of the legates had been. They required that the new King subscribe to the two following conditions of capital importance: 1. that he would not distribute bishoprics for money or according to his whim; that each Church should be free canonically to elect its bishop from its own members; 2. that the royal dignity should no longer be transmitted by inheritance, as usage was tending to establish, but, in accordance with the ancient law, by election.<sup>100</sup> By this double reservation, the

<sup>97</sup> Lambert, *Annales*, year 1077, in *M. G., SS.*, VIII, 31.

<sup>98</sup> Arnolfo, *Gesta archiepiscoporum mediolanensium*, Bk. V; *M. G., SS.*, VIII, 31.

<sup>99</sup> Watterich, I, 517 f.; Bernried, *op. cit.*, chap. 7; *PL*, CXLVIII, 87-90.

<sup>100</sup> Bruno, *De bello saxonico*, 91; *M. G., SS.*, V, 365.

sense and bearing of the election at Forchheim were well defined: it was not merely a counterattack of the aristocracy against the hereditary monarchy; it was a new guaranty of respect for the Church and its laws.

### Rudolf of Swabia

Unfortunately circumstances did not permit this measure to bear fruit. This sudden election offended too many interests, the spirit of rancor was too evident in many of those who were its authors, and the grave mission with which Rudolf of Swabia was entrusted was too heavy for his shoulders.

On the other hand, Henry IV, after a moment of amazement, recovered and conducted the war against his foe with uncommon vigor. Therein he displayed activity and valor, and a cleverness in taking advantage of the faults of his enemy; in short, the tactics of a statesman and warrior, which show what this prince could have become if an evil education and an evil entourage had not morally depraved him. Abandoned by a large part of the nobility, he found support in the big cities, which furnished him an army. The coalition that brought Rudolf to power was without solid cohesion. Several of the nobles had no bonds of union except the bitterness animating them against King Henry. Defections occurred. The two rivals came to grips with equal forces. After a doubtful battle at Melrichstädt in 1078, Rudolf was victorious at Mülhausen in January, 1080, but in October, on the banks of the Elster, he was seriously wounded and died shortly after.

Gregory, in spite of urging by both sides, refrained from declaring himself in favor of either rival. At a Roman council (February 25 to March 3, 1078) he declared that the best solution seemed to him to be to gather in Germany, under his presidency or that of his legates and without the presence of the two kings, an assembly of prelates and eminent men of the

state, for the purpose of succoring the Empire so cruelly torn.<sup>101</sup> In another Roman council (November, 1078) ambassadors of Henry and of Rudolf swore, in the name of their masters, not to hinder the projected conference.<sup>102</sup> In a third council, which opened at Rome on February 11, 1079, the Pope obtained from the ambassadors of the two parties an agreement that the decision pronounced by the legates after inquiry would be accepted by both. We still have the form of the oath that was taken on that occasion.<sup>103</sup> Lastly, on March 7 of that same year, Gregory VII, ascertaining that Henry IV, besides other offenses, was guilty of opposing the meeting of the conference, which was decreed to assure the peace of the Empire, declared him deprived of his rights.<sup>104</sup>

Henry IV had foreseen this eventuality of a deposition pronounced by the Pope. In concert with his counselors, he prepared to reply at once by a pitiless war to the death; its chief stages seem to have been decided on in advance. Among the King's advisers were two whom we have met already, at the most tragic moments of the strife against Rome. On the political stage, they again played a preponderant part: Cardinal Hugh Candidus and Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna. The plan of the war embraced the execution of three decisive acts: the election of an antipope, the coronation of Henry IV as emperor, and the taking of Rome. A conciliabulum (June 25, 1080) at Brixen, a small town of Noricum, today in the Aus-

<sup>101</sup> Mansi, XX, 603; suppl., II, 27; Delarc, III, 403-14.

<sup>102</sup> Jaffé, no. 5084.

<sup>103</sup> Gregory VII, *Registrum*, VI, 17; *Mon. greg.*, p. 352; Delarc, III, 461.

<sup>104</sup> Gregory VII, *Registrum*, VII, 14; *Mon. greg.*, p. 401. See the complete allocution which St. Gregory pronounced on this occasion. Taking isolated phrases of this allocution, you might suppose that Gregory was arrogating to himself the right to dispose of the crowns (Lavissee and Rambaud, *Hist. gén.*, II, 101 f.). The meaning of the document, taken in its totality, seems to us quite otherwise. With Gosselin (*Pouvoir du pape au Moyen Age*, 1845 ed., p. 441), we think that "the Pope's sentence was really only a confirmation of the judgment already pronounced by the German lords in the diet of Forchheim." See the discussion of this opinion in Gosselin, *op. cit.*, pp. 441 f.

trian Tyrol, declared the deposition of Gregory VII, who was accused of "upsetting the established order of the Church, destroying the harmony of the Empire, and waging war upon the body and soul of a peaceful Catholic king." We possess the text of the odious act of accusation containing these insults. At the head of twenty-seven signatures of German or Lombard bishops, is that of Cardinal Hugh Candidus, the traitor, who probably was the writer of the document. The twenty-seven bishops agreed to elevate at once to the supreme pontificate the archbishop of Ravenna, Guibert, who was forthwith clothed with the insignia of the papacy and received the homages due to the head of Christendom.<sup>105</sup> The King bent his knee before the newly elected antipope and announced that in the following spring he would go with an army to receive the imperial crown from the Pontiff at Rome itself.

The military qualities displayed by Henry IV in his strife against Rudolf gave reason to dread the invasion of his troops into Italy. Gregory thought the moment had come to make an alliance with the Normans, even though he must sacrifice some possessions of the Papal States. By the intermediary of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, he concluded a treaty with Duke Robert Guiscard, assuring the Normans of "the lands granted to them by the preceding popes and tolerating the possession by them of Salerno, Amalfi, and part of the March of Fermo, although these lands had been unjustly acquired."<sup>106</sup> In return the Duke renewed the oath previously taken to Nicholas II, to defend against all attack the domain of St. Peter. Already assured of the cooperation of Countess Matilda in northern Italy, the Pope planned to make use of the Normans in forcibly subduing the antipope Guibert, who had installed himself at Ravenna and was there recruiting and

<sup>105</sup> *M. G., SS.*, VIII, 99; *Mon. greg.*, p. 676.

<sup>106</sup> Such are the terms of the treaty. See Gregory VII, *Registrum*, VII, 7; *Mon. greg.*, p. 426.

organizing his party. But, owing to various circumstances, the Ravenna expedition could not take place. The Norman troops entered upon the campaign by fighting the Emperor of the East.

### Henry IV in Italy

Toward the end of March, 1081, word came to Rome that Henry IV had crossed the Alps at the head of his forces. Owing to the treason of several vassals of Countess Matilda, he was able to cross through upper Italy and be crowned at Milan as King of Lombardy. In this supreme peril, Gregory showed his heroism, giving his attention to the smallest needs of the Church, even striking the great whenever justice required, and resisting all who implored him to seek a reconciliation with Henry. He wrote (April 8, 1081) to the people of Venetia, admonishing them to refrain from any dealings with the excommunicated persons.<sup>107</sup>

Henry, however, after ravaging the possessions of Countess Matilda and taking the antipope Guibert with him, advanced toward Rome. He reached there on the Saturday before Pentecost (May 21 or 22, 1081), but a disappointment awaited him. Made confident by the preceding successes of his army and feeling certain that under the walls of the Eternal City he would encounter neither the Tuscan troops, who had been defeated in Upper Italy, nor the Norman troops, who were engaged in the East, he expected that the Romans would be eager to open their gates to him, and had not brought any siege equipment with him. But, following the Pope's advice, the population of Rome barricaded themselves, and Henry IV was obliged to retire in June, 1081. To give satisfaction to his soldiers, he let them ravage the environs of Rome. Coronation

<sup>107</sup> *Registrum*, VIII, 31 (alias IX, 8) ; Jaffé, no. 5210.



at the hands of Gregory was impossible. But he had himself crowned emperor by Guibert in the midst of his camp, with all possible solemnity.<sup>108</sup>

A second disappointment awaited Henry in Germany. His foes there had elected a new king, Count Hermann of Luxemburg, who, on August 11, defeated the imperial army at Hochstadt on the Danube. But Hermann was unable to maintain his success, and his party soon broke up.

Then Henry again turned his steps toward Rome, still accompanied by the antipope, who had taken the name of Clement III. This time every measure and precaution were taken: considerable military forces enabled him to spread devastation and terror along his route, and large sums of money were profusely distributed to the Tuscans, the Normans, and even the Romans, to win them over to his side. However, he succeeded merely in seizing (June 2, 1083) the Leonine city, where he fortified himself, and the Basilica of St. Peter, where he installed the pseudo-Clement III. Gregory VII remained in possession of Trastevere on the right bank of the Tiber, and of the city, strictly so called, on the left bank, as also of Castle Sant' Angelo.

Hypocritical peace negotiations were then undertaken by Henry IV. The mass of the Roman population, won by the King's bounty, went over to his side. The steadfast Gregory repeated (June 24) the sentence of excommunication against Henry.

The latter, four days later, replied by enthroning the antipope in St. Peter's Basilica. On March 21, 1084, through the use of abundant largess furnished by the Eastern Emperor, Henry was able to bribe some Romans, who opened the gates of Rome to him. There he held a synod that proclaimed the deposition of Gregory, and he had Guibert consecrated in the Lateran. Then he vigorously pressed the siege of Castle Sant'

<sup>108</sup> Benzo, *M. G.*, SS., XI, 656; *Mon. greg.*, p. 677.

Angelo, Gregory's last refuge, where he was still resisting. We have now reached the month of May.

Of a sudden a report spread that Robert Guiscard was at the city gates at the head of a formidable army of Normans. Henry sensed a weakening of the loyalty of the Romans whom he had won by his gifts of money. His own troops were worn by a long campaign, and their ranks were thinned by disease. Feeling that he was not in a condition to resist, he left Rome in haste. The Pope was safe; but the Roman people cruelly atoned for the guilt of their betrayal. The city was pillaged by the Normans; thousands of Romans were massacred; thousands were sold into slavery. Gregory issued this final appeal to the universal Church: "Out of love for God, all you who are real Christians come to the aid of your father St. Peter and of your mother Holy Church, if you wish to obtain grace in this life and eternal blessedness in the next." <sup>109</sup>

### International Affairs

Even in the most critical period of the strife against the King of Germany, Gregory VII never forgot that he belonged to all the Churches of the world. We have already spoken of his intervention in France and England. The Scandinavian states, Poland, Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, Spain, northern Africa, Armenia, and, in a general way, the Eastern Churches, were the object of his pastoral solicitude.

In several cordial letters to Sweyn Estridson, King of Denmark, and to his son Harold Hein, the Pope requested the establishment of regular diplomatic relations with the Danish nation, and reminded these rulers of the part that should be taken by royal sovereigns, which is to protect justice and to aid the work of the Church. He said: "A king should be the constant defender of widows, of the poor, and of the or-

<sup>109</sup> Jaffé, no. 5273. Cf. *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, VI (1865), 560.

phans.”<sup>110</sup> He asked Olaf III, king of Norway, “to send to the Apostolic court some young noblemen of his nation so that, carefully brought up in the sacred and divine laws, they might afterward be able to make them known in their country.”<sup>111</sup>

In Poland, Boleslaus II (the Cruel), after proclaiming the political independence of his kingdom from Germany, with his own hand killed St. Stanislaus, the bishop of Cracow. Gregory VII excommunicated him for this crime. Then he sent legates into his kingdom to organize the dioceses.<sup>112</sup> In Russia he favored the interests of Dmitri Isaiaslaf, who promised fidelity to the Holy See.<sup>113</sup> In Hungary he strove to maintain the rights of the papacy over that kingdom, to end the civil wars, and later to encourage the holy King Ladislaus.<sup>114</sup> In Bohemia he carried on a friendly correspondence with Duke Wratislaw.<sup>115</sup> In Spain he maintained respect for marriage, the celibacy of the priests, and accord between Christians, recalled the bonds that united the Spanish kingdom with the Holy See,<sup>116</sup> and urged King Alfonso of Castile to fight the Saracens. He detached Dalmatia from the Greek Empire and sent legates there. In Armenia he watched over the maintenance of the purity of the faith. Everywhere he strove, he reformed, he sustained, he negotiated with indomitable energy; everywhere he pursued the same end: to maintain in the Church the purity of its faith and of its life, by freeing it from the numerous princes and nobles who entwined it, enslaved it, and degraded it, by attaching it more closely to Rome, which would give its hierarchy strength and unity. It may

<sup>110</sup> Gregory VII, *Registrum*, II, 51, 75; V, 10; VII, 5, in *Mon. greg.*, pp. 167, 199, 298, 384.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 13, in *Mon. greg.*, p. 343.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 73; *Mon. greg.*, p. 196.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 74; *Mon. greg.*, p. 198.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 63, 70; IV, 25; VI, 29; in *Mon. greg.*, pp. 183, 192, 279, 265.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 6, 7, 8, 53, 71; in *Mon. greg.*, pp. 118, 171, 193.

<sup>116</sup> Hefele thinks that Gregory was alluding to the *Donatio Constantini*; Delarc, that he had in mind positive and undeniable traditions, whose titles have not come down to us. Cf. Delarc, *op. cit.*, III, 21-23; *Registrum*, III, 18.

truly be said that "Gregory VII was not only a soldier, a logician, a statesman; he was an apostle. Of his apostolic zeal for the Church of Christ and for justice and peace, his letters bear abundant witness, whether he is encouraging and consulting his friends or is hurling anathema at his foes."<sup>117</sup> Gregory was also a saint. Many of his letters breathe the deepest and warmest piety. To the devout Countess Matilda he wrote:

Among the arms which are most useful to us in fighting the prince of this world, I have already mentioned to you the two principal ones: the frequent reception of the Lord's body and a full and confident trust in His holy Mother. . . . For a long time past I have recommended you to the Mother of the Lord, and I will not fail to continue doing so, until you have the blessedness of seeing in heaven that Queen whom heaven and earth are unable to praise fittingly.<sup>118</sup>

We can understand that the solicitude of so apostolic a soul turned to the missions. From the beginning of his pontificate, Gregory cherished the project of enlarging the kingdom of Christ, of advancing its frontiers in Africa and Asia.

In Africa, Anazir, king of Mauretania, had invited him to consecrate as bishop for the see of Buzea the African priest Servandus. Gregory at once replied as follows:

Your request is just and equitable. And I know that you have ransomed Christians who were in captivity in your country. The generous act was certainly suggested to you by God, without whom we can accomplish nothing or even think a good thought. . . . Two Roman noblemen, with whom we are closely connected, wish keenly to establish friendly relations with you; they are sending you some of their men; we commend them to your grandeur. . . . From the depth of our heart we pray God that He receive you, after a long life, in the bosom of the blessedness of the holy patriarch Abraham.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>117</sup> A. Dufourcq, *L'avenir du christianisme*, VI, 28.

<sup>118</sup> Gregory VII, *Registrum*, I, 47.

<sup>119</sup> *Registrum*, III, 21, in *Mon. greg.*, p. 236.

"Perhaps no Roman pontiff ever more cordially manifested his friendliness for a Mussulman ruler." <sup>120</sup>

### Crusade Projects

Although in the direction of northern Africa the horizon was bright, in the direction of western Asia it was clouded. In 1064 the Turks had begun to threaten the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire. Four years later they seized Caesarea in Cappadocia; in 1070 they took Jerusalem. The next year they defeated the army of Emperor Romanus Diogenes in a pitched battle. "One by one, the Asiatic metropolises, illustrious through the memory of the Apostolic age or of the great doctors of the Church, fell into the hands of the Mussulmans. The Westerners could not remain indifferent to these calamities. Not merely was the safety of the pilgrimages to the Holy Land endangered, but the very existence of the Holy Sepulcher and of the Latin establishments in Jerusalem was imperiled.

"Apparently the idea of an expedition for the relief of Constantinople was born in the West at the time of the first disasters. And this idea was furthered by the Byzantine emperors themselves. In 1073, Michael VII wrote to Pope Gregory VII in this vein, promising the reunion of the Greek Church with the Holy See.<sup>121</sup> At first the Pope was favorably inclined to this invitation. In a letter to Count William of Burgundy (February 2, 1074), Gregory urged him to go to the defense of Constantinople, which was threatened by the infidels.<sup>122</sup> A month later, in an encyclical addressed to all the faithful, he announced the danger facing 'the Christian Em-

<sup>120</sup> Mas-Latrie, *Traité de paix concernant les chrétiens et les Arabes au Moyen Age*, p. xxiii.

<sup>121</sup> The letter is known from Gregory's reply (July 9, 1073); *Registrum*, I, 18; *PL*, CXLVIII, 300.

<sup>122</sup> *PL*, CXLVIII, 325. On these letters and their authenticity, see Riant, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I, 56.

pire,' and asked them to inform him through embassies of the resolutions they take.<sup>123</sup> The Pope at once received proposals of aid. In his letter to William VI, count of Poitiers, the Pope thanks him for his offers; but the report of a victory over the Turks caused the expedition to be postponed.<sup>124</sup> On the other hand, in a letter to Henry, king of the Romans (December 7), we find evidence of a fresh enthusiasm for the holy war; he announces that Italians and those beyond the Alps have answered his appeals, and that he is ready to march in person at the head of an army of fifty thousand men to deliver the East and the Holy Sepulcher, bringing about the return of the separated Churches to Christian unity."<sup>125</sup> Gregory's letters contain

the first plan for a holy war that was conceived in the West. The feudal world of the eleventh century was marked by diversity and division; and in the midst of the disunion the Pope alone preserved the awareness of Christian unity and of the interests common to all the faithful. To withstand the dangers threatened by the Mussulman aggressions, not only in the East, but also in Sicily and Spain, he wished to constitute a force capable of saving Christendom. And he considered the reunion of the separated Churches as the necessary condition for a general entente of all the Christian powers.<sup>126</sup>

Unfortunately two events prevented Gregory from realizing his lofty idea. The war against lay investiture did not leave him enough time to organize such an enterprise; and the emperors who followed Michael VII (Nicephorus Botaniates and Alexius Comnenus) displayed hostility to the reunion of the Churches. Pope Gregory seems for a moment to have considered a project to give free rein to the ambition of Robert Guiscard, who thought of assuming the crown of the Eastern

<sup>123</sup> *PL*, CXLVIII, 329.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 360.

<sup>125</sup> Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au moyen age*, p. 51.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

emperor, and to count upon the Normans, under the direction of the papacy, for accomplishing the twofold undertaking: the expulsion of the Turks from western Asia and the union of the Christian Churches. But the Normans had given too many proofs of inconstancy, selfishness, and duplicity for anyone to place further reliance on them.

After driving the Emperor and the antipope out of Rome, they abandoned themselves to unbridled brigandage. They attempted an attack upon Tivoli, where the so-called Clement III had taken refuge; but the attack failed against the strong walls of the city. Then, loaded with booty, Guiscard, rather than undertake a regular siege, decided to withdraw to the south of Italy with his forces.

### Death of Gregory VII

In these conditions, while the antipope was at Tivoli and while Henry IV was still in Italy, Gregory VII judged he could not prudently stay in Rome. He decided to follow his terrible protector into southern Italy, intending to return to his beloved Rome in more propitious times. But his exile was ended by death.

In September, 1084, Guiscard again left Italy, once more to attempt his chimerical enterprise: the conquest of Constantinople. He said he would come back victorious, with the imperial crown on his head, and would give the Church the support of his mighty arm. He did win several victories; but Byzantine gold, lavishly given to his barons, detached many of them from his cause. Disorganization began in his army, which had to go back to Italy. A second expedition, undertaken and conducted with rare tenacity, at first won some brilliant victories, but was interrupted (July 17, 1085) by the death of the intrepid Norman chief. When the remnants of his troops reached southern Italy in disorder, Pope Gregory VII was no longer of this world.

On May 25, 1085, he died at Salerno, where he had taken refuge. He was aware of the fatal ailment at the beginning of the year; and thereafter he longed only for the possession of eternal justice, which he hoped to obtain in the next life after suffering hunger and thirst for it on earth. As he was drawing his last breath, he was heard to utter these words: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." A bishop who was present replied to these words, saying: "My lord, a pope cannot die in exile, because he has received from God all the nations as his inheritance." Gregory expired after granting absolution to all whom he had excommunicated, with the exception of Henry IV and the antipope Guibert.<sup>127</sup>

Non-Catholic historians have expressed diverse opinions about Gregory VII. According to some, he was an absolute theocrat, subordinating everything to his ambition for universal domination;<sup>128</sup> others hail him as a great "forerunner of the French Revolution,"<sup>129</sup> relying on the people for the destruction of royal despotism. Even Catholics have not always agreed in their appreciations of this great pope. Some, dominated by the Gallican and Jansenist spirit, charge him with encroaching on the lawful power of sovereigns.<sup>130</sup> Evidently both views are wrong in regarding Gregory as a theocrat.<sup>131</sup> He was first of all a man of duty, filled with a sense

<sup>127</sup> Bernried, *op. cit.*, in Watterich, I, 340.

<sup>128</sup> G. Monod, *Revue critique*, 1873, Part II, p. 176.

<sup>129</sup> E. Quinet, *Œuvres complètes*, III, 100.

<sup>130</sup> On the opposition of the Jansenists, the Gallicans, the Parliament of France, and some European governments to the introduction of the office of St. Gregory VII in the Breviary, see Guéranger, *Dissert. sur l'off. de S. Grégoire VII*, extract from the *Institutions liturgiques*, inserted in *PL*, CXLVIII, 234-80.

<sup>131</sup> In support of this contention, some have referred to expressions that are indeed in the works of St. Gregory VII, but that have not, if compared with their context, the absolute sense attributed to them. Thus, when he uses the comparison of the sun and the moon to express the relations which ought to exist between the Church and the state (*Registrum*, VIII, 21; cf. VII, 25; IX, 21; III, 8), when he says that princes ought to submit to "the empire of Christ" (IV, 3), and to regard the Church as a mother, he has especially in mind the spiritual powers of the Church, secondarily the social authority which flows from those powers or which



of his responsibility, desirous of completely following his conscience as a Christian, as a priest, and as the head of the Church. His natural disposition inclined him to trustfulness of men; this he showed in his relations with Berengarius, Hugh Candidus, Henry IV, Guibert, and Robert Guiscard. Only after painful conflicts between his conscience and his heart, did he accept the necessity of fighting them or condemning them. That these strifes were the martyrdom of his life, is evidenced in all his correspondence. The Church, which has placed him on her altars, honors him as one of her most fearless champions.<sup>132</sup> Every sincere mind must acknowledge that he was a great defender of justice.

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the public law of the Middle Ages granted to it. When he speaks of "the diabolical origin of monarchies" (letters of August 25, 1071, March 15, 1081, etc.), he is simply alluding to wicked monarchies; perhaps also in one or two texts, to the monarchical form in general, in the sense that the power of kings, such as it existed in his time, had in most cases for its origin usurpation and violence. (On this point, see *Analecta bollandiana*, XIV (1895), 220 f.; *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 1891, p. 112; *Rivista storica italiana*, 1896, Vol. I, new ser., pp. 185 f.) But more than once he adduces, in favor of his right to depose kings, arguments that seem to indicate his belief in a direct power in this matter. At the Roman Council of 1080, he declared: "If you can bind and loose in heaven, you can on the earth take away from each one and grant to each one kingdoms, principalities, marquisates." Taking up a comparison of Cardinal Humbert, he declares that "as the soul rules the body, so the priestly dignity is superior to the royal dignity." (On this subject, see Fliche, *Etudes sur la polémique religieuse à l'époque de Grégoire VII.*) Despite all appearances, what is certain is that St. Gregory explicitly professed that the civil power comes from God, as does the spiritual power, and that the law which should regulate the relations of the two powers is concord. (*Registrum*, I, 19, 75; II, 31; III, 7; VII, 21, 23, 25; IX, 28.) On this question, see A. Cauchie in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, V (1904), 588-96, and Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des conciles*, V, 78-86 note. For the purpose of attributing a political system to St. Gregory VII, appeal is often made to the series of twenty-seven celebrated sentences known under the name of *Dictatus papae* (*Registrum*, II, 55-56). This collection has given rise to several disputes. Many authors, such as Hefele (Hefele-Leclercq, V, 131) have rejected its authenticity. No one of the propositions contained in it is, if interpreted without prejudice, blameworthy. Cf. F. Rocquain, "Quelques mots sur les *Dictatus papae*" in the *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1872, pp. 278-85. On its defenders and opponents, see Hergenröther-Kirsch, *Kirchengeschichte*, II, 369-72.

<sup>132</sup> *Acerrimus Ecclesiae defensor* (sixth lesson of the office of St. Gregory VII in the Roman Breviary, May 25).

## CHAPTER VI

### *From the Death of St. Gregory VII to the Death of Urban II (1085-99)*

#### Pope Victor III

THE death of Gregory VII, shortly followed by that of Robert Guiscard and that of Anselm of Lucca <sup>1</sup> (counselor of Matilda and papal legate for Upper Italy), was an occasion for the antipope Guibert to raise his head. His royal protector resumed the strife with fresh ardor. Some bishops devoted to the Pope had been forced by the persecution to flee to Denmark; Henry handed out their sees to his creatures. To consolidate his party in Germany, he founded, on the borders of Saxony and Bavaria, the Kingdom of Bohemia in favor of a national duke, Wratislaw, who for ten years had given him pledges of a faithful alliance.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile Guibert returned to Rome, there to take the place left vacant by Gregory VII.

But Gregory, foreseeing that disturbances might arise after his death, in his last days expressed to the cardinals his wishes about the choice of his successor. He named his friend Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino. Desiderius, a cardinal-priest of the Roman Church, was universally esteemed for his wisdom and piety. Henry IV himself had shown deference toward him, and his influence over the Normans was well known. Generally the clergy and people were inclined toward Desiderius. Although Rome was still divided into two camps, the imperial party was without its natural leader since the prefect of Rome

<sup>1</sup> That is, Anselm the Younger, who should not be confused with Anselm the Elder, of Lucca, who was pope under the name of Alexander II.

<sup>2</sup> C. Giraud, "Grégoire VII et son temps" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, CV (1873), 146-48.

had been made a prisoner by the Normans. The antipope Guibert, driven from Rome by the populace, withdrew to Ravenna.

Desiderius, however, could not decide to accept the office which he was asked to take. He recalled that Pope Gregory's wish in his regard had not been expressed by way of a command. The Pope had, in fact, added: "If Desiderius refuses his consent, you should choose Anselm of Lucca or Odo of Ostia or Hugh of Lyons."<sup>3</sup> To conclude the matter more promptly, a party with Jourdain of Capua at its head considered that they might impose the tiara on Desiderius by force. Thereupon he abruptly left Rome and returned to Monte Cassino. The uncertainty continued until Easter, 1086. Then the cardinals present in Rome, fearing that the antipope would take advantage of this delay to sow dissension in the Church, begged Desiderius to come from his retreat to Rome, if not to accept the supreme pontificate, at least to help them make a firm decision in the matter.

On May 23 (Pentecost) a plenary session of the cardinals, meeting in the Church of St. Lucy at the foot of the Palatine, urged the Abbot of Monte Cassino to consent to his election. But their efforts were futile. Upon his advice, the cardinals were disposed to elect Odo, bishop of Ostia.<sup>4</sup> However, one of the members of the conclave remarked that, as Odo was a bishop, he could not pass from one Church to another. This was a vain pretext. Such transfers took place whenever sufficient reasons appeared. Yet the cardinals seemed to attach great importance to this argument. Then Desiderius, despite his opposition, was robed in the red mantle and was proclaimed pope under the name of Victor III.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron.*, Bk. II. This Hugh of Lyons is none other than the former bishop of Die, papal legate, who became archbishop of Lyons.

<sup>4</sup> Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, I, 291.

<sup>5</sup> In the eleventh century the popes did not themselves choose a new name; they received it either from the prince or from the people, although sometimes it was agreed upon in advance. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, V, 34 note 3.

But the painful negotiations were not yet ended. The new chief of the Normans, Roger son of Guiscard, had his candidate, a priest of Salerno, whom he favored. Displeased at seeing him set aside, he attacked the election of Victor III, which he declared had been tumultuous. The newly elected pontiff, under favor of this argument, put aside the insignia of the papacy and again fled to Monte Cassino. Then, using his authority as legate for Lower Italy, he convoked a council at Capua to procure the election of the pope. At this point the cardinals, recently unanimous, became divided in opinion. The antipope Guibert profited by this division and re-entered Rome. But Countess Matilda arrived with an army and drove out the intruder to the great joy of the population, which remained loyal for the most part to the side of Desiderius. Then the prefect of Rome, Prince Jourdain of Capua, and Duke Roger himself, yielding to the wishes of the people and clergy, were so insistent with Desiderius that they persuaded him to be consecrated on May 9, 1087. The interregnum had lasted about a year.

The new Pope belonged to a princely family of Benevento. Successively a monk in the hermitage of St. Agatha, then in the Abbey of St. Sophia in Benevento, and lastly in Monte Cassino, he was elected abbot of this last in 1058. The next year Pope Nicholas II made him a cardinal. He was entirely devoted to the greatness of his Abbey of Monte Cassino. There he built a rich library, an immense chapter hall, a grandiose basilica, and enriched it with statues, mosaics, and art objects of every sort. By the construction of defense works he was able effectively to protect his monastery against the pillages of the Normans, who were settled in southern Italy and were there carrying on repeated devastation.

The situation of the Church at the time when Victor III took possession of the Holy See was such as to give rise to serious anxiety. The relations with King Philip I of France

were of a friendly sort, and William the Conqueror of England, in spite of many encroachments upon the spiritual domain, gave the Holy See reliable evidence of attachment. In Italy, Pope Victor's taking possession of the papal throne was accomplished only through the intervention of the Norman arms. Germany was divided into two distinct camps: the region of the East, loyal to the Roman Church; that of the West, stubbornly attached to the side of Emperor Henry IV.

The new Pope in his policies strove to follow the glorious traditions of Gregory VII. But, during the four months that elapsed between the day of his consecration (May 8, 1087) and that of his death (September 16), he was continually sick. Thus he did not have time to leave his imprint on the work of reform.

If we accept the statements of the chronicler Peter the Deacon, Victor III in a council at Benevento (1087) formulated a vigorous program of government: to refuse any compromise with the antipope Guibert, to decline any agreement with Emperor Henry IV, and, all other persons and circumstances notwithstanding, to carry on the entire work of Gregory VII. But the chronicler's veracity in his account of this Council of Benevento has been questioned. It is inserted in a context containing several manifestly legendary accounts. However, that the council was held seems beyond doubt. Other annalists, including the editor of the *Annales Beneventini*, mention it explicitly.

The latest biographer of Victor III writes as follows:

Any judgment about this pope would be rash. According to certain historians he broke away from the directions of his predecessor. Whereas Gregory VII strove to impose the domination of the Holy See upon the world, Victor retreated a step and was modestly satisfied to condemn lay investiture. Other historians consider that he clearly expressed his purpose to continue the work of Gregory VII, while bringing to the work a different temperament and employing diplo-

macy rather than spiritual or temporal arms. In short, Victor III is a rather inconspicuous personage, a dim figure between Gregory VII and Urban II. His coming to power nearly proved fatal to the Church by provoking an internal crisis that was very serious; owing to the spirit of discipline, manifested by real "Gregorians," such as Hugh of Lyons and Odo of Ostia, not only was every danger removed, but the unity of the Church was magnificently affirmed and the work of Gregory remained intact.<sup>6</sup>

Trusting in the ideas of Gregory VII, Pope Victor, amid the attacks upon his power and his person, could not forget the Mussulman peril. Says the chronicler of Monte Cassino: "This truly apostolic man burned with the desire to break the power of the Saracens of Africa. After consulting the bishops and cardinals, he gathered an army made up of almost all the Christian peoples of Italy. These warriors received from his hand the standard of St. Peter. The Pontiff granted them absolution from all their sins and sent them to fight the Saracens on the African coast. Under the auspices of God, their fleet reached the infidel coast. The capital of the country was taken by assault after a fight in which two thousand Saracens met their death. The divine intervention in the Christians' victory was so manifest that the news of it miraculously reached Italy the very evening of that glorious day."<sup>7</sup>

But Victor III was no longer of this world. During the Council of Benevento he was stricken with a fatal fever. Three days before the close of the council he withdrew to the monastery of Monte Cassino. There he died on September 16, 1087, after receiving from the cardinals gathered about him a promise to choose Odo of Ostia as pope, in conformity with the admonition of Gregory VII.<sup>8</sup> In 1727 Pope Benedict XIII authorized the celebration of the feast of Victor III in the

<sup>6</sup> Augustin Fliche, "Le pontificat de Victor III" in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, July-October, 1924, p. 411.

<sup>7</sup> Peter the Deacon, *Chronicon Casinense*, III, 71; *PL*, CLXXIII, 808.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 73; *PL*, CLXXIII, 811.

monastery of Monte Cassino and in a few other specified places. The Church honors him with the title of Blessed.<sup>9</sup>

### Election of Pope Urban II

Like Gregory VII and Victor III, Odo of Ostia was a monk. He belonged to the Order of Cluny, where the preceding popes had gone to find their best inspirations of reform and where they had found their most devoted auxiliaries.

Of the French race, Odo was born about 1042 at Châtillon-sur-Marne in the territory of Reims, of a knightly father.<sup>10</sup> He made his first studies at Reims under the direction of St. Bruno. While still a young man he became a canon, then arch-deacon of the Church of Reims. Soon, after the example of his teacher Bruno, he bade farewell to the world to lead the life of a humble and austere monk in the Cluny monastery, then in the monastery at La Cava. In 1078 Pope Gregory VII, who was much given to entrusting Churches to monks trained at Cluny, appointed him bishop of the diocese of Ostia, recently made illustrious by St. Peter Damian. Thereafter he was one of the most intimate advisers of the great pontiff.<sup>11</sup>

The physical contrast between Hildebrand and Odo of Ostia was striking. Odo was tall and spoke with a strong voice; these two traits were lacking in Gregory VII. Their characters also presented some differences: that of Odo was less stern, containing an element of greater gentleness and friendliness, which at once captivated those who came near him. But Gregory's ideas and those of Odo about the government of the Church were identical. At a later date Odo declared: "Resolved to walk in the footsteps of our blessed father, Pope Gregory, I reject whatever he rejected, I condemn whatever

<sup>9</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, September 16.

<sup>10</sup> Paulot, *Urbain II*, pp. 2 f.

<sup>11</sup> His enemy Benno charged him with having been the lackey of Hildebrand (*M. G.*, SS., II, 375).

he condemned, I love whatever he loved, and in all things I associate myself with his thoughts and acts.”<sup>12</sup>

The Chronicle of Monte Cassino gives us the following account of Odo's election to the supreme pontificate. On March 9, 1088, the cardinals and the Roman bishops together with forty other bishops or abbots met at Terracina in Campania in the church of the Prince of the Apostles. The Bishop of Tusculum, rising in the midst of the gathering, recalled in order all that Pope Gregory, and after him Pope Victor, had decreed regarding papal elections. The assembly then decided that the three days following would be devoted to fasting, to prayer, and to almsgiving, so that almighty God might deign to enlighten the assembly. The next Sunday the three cardinals of Tusculum, Porto, and Albano ascended the pulpit and, amid general silence, unanimously declared that they were agreed upon choosing Bishop Odo for the supreme pontificate. All then exclaimed, with wonderful accord, that Bishop Odo was worthy to occupy the Apostolic See.<sup>13</sup> The Bishop of Albano added that they wished to call him Urban, the second of that name. It was March 12, 1088.

Urban II is known especially as the promoter of the First Crusade. In fact, the Crusade was the most characteristic undertaking of his pontificate. But his work may be considered from a more general viewpoint. It supplemented that of Gregory VII and prepared for that of Innocent III. Between Gregory VII, who strove for the freedom of Christendom, and Innocent III, who organized it, Urban II labored to establish its firm unity. This unity was effected mainly through the Crusade. By the Crusade the feudal regime of a Europe parceled into small fragments, before becoming a cause of anarchy, found its cohesion under the inspiration of a com-

<sup>12</sup> Letter of March 13, 1088, to the bishops of Germany; *PL*, CLI, 283.

<sup>13</sup> *Repente mirabili ac summa concordia omnes magna voce hoc sibi placere . . . conclamant* (*Chron. Mont. Cas.*, IV, 2; *PL*, CLXXIII, 825).



mon thought; and provinces and nations formerly hostile to one another, at the voice of the Roman pontiff rallied to the same standard.

But this enterprise could be realized only after the strengthening of the work of liberation begun by Gregory VII. An audacious antipope still threatened the Holy See; ambitious princes had not yet entirely given up their alleged rights of investiture; the ravages of simony and incontinence still prevailed in the ranks of the clergy. These three evils were the first to appeal to the solicitude of Urban II before he aroused Christendom against the infidels for the conquest of the tomb of Christ.

### Antipope Guibert

Of all the men whom the popes have seen rise up against them to dispute their lawful authority, none equaled the antipope Guibert in activity and tenacity and boldness. Twice driven out of Rome, with the faithful people applauding his expulsion, he returned in 1089 to defy the new Pope and, with the cooperation of a few bishops who joined his side, in the month of June held a pseudo-council which excommunicated Urban II, relieved Henry IV of the sentence of anathema issued against him, and also condemned the simony and misconduct of the clergy.<sup>14</sup> At the same time the followers of the intruder indulged in every violence. Bonizo, bishop of Piacenza (formerly bishop of Sutri), was imprisoned by the schismatics. His eyes were plucked out, and he was massacred after countless tortures.<sup>15</sup>

Similar outrages occurred in Germany. Burchard, bishop of Halberstadt, surprised at Goslar where he had been ne-

<sup>14</sup> In disagreement with some authors and in accord with Jaffé (*Regesta*, no. 5328) and Hefele (Hefele-Leclercq, V, 346), we place this synod in 1089, for it has all the marks of a reply to the letter written by Urban II on April 18 of that year.

<sup>15</sup> Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, II, 211.

gotiating with the imperialists, was attacked with stones and spears; a few days later he died at Ilseburg Abbey in consequence of his wounds, while singing a hymn to the Prince of the Apostles.<sup>16</sup> His death, soon followed by the deaths of Wigold of Augsburg and Gebhard of Salzburg, left in Germany not more than four bishops on whose loyalty the Holy See could rely: Hermann of Metz, Adalbero of Würzburg, Altmann of Passau, and Gebhard of Constance.

### Law of Excommunication

Gebhard was the person on whom Urban, II chiefly depended for the religious restoration. Urban, when apostolic legate in the country, had consecrated Gebhard; and he appointed him apostolic legate for all Germany, Bavaria, Saxony, and the neighboring districts. The Pope's letter containing this appointment is dated April 18, 1089. It has special importance on account of the gravity of its decisions. In it the Pope first confirmed the sentence of excommunication which Gregory VII issued against the antipope Clement III, King Henry, and their abettors. The regulations which the letter set forth about the measures to be taken with regard to excommunicated persons have since then become law in this matter. In subsequent councils the Church did not seek any legal rules of higher authority. Ivo of Chartres and Gratian inserted them in their *Decreta*.<sup>17</sup> Berthold calls this letter a decretal; and Baronius calls it a synodal letter, because it was written in synod. Therein the Pope declares that he wrote it after consulting his brethren and maturely reflecting upon the question of excommunication. Thus we may judge the considerate prudence and the gentle firmness which Urban II manifested.

In those times of misfortune, when frenzy was in all minds, great prudence was needed so as not to weaken ecclesiastical discipline by a too great facility in receiving the "fallen," and, on the other hand, moderation was needed so as not to be excessive in punishing those

<sup>16</sup> *Annales saxonnes*, April 6, 1088.

<sup>17</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *Decret.*, VI, 406; XIV, 15; Gratian, *Decret.*, causa IX, q. 1, c. 4; causa IX, q. 3, c. 110.

who might have been weak or thoughtless rather than perverse. We can understand that thoughtlessness or weakness was possible when the members of Guibert's party made use of money and seduction to enlist followers, to such an extent that social relations became extremely difficult on account of the unfortunate increase of censures. And so the wise Pontiff decided to classify different sorts of excommunicated persons: the stubborn and the timid. To each category he assigned different penances. Thus he says that "those who communicate with the anathematized, we do not excommunicate, but, since they have contracted a stain by their conduct, we cannot receive them into our Christian society without penance and absolution. The holy canons carry anathema against those who have relations with the excommunicated. Wishing, however, to moderate the forms of penance and of absolution, we decide that whoever through ignorance or fear or necessity may have had contact or commerce with the excommunicated, or who may contract a stain through the effect of their prayers or of their marks of affection, may recover the favors of the society of the faithful with a lesser penance and absolution. But in the case of those who fall freely or through grave negligence, we will that the disciplinary measures be applied to them in full rigor, so as to inspire a salutary fear in others." <sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, Urban II declares that, in thus determining various degrees of penance, he is merely walking in the footsteps of Gregory VII, and that he confirms Pope Gregory's decisions about the way the excommunicated are to be treated; <sup>19</sup> but, with the divine assistance, he determines their spirit and practical application. Certainly, in the mind of Pope Urban II, this was a spirit of moderation. <sup>20</sup>

This spirit is manifest in the following letter, written to Archbishop William of Rouen: "To your fraternity we recommend that you employ mercy toward our sons, the bearers of this letter; when they have completed in exile a year of the penance

<sup>18</sup> Mansi, XX, 715.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Paulot, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 f.

that is imposed on them, send them back to their own country to complete what remains, adding some penance additional in compensation for the exile. The fact is that their wives, their children, even their widowed mothers, have great need of their support, as they have told me with tears.”<sup>21</sup>

### Third Orders

In the same spirit of prudent peace-making and apostolic zeal, Pope Urban II encouraged his tireless auxiliary in Germany, Gebhard of Constance, not to be satisfied with fulminating anathemas, but to labor to spread the Christian life among the faithful about him. At this period, about the Hirschau monastery where Gebhard had established his residence, a new and noteworthy form of religious life arose. Numerous laymen of every rank and of both sexes became affiliated with the monasteries, kept up continual relations with them, from them received spiritual directions for the organization of their life and of their good works. Says Bernold: “Without being either clerics or monks, these laymen at times equaled clerics and monks in merits and virtues.”<sup>22</sup> This was the first outline of the organization which in the thirteenth century received its definite form in the third orders.

But this new way of life found unfriendly critics. Urban II without hesitation took up its defense. To the prelates of the monasteries he wrote as follows: “I am told that certain persons venture to attack the practice, existing among you, of admitting some of the simple faithful to monastic obedience. But with our own eyes we have observed the wonderful effects of this practice, and we judge it the more commendable as it renews the customs of the early Church, we approve it as

<sup>21</sup> *Collectio britannica, Epist. Urbani II* (manuscript; British Museum, ep. 43).

<sup>22</sup> Bernold, *Chronicon*, year 1091; *M. G., SS.*, Vol. V.

Catholic and holy, and we confirm it with all our Apostolic authority.”<sup>23</sup> Under the auspices of the zealous Pontiff, the pious institution developed rapidly. Whole villages of Swabia placed themselves under the dependence of the monastic institutions, and a deep spirit of piety, austerity, and regularity penetrated the families and society.

### The Schismatics

This movement exasperated the King of Germany. The monks had always been the best supporters of the papacy against the schism. This extension of their influence might bring about a fatal blow to the cause of Henry IV and of Guibert. The violence of the schismatics knew no bounds. A certain Luitprand, a priest of Milan, was put to death in almost the same manner as Bishop Bonizo. The schismatics, with a refinement of cruelty, cut off his nose and ears.<sup>24</sup> At Strasburg, Count Hugh of Egenthein was assassinated beside the bishop. Spiritual arms and measures of religious propaganda, anathemas and confraternities, were not enough to prevent and to repress such outrages. Only material force could be a barrier to these deeds of violence. Urban II recalled some words written by the martyr Bonizo shortly before his death: “No injustice is committed in using arms to fight armed bandits; no crime in striking down criminals.”<sup>25</sup> The Pope turned to the Normans and the Tuscans.

The two Norman leaders were at that time the son of Guiscard, Roger, to whom Urban II had renewed the investiture of the duchies of Apulia and Calabria, and a brother of Guiscard, another Roger, who became count of Sicily.<sup>26</sup> The latter

<sup>23</sup> *Anal. bened.*, Vol. V, Bk. 68, no. 18.

<sup>24</sup> Paulot, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>25</sup> Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, Bk. IX; *PL*, CL, 854–56. Cf. Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, II, xxi.

<sup>26</sup> Chalandon, *op. cit.*, I, 296.

has remained a legendary hero in the chronicles, which depict him as "big and handsome, able in speech and terrible in war, brandishing his sword in battle like a scythe that mows down the green grass and driving back his enemies as a strong wind might do." <sup>27</sup>

Urban conferred with the two Norman princes several times in Apulia, at Bantino and at Troina in Sicily.<sup>28</sup> But the Norman army, then much engaged in separate conquests, was not ready at once to enter a campaign for the Pope's cause. All that Urban obtained from the Norman chiefs for the moment was a promise of devotion to the Holy See.

### Countess Matilda

With more ardent zeal, in Tuscany the young widow of Duke Godfrey III, the valiant Countess Matilda, whom the chroniclers call the Italian Debbora and whom the Florentine painter Cimabue pictures with the features of a virgin attired as a warrior, carrying in one hand a pomegranate, symbol of purity, and with the other hand leading a spirited horse. But Matilda's power was indeed much reduced. Henry IV had confiscated her Lorraine possessions and paralyzed her forces in northern Italy by the strong positions he held there.

Meanwhile Welf (or Guelph) IV, duke of Bavaria, a prince sincerely devoted to the defense of the Church, set before Pope Urban the project of an alliance destined to strengthen the bonds uniting the champions of the Holy See. He proposed to unite in marriage his young son Guelph V with Countess Matilda. The difference in age between the prince (then only eighteen years old) and the widow of Godfrey (who was over forty years of age) was the sole obstacle to the projected

<sup>27</sup> Malaterra, *Roberti Viscardi et Rogerii ejus fratris . . . res gestae*, Bk. I, chap. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Chalandon, *loc. cit.*

union. The Pope, knowing the Countess' loftiness of mind and purity of feelings, advised her to consent to the marriage, which was to remain merely nominal, but which, from the viewpoint of the organization of the Catholic forces, offered the immense advantage of confederating Bavaria and Tuscany, that is, South Germany and Upper Italy. In this way the encroachments by the German rulers would be opposed by an almost invincible rampart. Perhaps the Pope had a presentiment of the great historic part that would be played by the party of the Guelphs in favor of the papacy.<sup>29</sup>

The projected marriage took place. But we must at once say that this first intervention of the Guelphs in papal policy did not obtain the happy results that were hoped for. The young Guelph V, when he learned that the Countess, by a will (dated 1077) had disposed of her possessions in favor of the Roman Church, and that he thus did not obtain the material advantages which he expected from the union, abandoned his wife. King Henry was exasperated by this marriage. And Pope Urban, deprived of the succor on which he counted, found himself opposed by foes more enraged than ever.

### Emperor Henry IV

At the time of Countess Matilda's marriage to the Duke of Bavaria (1089), the antipope Guibert had been driven from Rome,<sup>30</sup> and King Henry, discouraged, was on the point of abandoning the cause of his protégé.<sup>31</sup> But the schismatic party made him reject this plan. In the spring of 1090, attaching the ducal house of Carinthia and Istria<sup>32</sup> to himself by favors, he invaded Italy, laid waste the states of Matilda,

<sup>29</sup> Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, year 1089, VI, 252.

<sup>30</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 347.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *M. G.*, SS., V, 450.

besieged Mantua, gained possession of it through a betrayal, re-established Guibert in Rome,<sup>33</sup> and appointed a large number of intruding bishops. Urban II was obliged to flee from the Eternal City. Countess Matilda, yielding to the outcries of her crushed subjects and of her decimated troops, entered into parleys with Henry IV and finally decided to recognize the authority of the Emperor on the one condition that he would abandon the cause of Guibert. But she did not, in fact, carry out this project and did not have occasion to resume it, because soon fortune turned in her favor.

King Henry had a son, Conrad, who had been crowned King of the Romans at Aachen (May 30, 1087) and whom he destined for the government of Italy. Conrad at the time was a young man twenty years old. The Saxon annalist describes him as gentle, full of pity for the afflicted, and fond of things of the mind, yet gifted with a strong will, capable of initiative and daring, and especially attached to the Catholic religion and devoted to the Holy See. Henry hoped that the fine qualities of the young prince and the merited popularity which he enjoyed would win good will for him in Italy. But the King failed to reckon with his son's upright character and purity of conscience. The vile and scandalous doings which the latter witnessed at the court and even in his father's family circle, were revolting to him.<sup>34</sup> He fled from the court. As the King endeavored to have him seized, he sought refuge with Countess Matilda. Shortly afterward Anselm, archbishop of Milan, crowned him at Monza as king of Italy. Thereafter Henry's foes had a leader around whom they could gather.<sup>35</sup>

About the close of that year (1093) Queen Praxedes of

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 451-53.

<sup>34</sup> On these countless scandals, see the evidence cited by Baronius, *Annales* (Theiner ed.), XVII, 606. Cf. *M. G.*, SS., II, 330. Henry is said even to have ordered the young prince to outrage his mother-in-law (Paulot, *Urbain II*, p. 107).

<sup>35</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 382.



Germany, a Russian princess <sup>36</sup> whom Henry IV married (his second marriage) in the summer of 1089 and whom he thereafter mistreated, escaped from imprisonment at Verona where her husband was keeping her confined and sought refuge with Countess Matilda. During Holy Week, 1094, she went to the council which Gebhard of Constance held in his episcopal city, as a papal envoy, and there made complaint of the ill treatment she had received from her husband. In this way she contributed notably to the stirring of men's minds against the King.<sup>37</sup>

These events gave the Catholic party fresh enthusiasm. Milan, Cremona, Lodi, and Piacenza formed a league that lasted twenty years. The troops loyal to the Pope occupied the gorges of the Alps for the purpose of preventing the passage of the imperial armies that would be sent from Germany as reinforcements to those of Lombardy. Again Countess Matilda mounted her horse and, as one chronicler says, "she, a mere woman, led to battle masses of men of iron."<sup>38</sup>

The Emperor,<sup>39</sup> in desperate straits, withdrew to a fortress, lived there a while in hiding, and very nearly committed suicide there. But the deed was prevented in time.<sup>40</sup> The hour was most critical for him. His enemies' enthusiasm had risen to a frenzy. Very likely this was the time when Pope Urban intervened to moderate the eagerness of the soldiers, by a re-

<sup>36</sup> The Germans changed her foreign name Eupraxia or Praxedes, and called her Adelaide. Cf. Donizo, in *M. G., SS.*, XII, 394; Bernold, *M. G., SS.*, V, 457. On the shameful treatment which the queen declared she had received, see *M. G., SS.*, VII, 458; XVII, 14; Hefele-Leclercq, V, 383 note 1.

<sup>37</sup> Mansi, XX, 795.

<sup>38</sup> *Ferrata virorum agmina in bellum agebat femina*, William of Malmesbury, Vol. III.

<sup>39</sup> Henry took the title of emperor after he had been consecrated by Guibert.

<sup>40</sup> Bonizo, year 1093, *M. G., SS.*, V, 456. The chroniclers who report this attempted suicide speak of it with horror. Suicide was a crime almost unheard of in the Middle Ages. Says Hurter: "In 1206, in the little town of Stein, a man, disgusted with life, committed suicide. This instance is perhaps the only suicide in all Europe in the course of a century" (Frederick Hurter, *Würdigung des Mittelalters und der Kirche*).

script which Ivo of Chartres and Gratian insert in their *Decreta*. In this the Pope says that although in a just war, as this one was, men who slay their enemies are not to be considered murderers, still a suitable penance should be imposed because of the possible perversity of their intentions.<sup>41</sup>

About the end of 1093, the Pope decided that the hour had come for him to take possession of Rome again. On Christmas Day of that year, accompanied by Ivo of Chartres,<sup>42</sup> he made his peaceful entry without having need to resort to arms and without this return being an occasion for any reprisals against his enemies. But the latter, still numerous in Rome, did not disarm. To escape from their plots, Urban had to withdraw to the house of the Frangipani. This family, like that of the Crescentii, had become a real power. Installed on the Palatine, it had, by transforming several ancient monuments into feudal towers, established a vast fortified enclosure which, besides the Palatine, included the Coliseum, the Via Sacra, the arches of Constantine and Titus, and the Circus Maximus. Guibert's followers could not hope to dislodge the Pope from this strong position; nor could they hope to bring back to Rome the anti-pope, who had fled to Henry IV.

The situation of the two parties was apparently at an impasse. The greed of the Guibertists found a solution. A few days before Easter, 1094, the captain to whom Guibert had entrusted the guarding of the Lateran palace and basilica offered to give them up to the Pope in return for a sum of ready money. But the Holy See was impoverished. Urban appealed to France, the perennial treasurer of the papacy.<sup>43</sup> The aid came to him from several collections ordered by the French

<sup>41</sup> A council held at Reims in 924 (Mansi, XVIII, 346) imposed a penance on those who had taken part in the battle of Soissons, between King Charles and his opponent King Robert, for the reason that civil wars can hardly be fought solely for the public welfare. On this question, see Isidore of Pelusium, *Collationes*, Bk. IV, ep. 200.

<sup>42</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *Epist.*, 27; Bernold, *Chronicon*, M. G., SS., V, 457.

<sup>43</sup> *Recueil des historiens de la France*, XIV, 697.

bishops,<sup>44</sup> especially from the celebrated Abbot Godfrey of Vendôme, who had already crossed the Alps a dozen times and had been three times imprisoned for the cause of the Roman Church,<sup>45</sup> and who, upon learning of the Holy Father's plight, sent him twelve thousand gold sous, that is, the value of a hundred silver marks.<sup>46</sup> In May, 1094, Urban II was at length able again to take possession of the Lateran, which had not seen a legitimate pontiff within its walls since the day when Gregory VII was driven from it by Henry IV with the money of the Byzantines.

A fresh calamity, the plague, which raged through nearly all Europe in the year 1094, contributed not a little in leading souls back to God and in bringing princes to peace. This scourge was particularly severe in Germany. In the single city of Ratisbon 8,500 victims of the plague died in the space of three months. According to the chronicles, in one town 1,100 men perished in six weeks; in another, 40 men in a single day. The biographer of Urban II says:

This bodily calamity was the source of a great good for souls. Those who contracted the disease saw death so close that they could scarcely fail to prepare for it in earnest. The survivors were so impressed by the sight of this scourge, which left them standing in the midst of so many victims, that of their own accord they completely renounced sin. Conversions abounded. Most of the schismatics returned from their straying. Urban II had given, particularly to the canons of Marbach, who had just been founded by Manegold of Lautenbach, the faculty to receive those who had gone astray back into the communion of the Church. People came in throngs to Marbach to receive absolution. Then a new breath of Christian life passed

<sup>44</sup> Ruinart, *Vita Urbani II*, no. 138; *PL*, CLI, 115.

<sup>45</sup> See Métais, *Urbain II et Geoffroy I<sup>er</sup>*; L. Compain, "Etudes sur Geoffroy de Vendôme" in the *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, 1891, Vol. LXXXVI.

<sup>46</sup> The mark, as a weight of gold and silver, was introduced into France by Philip I. The mark was reckoned at one-half a livre, and was divided into eight ounces, or sixty-four gros, 192 scruples, 4,608 grains. Cf. Chéruel, art. "Marc" in *Dict. des instit. de la France*.

over those indifferent or perverted districts, abbeys increased in number, and unworthy clerics, whose sacrilegious ministry had been refused, were more than ever placed under the ban of society.<sup>47</sup>

### King Philip's Divorce

The period of calm which began in 1094 enabled the Pope to engage more actively in the reform of the Church in the various nations. He had never been diverted from it by the weighty concerns that came to him from Germany. France, England, Spain, and Sicily had been the object of much of his preoccupations.

Naturally a large part of Urban's affectionate attention was given to the eldest daughter of the Church. France was also his fatherland. But the king of France, Philip I, afflicted his heart by a double scandal. Not only did he oppose ecclesiastical reform in his government; he gave an example of misconduct in his private life. We have already seen King Philip, backed by part of the French episcopate, trying to repel the reform which Gregory VII preached and ordered. His opposition was more emphatic under Urban II. "The King of France found many advantages in the practice of simony, and he also understood that the triumph of the reform ideas would fatally lessen the royal power over the Church domains. . . . Deriving his chief source of revenue from the bishoprics and abbeys of his realm, living on his clergy much more than on his lay vassals, he was unwilling to favor a change that would have impoverished him."<sup>48</sup> His opposition became especially violent when the Pope, not satisfied with opposing the alleged interests of the kingdom, condemned the scandals of his domestic life.

From the pen of the chronicler Orderic Vitalis we have the following account. "In 1092 France was the scene of a

<sup>47</sup> Paulot, *Urban II*, p. 119.

<sup>48</sup> Luchaire in Lavis, *Hist. de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 172.

scandalous event which greatly disturbed the kingdom. The countess of Anjou, Bertrade de Montfort, fearing to see herself treated by her husband as he had treated, before her, two other women whom he had married, and to be repudiated as a vile courtesan; also persuaded that she possessed enough beauty to please King Philip and enough nobility to be queen, sent him a message and disclosed the passion that she had in her heart. She said that she preferred to abandon her husband so as to marry another, than to be shamefully cast off. The King was not insensible to this declaration of a voluptuous woman. He consented to the crime and received Bertrade with great cordiality as soon as she arrived in France. He repudiated his own wife Bertha, the daughter of Florent, count of Holland, a noble and virtuous queen who had born to him Louis and Constance.”<sup>49</sup>

The sound portion of the French clergy, still very numerous, was indignant. Hugh of Flavigny exclaimed: “Let no one be angry at me if I dare to censure bitterly the conduct of the prince, without consideration for the name and the majesty of the throne. If we should be prevented from writing, all of France would raise its voice, and the whole West could not remain ignorant of Philip’s crime.” To give the affair an apparent legality, the King tried to win the great canonist Ivo of Chartres to his cause. He alleged a pretext of relationship, pretended to have on his side the Pope’s approval and that of several bishops, and invited Ivo to come to Paris for the solemnization of the marriage. Ivo replied that he was not aware of the authorization by the bishops and by the Pope, and declared that he would attend the marriage only if the causes of the divorce were canonically established in a regular council. He said further: “I should prefer being cast into the water with a millstone about my neck rather than be a stumbling-

<sup>49</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Hist. eccles.*, Part III, Bk. 8, no. 19; *PL*, CLXXXVIII, 616.

block for the weak.”<sup>50</sup> At the same time the Bishop of Chartres sent to all the invited bishops a copy of his letter addressed to the King. To these bishops he said: “I beg you not to remain like mute dogs who have not the courage to bark,” but be “like watchful sentries and blow the trumpet.”<sup>51</sup> To the Archbishop of Reims, who had the exclusive right to bless the royal marriage, he wrote: “I rely on your sense of religious duty that, in so perilous a question, you will neither say nor do anything that is not based on authority and reason.”<sup>52</sup>

In these circumstances the Pope as always gave evidence of a fatherly and patient firmness. Says Orderic Vitalis: “The pious Pontiff sent apostolic legates to France and, by his letters and the voice of the priests, he admonished, implored, and reproved this wayward King, who had repudiated his lawful wife to contract with another an adulterous union contrary to the divine law.”<sup>53</sup> “I have seen letters,” said Ivo of Chartres, “which the lord Pope Urban sent to the archbishops and bishops of the realm, asking them to bring the King to sound reason or, should he refuse, to constrain him to amend his ways by the threat of ecclesiastical censures.”<sup>54</sup>

The King disregarded all this. Since the Archbishop of Reims refused to bless the marriage, the King had the Bishop of Senlis do so. And he had Ivo of Chartres arrested. But the Pope wrote to Archbishop Raynald of Reims blaming him for letting his suffragan, the Bishop of Senlis, obey the whims of the King and asking the Archbishop to see to it that the Bishop of Chartres be set at liberty. Said the Pope: “Be insistent with the King for the liberation of your brother bishop of Chartres. If the one who holds him captive does not listen

<sup>50</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *Epist.*, 15; *PL*, CLXII, 27.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 14; *PL*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 5; *PL*, *ibid.*, col. 15.

<sup>53</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *loc. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *Epist.*, 23; *PL*, CLXII, 35.

to you, excommunicate him and issue an interdict upon his castles and his lands.”<sup>55</sup>

By way of reply, the King assembled at Reims a synod of three archbishops and eight bishops, whom he had succeeded in drawing into his party by heaping honors on them. “This council opened September 18, 1094. Were the fathers attending it in favor of the royal divorce? We cannot hold that they were, since the documents are lacking. All we can say is that they employed great moderation. But the Council of Autun, a month later, took up the matter.”<sup>56</sup>

The Council of Autun met October 25, 1094, with Hugh of Lyons presiding. At the request of Ivo of Chartres, Bishop Hugh was appointed papal legate for France. The former Bishop of Die, who in earlier times had been so earnest in the defense of the rights of the Holy See, had, under Victor III, manifested a momentary lack of loyalty;<sup>57</sup> for this reason he was set aside and had no hand in affairs. But now Ivo of Chartres was at his side to stimulate his zeal. He wrote to him: “Do not be one of those timorous physicians who like their tranquility more than the saving of the sick. . . . Even though Herodias should dance before Herod, should ask for John’s head, and should obtain it from the detestable King, John’s duty is to cry out: *Non licet*.”<sup>58</sup> Hugh did not remain deaf to this advice. In the presence of thirty-two bishops and several personages of high rank assembled,<sup>59</sup> he repeated the anathema against Henry IV and Guibert and pronounced the excommunication against the King of France, who was guilty of a second marriage while his first wife was still living.<sup>60</sup>

Gaul was greatly stirred. At the close of the eleventh cen-

<sup>55</sup> Mansi, XX, 686; Jaffé, no. 5469.

<sup>56</sup> Paulot, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>57</sup> On this incident, see Hefele-Leclercq, V, 333, and Paulot, p. 55.

<sup>58</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *Epist.*, 24; *PL*, CLXII, 35.

<sup>59</sup> Autun, belonging to the duchy of Burgundy, was outside Philip’s domination. The choice of this city assured greater freedom for the members of the synod.

<sup>60</sup> Mansi, XX, 799; Suppl., II, 131.

tury the force of excommunication had not received the precise meaning which it acquired in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, quite distinct from suspension and interdict. When it was pronounced in a very formal manner, in a weighty matter, and without restriction, it stripped the excommunicated person of every office, even temporal, released his subjects from all obligations of obedience and of allegiance to him, until such time as he satisfied the Church by receiving absolution.<sup>61</sup>

Thenceforth, wherever the King of France passed, the public offices of the Church were immediately interrupted; in the steeples and towers of churches and monasteries the bells ceased ringing. At his approach the choirs of monks became silent. A deathly silence accompanied him everywhere. The joyous ringing of the church bells and the church singing were resumed only as he left a city or an abbey or even a castle. William of Malmesbury relates that one evening, as King Philip was leaving a city in company with Bertrade and as the church bells were starting to ring merrily, he turned to her and said: "Bertrade, do you hear how these people are driving us out?"<sup>62</sup>

From the day when the anathema was imposed on him, Philip no longer wore the insignia of royalty. "For almost fifteen years,"<sup>63</sup> says Orderic Vitalis, "King Philip never wore the crown, did not put on the royal purple, and did take part in any festival as sovereign."<sup>64</sup> However, he was allowed to keep a chaplain in his residence and there to hear mass,

<sup>61</sup> Gosselin, *Pouvoir du pape au Moyen Age*, p. 416. Cf. Gratian, *Decretum*, Part II, causa 15, q.6, can. 4 and 5; *Decretal.*, Bk. V, tit. 37, cap. *Gravem*, 13. Gregory VII had mollified this penalty by permitting at first the wife, children, and domestic servants to communicate with him, then by extending this permission to all those whose presence was not calculated to keep the excommunicated person in his evil dispositions. Cf. Labbe, *Concilia*, X, 371.

<sup>62</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta reg. angl.*, Bk. V, no. 404; *PL*, CLXXIX, 1360.

<sup>63</sup> Exactly twelve years.

<sup>64</sup> Orderic Vitalis, Bk. VIII, year 1092; *PL*, CLXXXVIII, 617.



without any solemnity, along with his family.<sup>65</sup> Urban II also showed that he was inclined to indulgence, informed the King that the settlement of the affair was to be referred to a council that would soon meet at Piacenza.<sup>66</sup> Then at Piacenza he granted the King a further delay.<sup>67</sup> But the King of France and his adulterous partner showed themselves deaf to these advances, as also to the anathemas that were repeated against them by the Council of Clermont in 1095 and the Council of Tours in 1096. Philip I and Bertrade did not submit to the laws of the Church until December 2, 1104, in the presence of a legate of Pope Pascal II.

### King William Rufus of England

Urban II had no occasion to fulminate excommunication against the King of England as he had done against the kings of Germany and France. But the opposition which he encountered from the ruler of Great Britain was very painful to his fatherly heart.

The chronicler Orderic Vitalis relates that William the Conqueror on his deathbed, when thinking over the deeds of violence and injustice he had been guilty of, implored the Blessed Virgin to obtain mercy for him in memory of the many monastic foundations he had made on both sides of the Channel.<sup>68</sup> His successor, William Rufus, showed less regard for the rights of the Church and of the Holy See. But a monk, who came from one of the monasteries favored by his father, displayed invincible resistance to him.

William the Conqueror, while inflexibly maintaining the alleged rights of the crown over the Church and while practicing investiture, cooperated more than many others did with

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Paulot, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>67</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 388.

<sup>68</sup> Orderic Vitalis, Part III, Bk. VII, no. 12; *PL*, CLXXXVIII, 548.

Pope Gregory's plans of reform. He insisted upon observance of clerical celibacy, forbade simony, and habitually followed the advice of the venerable Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. William Rufus sought to remain noncommittal between Urban II and the antipope Guibert; and he shamelessly revived simony and all the consequent abuses. He took counsel of an unworthy prelate, Rannulf Flambard, a lackey who had become bishop of Durham and who owed his surname to the brutality of his extortions. Anselm calls this courtier the chief and basest of the publicans.<sup>69</sup> William Rufus, because of Lanfranc's influence over him, at the outset of his reign restrained his passions to some extent. But the death of the pious Archbishop in 1089 soon gave free rein to the King's tyranny. David Hume says:

All orders of men found reason to complain of an arbitrary and illegal administration. Even the privileges of the Church, held sacred in those days, were a feeble rampart against his usurpations. He seized the temporalities of all the vacant bishoprics and abbeys; he delayed the appointment of successors to those dignities, that he might the longer enjoy the profits of their revenue; he bestowed some of the Church lands in property on his captains and favorites; and he openly set at sale such sees and abbeys as he thought proper to dispose of.<sup>70</sup>

### St. Anselm

Among the vacant sees was that of Canterbury. For almost four years the King prolonged the vacancy, thus subjecting the primatial Church of England to every kind of exaction and disorder. Ecclesiastical offices were put up for public sale, in more than thirty parishes the cemeteries were turned into

<sup>69</sup> St. Anselm, *Epist.*, IV, 2.

<sup>70</sup> David Hume, *History of England*, year 1089 (1886 ed., I, 239), according to Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, and the Saxon chronicle.

game preserves. The popular voice designated, as Lanfranc's successor, Abbot Anselm of Bec in Normandy.

Anselm was born in 1033 in the city of Aosta in Italy, of a noble and wealthy family. While very young he showed a fondness for study and for literary glory and went to the Abbey of Bec, attracted by the fame of Lanfranc, whose choicest pupil he soon became. Love of study led him to love for solitude and for the monastic observances. When twenty-seven years old (1060), he became a monk in Bec Abbey. Eighteen years later his brethren at Bec unanimously, in spite of his earnest resistance, elected him their abbot. Anselm was then forty-five years old. He had shown himself, in his cloistered life, an exemplary religious; in his work of education, a most prudent teacher; in two books written by him, a profound philosopher. As a great director of souls, he knew how to adapt himself to all ages and to be all things to all men. He extended afar the fame of the monastery already made illustrious by Lanfranc. The Norman knights, says Anselm's biographer,<sup>71</sup> regarded him as the firstborn among them, and the nobles of England entrusted the education of their sons to him, vying with one another in expressing their veneration of him and their strong friendship for him.

In March, 1093, while Anselm was in England, where he had gone at the request of a high nobleman of the country to found an abbey at Chester, King William fell grievously ill. The prelates and barons of the realm, gathered about the bed of the dying King, persuaded him to summon Anselm and receive from him some final counsel. The holy Abbot demanded and obtained from the dying King three things: a full confession, a solemn promise that he would amend his private life, and a promise that without delay he would carry out the measures of restoration which the bishops requested for the

<sup>71</sup> Eadmer, *Vita S. Anselmi*. This life of St. Anselm by his secretary and most intimate confidant, is eminently reliable. The text may be found in *PL*, CLVIII, 49-120.

good order of the Churches of England. The King's entourage did not content themselves with that. All the honest people present lamented that the primatial Church was without a bishop. The King replied that he wished to end this situation. Although he had previously sworn that the Abbot of Bec would never govern a Church of the kingdom, William pronounced the name of Anselm. This declaration met with unanimous acclaim. Anselm alone was pale with fright and protested with all his might. Then a crosier was brought in and was carried to the side of the bed where the King was lying. Anselm was forced to receive it from the King's hands. The humble monk finally gave in. But he bewailed it. In fact, he continued to bewail it throughout his life. "Do you know what you have done?" he said to his fellow bishops; "you have wished to put under the same yoke a wild bull and a poor lamb. . . . And what will happen? The mad bull will drag the lamb through thorns and thickets and will tear it to pieces."<sup>72</sup> By these words Anselm was alluding to the collaboration, which he judged would be full of difficulties, of the king of England with the primate of Canterbury.<sup>73</sup>

The consecration of the new Archbishop took place on December 4, 1093. The difficulties arose very promptly. Eight days after his consecration, Anselm was summoned to court. A practice had come into use, that the bishops, after their appointment, should make an offering to the king. The new prelate, conforming to this usage, but not wishing to give a present of such sort that he would seem to be paying for the investiture, offered the King 500 pounds. This gift was considered insufficient and was refused. "Keep your money and your lessons," the King said to him in anger. "Anselm arose and went out, saying to himself that perhaps a warning from heaven was to be seen in the fact that on the day when he took

<sup>72</sup> St. Anselm, *Epist.*, III, 1.

<sup>73</sup> On St. Anselm, see Raget, *Hist. de saint Anselme*.

possession of his see the Gospel of the mass contained these words: 'No one can serve two masters.' ” <sup>74</sup> Shortly afterward Anselm asked permission to go to Rome to receive the pallium from the Roman pontiff. “What pontiff do you mean?” said the King. The Archbishop answered: “Pope Urban II.” At this the King went into a rage, saying that he had not yet recognized Urban as pope and that neither he nor his father was accustomed to let anyone pronounce the name of the pope without his consent. Then he exclaimed: “Be assured that never will you be able to reconcile the obedience you owe me with the obedience you wish to render to the pope against my wishes.” To this the Archbishop replied: “Prince, if you wish, convoke an assembly of the bishops and the great ones of the kingdom to decide this question; but know that if this assembly should decide that I cannot reconcile these two obediences you speak of, I would prefer to exile myself from your realm rather than renounce, even for an hour, the obedience I owe to the successor of St. Peter.” <sup>75</sup>

The King thought he had only one means for overcoming the fearlessness of Anselm: it was to gather an assembly where no one would dare contradict him and where he would dictate the decisions. Therefore he convoked the prelates and nobles of his kingdom to Rockingham Castle on March 11, 1095. The King's hopes were partly realized. The majority of the bishops, guided by a too human prudence, abandoned Anselm and advised him to obey the King. The Archbishop replied that he would always obey his sovereign in civil matters, but that he would never forget the Master's words: “Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's.” The bishops then advised that the King should take the crosier and the ring from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Most of these bishops owed their elevation to the

<sup>74</sup> Eadmer, *Hist. nov.*, Bk. I.

<sup>75</sup> Raget, *op. cit.*, II, 62.

royal favor. The lay nobility, more independent, showed themselves less submissive and declined to join in this advice. Public opinion was of the same mind. The King judged that delay would be more prudent. The noble resistance of one man had awakened the Catholic conscience of the nation, made the sovereign give way, and prevented a schism that was ready to break out. One historian has rightly said that to Anselm's courageous attitude in this instance, England owed its last five centuries of Catholicity.<sup>76</sup>

In 1097 the King again began his persecutions. On the pretext that the Archbishop of Canterbury had supplied him with poor soldiers to fight against those of Wales, he threatened him with a trial before the High Court. Anselm declared his intention of going to Rome to consult the Pope and, despite the King's threats, went there at the beginning of April, 1098. From the Pope he received a most friendly welcome. His misfortunes, the brilliance of his learning and virtues, the renown of his courage, an expression of nobility and holiness that shone from his face, won him extraordinary veneration at Rome. He was called "the saint." According to his biographer, one day some men hired by the followers of the antipope to seize him were so overcome by his look that, mingling veneration with terror, they put down their arms and prostrated themselves at his feet, asking his blessing.<sup>77</sup>

The prudence and generosity of his character appeared particularly at the Council of Bari, which opened in October, 1098. At the Pope's request, Anselm attended it. After regulating several questions of doctrine and discipline, the fathers began speaking of the King of England. From the pen of an eyewitness we have the following details: "The Pope spoke, reproaching King William. Among other grievances, he mentioned the sale and oppression of the Churches and the insults

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>77</sup> Eadmer, *op. cit.*, Bk. II.

to Anselm. Then he asked the bishops for their opinion. They replied: 'Without hesitation we judge that William, three times invited to submit and three times having refused to obey you, should be anathematized.' At these words Anselm, who had remained seated during the discussion, with lowered eyes, knelt before the Pontiff and by his entreaties succeeded in averting from the King the punishment which the fathers of the council unanimously demanded."<sup>78</sup> Was Anselm, in this move, prompted by a fear that excommunication, by exasperating the King, would provoke persecution and schism? Probably he was. At any rate he showed that vengeance had no place in his noble heart and perhaps, by his magnanimous patience, he again saved the Catholicity of England.

### Moors in Spain

While the papacy was overcoming the attempts of schism in Germany, France, and England, in southern Europe it directed the reconquest of Spain and Sicily from the infidels. Ever since the Moorish invasion drove back the faithful Christians into the mountains of northern Spain,<sup>79</sup> the energetic leaders of this little group had persistently extended their possessions and covered their conquests with fortresses. Hence the name "Castile," given to the first of the states founded by them. The ruin of the Omniads in 1031 opened a wider field of action to the Christians. Beside the Kingdom of Castile, appeared the Christians of Navarre and Aragon. Thereafter the offensive against the infidels took on new enthusiasm. It made gigantic strides under Alfonso VI, king of Castile and Leon, with the taking of Toledo in 1085. "This conquest gave him a solid foothold in the center of the Tage valley. The old capital of the Gothic kings, so well defended

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. II; William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, Bk. I.

<sup>79</sup> See Mourret, *History of the Catholic Church*, III, 284.

by the strength of its location, became the bulwark of northern Spain beyond the formidable rampart of the Guadarrama. Behind this double intrenchment, the people of Castile and León, who previously were satisfied with driving off the Mussulmans and destroying the cities, could now think of reoccupying them. The taking of Toledo marked the beginning of the work of colonization of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.”<sup>80</sup>

It also opened the era of the reorganization of the Spanish Churches. The Arab invasion had brought about the destruction of a large number of religious edifices. However, in many places, treaties had assured the conservation of the temples, provided the promised tribute continued to be paid. At Toledo the churches had been left to the Christians, except the cathedral, which was converted into a mosque. Several bishops, including the Bishop of Toledo, regarded as untenable the situation in which they were placed by the invaders; they fled to the mountains, where their successors kept the titles of the dioceses that had fallen into the hands of the infidels. After the taking of Toledo, King Alfonso VI planned to re-establish that metropolis with all its ancient privileges. But the circumstances did not permit the proclamation and recognition of that primacy, according to the former custom, by the clergy and by the King; several of the suffragan bishops were still under the yoke of the Arabs; the others were scattered among various Christian states. Pope Urban II, when appealed to, promulgated (October 15, 1088) a bull in which, for the first time, the Holy See officially proclaimed the rights of the primacy of Toledo.<sup>81</sup> This act contributed largely to the reconstitution of the national unity of Spain.

The Mussulman emirs temporarily delayed the advance of the Spanish conquest. They summoned to their aid the Almora-

<sup>80</sup> Mariéjol in Lavissee and Rambaud, *Hist. générale*, II, 675.

<sup>81</sup> Jaffé, no. 5370; *PL*, CLI, 290. Cf. *ibid.*, col. 388.



vides <sup>82</sup> of Morocco, and at Zallaca (October 24, 1086) inflicted upon the Spaniards a costly defeat, which was followed by several other Moorish victories. But, five years later, Alfonso VI repaired these disasters by resuming a vigorous offensive. In the course of this campaign a Spanish officer, Rodrigo Diaz of Bivar, by his prowess brought such glory to his country that legend made of him, under the name of the Cid <sup>83</sup> Campeador (champion), <sup>84</sup> the personification of the heroism of medieval Spain. Critical history has lessened the legendary figure of the Cid; it considers him merely a gang leader, brave, brutal, and bloody; <sup>85</sup> but the Cid of the national epics and of the popular songs, that type of loyal and unselfish knight, advancing from exploit to exploit, wonderfully well symbolizes and personifies the enthusiasm, the daring, and the prolonged efforts of the Spanish people in the work which they have proudly called their *reconquista*, their "reconquest."

The Christian "reconquest" of Sicily was the work of the Normans. It required thirty-two years of warfare, from 1060 to 1092, by the pious Count Roger, brother of Robert Guiscard. "This conquest of Mussulman Sicily by the Normans is one of the most moving pages in the history of the Middle Ages. It, too, is worthy to inspire a great poet. The struggle between two races and two religions, the stirring battles where Normans and Saracens fought hand to hand amid that tempest and those great sword thrusts, a heroine, a Norman woman, that Judith, wife of Count Roger, celebrated by the old heroic songs of Sicily, all that poetry loves to sing of, all that can

<sup>82</sup> From the Arabic *mrabatim* or *almrabatim* ("the devoted"), from which we have formed the word *almoravides*.

<sup>83</sup> "Cid," from the title which the Arab prisoners gave him (*Seid*, "lord").

<sup>84</sup> *Campeador* ("champion"), because he was always engaged in war or because one day he had, in the lists, defied the bravest of the enemy army.

<sup>85</sup> Mariéjol, *op. cit.*, pp. 679-81. Cf. H. Forneron, "Le Cid de l'histoire" in the *Correspondant*, CXXXIV (1884), 668 f.

inspire a masterpiece, is there gathered together; but the genius has not yet passed that way.”<sup>86</sup>

The scope of this history does not call for a detailed account of that campaign.<sup>87</sup> We mention merely the great victory of the battle of Cerami, won by Roger in 1063, after which the Pope sent a blessed flag to the Normans, “that under the protection of St. Peter they might advance without fear against the Saracens”;<sup>88</sup> the occupation of Catania and Palermo in 1072; the taking of Trapani in 1077; the capitulation of Girgenti in 1086; and the fall of Noto in 1091.

### Sicily

But the reconquest of Sicily in the name of Christendom was to be only the preliminary of the organization of the Churches. Says the chronicler Malaterra: “Roger pursued a double aim; one spiritual, the other temporal. He desired to bring back to the worship of the true God a land in the possession of idolators, and he planned to seize the possessions of the infidels, intending that then they were to be utilized for the divine worship.”<sup>89</sup> In accomplishing his spiritual mission, Roger did nothing without the pope’s detailed and continual advice. Under the direction of the Holy See he installed at Messina, Girgenti, Mazzara, Catania, and Syracuse carefully chosen bishops, some of whom were Norman monks. He built or restored several abbeys, the most famous being the Abbey of St. Bartholomew in the Lipari Islands. A kind of foundation which the Pope encouraged Roger to undertake in Sicily was that of abbot-bishops and abbey-bishoprics. Urban II decided that, in such and such localities, for instance

<sup>86</sup> Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, II, 239.

<sup>87</sup> See Chalandon, *op. cit.*, I, 189-211, 327-54.

<sup>88</sup> Malaterra, *Historia Sicula*, II, 33; *PL*, CXLIX, 1142.

<sup>89</sup> *PL*, Vol. CLXIX.

at Catania, the person who would be elected by the monks would have authority over the people as bishop; the same ruler would govern the monks according to the monastic institutions, and also the clergy and people according to the canon laws.<sup>90</sup> This reorganization, prudently carried out, produced excellent fruit. One of its most interesting results was the substitution of the Latin rite for the Greek rite among the Greek populations of southern Italy and thereby the restoration of connection with the Roman Church on the part of those populations that were following the disciplinary traditions of Constantinople.<sup>91</sup>

To strengthen these important reforms, Urban II confided to Bishop Robert of Troina the duties of papal legate in Sicily; but soon afterward, informed that this appointment was displeasing to Count Roger, he revoked it. According to Godfrey Malaterra, the Pope felt a strong liking for that frank Norman, who had so generously fought for the Church; "his life was of priceless value for Rome and for Italy."<sup>92</sup> With a view to testifying his gratitude to Count Roger for the eminent services rendered to the Holy See, Urban II sent him (July 5, 1098) the following bull, which later raised so many difficulties between Rome and the rulers of Sicily:

Fully trusting in the sincerity of your dispositions, we repeat to you in writing what we promised you orally; that, during the whole period of your life or that of any other who becomes your lawful heir, we will not place any legate of the Roman Church, contrary to your wishes and your good pleasure, in the lands subject to your rule. Furthermore, what we do by a legate, we wish that you maintain by your zeal, even when we send you a legate *a latere*, in the interest of your Churches and for the honor of the Holy See, to which you have been perfectly obedient and which you have courageously assisted in all its needs. If a council is held and if I order

<sup>90</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, February, I, 655.

<sup>91</sup> Rocco Pirro, *Sicula sacra*.

<sup>92</sup> Malaterra, cited by Baronius, *Annales*.

you to send to it bishops and abbots from your lands, you will send those whom you wish and will retain the others for the service and safeguarding of the Churches.<sup>93</sup>

Later on, claim was made that this bull gave unlimited spiritual jurisdiction to the kings of Sicily. In the sixteenth century at Salerno a tribunal was formed which, in the name of the "Monarchy of Sicily," arrogated to itself the twofold power, spiritual and temporal, claimed a right to judge ecclesiastical cases as a court of last resort, without any sort of appeal to the Holy See, and assumed the right to invalidate papal constitutions. Evidently the bull of Urban II could not have this import, for such a meaning would have tended to nothing less than the destruction of the unity of the Church. The Pope's words, if interpreted according to the circumstances and the well-known doctrine of Urban II and of the Church, in all likelihood were addressed only to Count Roger and his immediate successors, in so far as they should be animated by the same devotion as he had manifested to the cause of the Church. Their import could not be to legalize the intolerable abuses of the strange Sicilian tribunal of the sixteenth century.<sup>94</sup>

### The First Crusade

In the mind of Urban II, the two expeditions of Spain and of Sicily against the Mussulmans were merely the preliminaries or first episodes of a vaster undertaking, to which posterity has rightly attached his name. This undertaking was the Crusade.

The idea of a mass movement of Europe against the peril

<sup>93</sup> Jaffé, no. 5706; Mansi, XX, 659.

<sup>94</sup> The subsequent strifes between the court of Sicily and the Holy See were numerous. They were especially sharp under Clement XI, Benedict XIII, and Benedict XIV. Not until the nineteenth century did they come to an end. The concordat of 1818 between Ferdinand I, king of the Two Sicilies, and Pope Pius VII contributed notably to the appeasement of the quarrels.

of Islam had engaged the mind of Sylvester II, Gregory VII, and Victor III. But this great design was not yet mature in the time of Pope Sylvester. Pope Gregory was diverted from it by the investiture quarrel, and circumstances prevented Pope Victor from realizing it except by the defense of the Italian coasts.

A purely defensive war appeared more and more as something ineffective. The perpetual invasions of the Saracens could be halted only by striking them at their source. The continual vexations which beset the pilgrims to the Holy Land would not cease until the day when a mighty Christian army should appear in the East. Moreover, the public spirit so ardently demanded the liberation of the tomb of Christ that it would have impelled even an indolent pope. And such was not the character of Urban. The acuteness of his political sense, not less than his faith, showed him the lofty import of a general action in the East. No better relief could be found for the ceaseless strifes that were desolating the Christian world, no more powerful activity to lift souls above the wretched grudges and petty rivalries, no more effective means to reconstitute around the Roman pontiff, under the egis of religion, that unity which the Holy Empire had so failed to assure and at times had so much endangered.

Did Urban II clearly grasp that the great expedition which he contemplated was the necessary complement of the whole civilizing work that had thus far been undertaken by the papacy? This work included the Truce of God, the spiritual and moral reform, the pacification of Europe, the unity of the Christian world, the consolidation of the papal power. No man of the eleventh century, even though gifted with genius, could have analyzed these possible results of the Crusades with the exactness which only the later gaze of history, looking back on events, has been able to give us. But that such consequences, so perfectly in harmony with the general policy of the papacy,

were vaguely foreseen by Urban II, we may surmise without rashness. In any event, these were the clearest results of the great movement that carried the Christian world toward the Holy Land; they were independent of the conquest of the tomb of the Savior, and they were able to subsist even with the failure of that conquest.

Less noble motives and promptings were indeed mingled with these lofty ideas and at times perverted them. A liking for distant expeditions, a love of adventure, and a desire to carve out for themselves fiefs or kingdoms in that mysterious East with its dazzling prestige were the motives of many crusaders. The rivalries of lord against lord, of prince against prince, which the Pope desired to abolish in the West, became evident in the armies. Certain knights broke away from vicious habits contracted in their homeland, only to succumb to more subtle temptations in Asia. However, a breath of enthusiasm and faith raised souls above their ordinary level; a spirit of heroism entered the masses also; not in vain did the bells of all the steeples ring in unison the summons to war; with a single heart rich and poor, nobles and peasants, clerics and laymen, of every district, set out with a purpose free from any personal interest or any material concern: the deliverance of the tomb of Christ, in the name of the Catholic Church.

Such, in fact, was the essential aim of the Crusades. One of the historians who have most thoroughly studied the history of these warlike expeditions says that, by "Crusade" we should understand "a religious war, preached in the name of the Church, stimulated by the solemn grant of ecclesiastical privileges, waged by a more or less cosmopolitan army, and purposing directly or indirectly the recovery of the Holy Land."<sup>95</sup> As one biographer of Urban II says, "the real Crusade has the twofold character of a holy war preached in the name of the Church, and an armed expedition for the purpose

<sup>95</sup> Riant, *Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades*, Introd., p. 2.

of recovering the Holy Land.”<sup>96</sup> This is undeniably the viewpoint which at the outset dominated the thought of Urban II. The most reliable contemporary chroniclers are unanimous in proclaiming this fact. To pacify the West while freeing the East is the great thought which, according to Foucher de Chartres, “determined Pope Urban to cross the Alps and come into Gaul,”<sup>97</sup> there to address a supreme appeal to Christendom.

Was this idea suggested by Alexius Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, as some have said, or by the Picard ascetic Peter the Hermit, as others maintain? The latest studies of this question oblige us to refer to Pope Urban II the entire initiative of the Crusade. The supposed letter of Alexius Comnenus, appealed to in support of the first opinion, “contains details so curious, so little in conformity with the practices of the Byzantine chancery, that they are enough to invalidate its authenticity.”<sup>98</sup> As to the supposed solicitation by Peter the Hermit, who is said to have induced the Pope to undertake the conquest of the Holy Land, no really contemporary document of the First Crusade mentions it; the legend does not appear until the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>99</sup> But we do not mean to say that the Emperor of Constantinople and Peter the Hermit played no part in the enterprise of the First Crusade.

### Council of Piacenza

The question of a military expedition to the East was spoken of in two councils: that of Piacenza (March, 1095) and that

<sup>96</sup> Paulot, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

<sup>97</sup> Foucher of Chartres, *Hist. Hierosol.*, Bk. I, chap. 1; *PL*, CLV, 825.

<sup>98</sup> This question is treated by Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, p. 57; Paulot, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-84; Riant, *Arch. de l'Orient latin*, I, 71-89; Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Comnène*, p. 155. For a detailed criticism of the document attributed to Emperor Comnenus, see Riant, *Alexii Comneni ad Robertum I epistola spuria*.

<sup>99</sup> See Bréhier, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-60; Riant, *op. cit.*, I, 94; Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit*.

of Clermont (November, 1095). The Pope's purpose in convoking a great council at Piacenza, for the middle of Lent, 1095, was especially to carry on vigorously the general reform of the Church undertaken by Gregory VII. The assembly was held from March 1 to 7. Bernold tells us that almost four thousand clerics and more than thirty thousand of the laity were present.<sup>100</sup> As no church was large enough to hold them the meetings took place in the open. Anathema was pronounced upon all the enemies of the holiness of the Church: on traffickers in sacred things, on those who dishonored their priesthood by their misconduct, on those who had knowingly received holy orders from sacrilegious hands, on those who still adhered to the heresy of Berengarius, already several times condemned, and by name upon the antipope, the false Clement III, the heresiarch Guibert.<sup>101</sup> The Christian rulers were represented at the assembly by Empress Praxedes of Germany, by an embassy of the King of France, and by an embassy of the Emperor of Constantinople. Empress Praxedes again complained of the ignominious treatment which she received from her husband. The French envoys excused the absence of their prince, who, they said, was prevented from coming to the council.

The Byzantine ambassadors, in their master's name, begged Urban II and all the Christians "to grant them some help against the pagans for the defense of holy Church." These are the expressions used by Bernold, a contemporary writer generally well informed. All the known facts lead us to believe that the Emperor, by these words, was simply repeating a request already addressed to the Pope, whom he had several times implored to favor the enlisting of mercenaries that he wanted to recruit for the East.<sup>102</sup> "This idea was far from the plan to set in motion the great armies of knights who later directed

<sup>100</sup> Bernold, *Chronicon* in *M. G., SS.*, V, 461.

<sup>101</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 388-96; Mansi, XX, 801; suppl., II, 131.

<sup>102</sup> Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.



their steps toward Constantinople. But probably these repeated requests for help acted upon Urban's mind and inspired him with the idea of a general appeal to the whole West."<sup>103</sup> The success obtained by the Emperor's petition at the assembly of Piacenza, where numerous persons arose and swore to go to the help of the Greek Emperor, may have removed any hesitation from the Pontiff's mind.<sup>104</sup>

Not long after the closing of the Council of Piacenza, the Pope (July, 1095) went to France and there at once decided upon another great council, which should be held at Clermont in Auvergne, on the octave day of St. Martin, November 18, 1095. In the meantime he journeyed through southern and eastern France. His presence is indicated, in August at Le Puy, La Chaise-Dieu, and Romans; in September at Saint-Gilles, Tarascon, and the monastery of Montmajour near Arles; in October, at Lyons, Cluny, Mâcon, and Autun.<sup>105</sup> We have good reason to suppose that the purpose of these journeys was the preparation for the new great council, to which the Pope wished to give a very special importance.

This choice of French soil as the place for issuing an appeal to arms, addressed to all Christendom, was remarked by the earliest historians of the Crusades. Guibert de Nogent writes: "The old custom of the Apostolic See was, when a danger threatened it, always to seek help from the people of the Franks. This is what Pope Stephen and Pope Zachary did, under Pepin and Charlemagne."<sup>106</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>104</sup> At the Council of Piacenza was made obligatory for the whole Church the Preface which is still sung in honor of the Blessed Virgin. Its composition is attributed to Pope Urban II (Watterich, I, 571).

<sup>105</sup> Crégut, *Le Concile de Clermont et la première croisade*; Paulot, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-302.

<sup>106</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *Hist. Hieros.*, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, 478.

## The Turks

When Urban II was so actively engaged in the preparation of a military expedition against the Mussulmans for the deliverance of the Holy Land, he was not unaware of the difficulties of the enterprise. The Turkish invasion had infused new blood into Islam. The caliph of Bagdad and the caliph of Cairo continued to be jealous of each other. But in reality the caliphs possessed merely a nominal sovereignty; the real masters of the country were the Turks, who had come from Turkestan and entered the service of the caliphs of Bagdad. One of their leaders, Seljuk, had united them into a people called, after his name, the Seljukian Turks or Seljucides. The Turkish sultan, honored with the title of "commander of the faithful," soon became the sovereign of the caliph of Bagdad, whom he had aggrandized by his conquests. At the end of the eleventh century, the sway of the caliph of Bagdad extended over the whole of near Asia and over Syria; the rule of the caliph of Cairo, or of Egypt, was reduced to Egypt, Palestine, and northern Africa. But, in a common danger, the Turkish sultans of the country of the Euphrates formed the natural center of a confederation of all the princes and all the warriors of Asia Minor and Syria.<sup>107</sup>

The organization of this state was entirely military. The princes, who bore the title of emir or commandant, were principally war chiefs. They resided in citadels, guarded by bands of armed soldiers. The Mussulman warriors, like the lords in the West, formed a caste; they also had their squires, their manual of arms, their point of honor. But the liberal gifts of land which they received from the princes were not hereditary, and thus they were more strictly dependent on the chief who maintained them. They fought on horseback, "riding swift steeds and fighting with light arms, the saber with thin, sharp

<sup>107</sup> Lavissee and Rambaud, *Hist. gén.*, II, 294-97.

blade and the spear of reed, and a wooden bow. In their ranks were enlisted adventurers of every race. As the Mussulmans were without racial prejudices, the only requirement for admission to their ranks was to be a Mussulman.”<sup>108</sup> A Christian, Catholic or schismatic, had no rights. As farmer, artisan, or merchant, he took part in the political life of the nation only in paying the heavy taxes which were laid on him arbitrarily.

The Byzantine emperors had tried to restrain the Mussulman fanaticism. But, after the establishment of Turkish hegemony, they were forced to confess their powerlessness. We have already seen Emperor Alexius Comnenus turn to the West to recruit mercenary soldiers for his fight against the Turks.

Alexius I (Comnenus) was a brave ruler, a prudent statesman. With great vigor he had fought against the Normans of southern Italy on the shores of the Adriatic; and in Thrace against the Petchenegs and the Kumans.<sup>109</sup> But the constitution of the Byzantine Empire had in it incurable defects. No well-established law regulated the imperial succession. The emperors reached the throne not, as in France, by inheritance, nor, as in the Holy Empire, by election, but most of the time by intrigues and conspiracies. The only rule that seemed to be recognized was the emperor's right to name his successor. But frequent coups d'état released popular passions which were not effectively restrained by measures of ferocity toward the rebels.

The foreign relations of the Byzantine Empire aggravated its domestic ills. The Croats, the Dalmatians, and the Serbs, its closest neighbors, had already shaken off its yoke and were turning toward the European powers. Bulgaria remembered that, a century before, it had with its Czar Simeon contested supremacy with the Greek Empire. The Rumanians felt them-

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Comnène*.

selves racially even more alien to the Byzantine world. Venice was no longer in the period when its doge was a member of the Byzantine hierarchy and when its citizens called themselves "the slaves of the basileus." Its ambitions had grown with the prosperity of its commerce. In 1082 Alexius Comnenus conceded to Venice an entire section of Constantinople, with a quay of its own.<sup>110</sup> There Venice established a colony that recognized only Venetian law and, to defend itself against possible encroachments by the imperial power, constructed a fortified enclosure. The more daring Normans had adopted a clearly aggressive attitude toward the Empire.

From the time of the schism of Caerularius, the Eastern Churches were separated from Rome and acknowledged only the authority of their patriarch and of their emperor, the jurisdiction of the two powers being mingled and confused. The patriarch and the bishops took a hand in the temporal affairs; and the emperor regulated and controlled their appointments. At the beginning of the schism, they showed but little concern about the See of Rome. But since the reform of Gregory VII, as whole kingdoms (Hungary, England, the Two Sicilies) professed vassalage to the papacy, the latter now seemed a power with which they would have to reckon, with which some day they would perhaps find it prudent to be allied. At any rate they found it useful to let the papacy think so. And the Byzantine diplomacy was remarkably skilful in keeping up this insidious ambiguity.

Such was the situation of the various states of the East when Pope Urban II was planning to direct the armies of Europe toward Asia. Europe was ready to hear his call. Ever since the Turkish invasion had violently put an end to the protectorate of the Holy Land, first exercised by Charlemagne and his successors, then by the emperors of Constantinople, grievances emanating from the Christian settlements of Syria

<sup>110</sup> The Venetians obtained docks in several other harbors.

came frequently to remind the Christians of Europe of the lamentable condition of their Latin brothers living in the East or of Western travelers who went as pilgrims to visit the most precious memorials of Christian origins. Devastated churches, Christians driven from their homes, pilgrims seized, imprisoned, tortured: such were the reports brought back by travelers returning from Asia, and their hearers were enraged at so many injustices committed on the very soil that had been sanctified by the Savior's presence and miracles.

An armed expedition to the Holy Land seemed easy of realization. The frequent pilgrimages of Westerners had made the route familiar. Noblemen had already visited it with imposing escorts of warriors. The brilliant deeds of arms performed in Spain and Sicily against the infidels seemed a pledge of success. True, along with the spirit of faith, other motives, less noble, manifested themselves. Merchants were attracted by the prospect of opening new outlets for their commerce; and some knights were drawn to the East only by the prospect of pillage and battles. But the papacy, restored by the genius of Gregory VII, seemed now strong enough to rally about it all the forces of the West and also to prevent the elements of disorder from being an obstacle to the religious character of the expedition.

### Council of Clermont

The great council decreed by Urban II met at Clermont on the appointed day, November 18, 1095. Bernold informs us that it comprised 13 archbishops with their suffragans, and included no less than 205 crosiers. Other writers report even larger numbers. Sybel calculates that the council must have been attended by 14 archbishops, 250 bishops, and 400 abbots.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Heinrich von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreussugs*, p. 184.

In convoking the bishops of Christendom at Clermont, the Pope's chief aim <sup>112</sup> was to have the council decree an armed expedition against those who held the tomb of Christ in their hands. But as, in his mind, this expedition was inseparable from the reform of morals and the pacification of Christendom, he first submitted to the council a collection of reform measures and a new regulation of the Truce of God.

The decrees of Piacenza were first renewed, made more precise, and supplemented. Thus, according to Ivo of Chartres, Pope Urban explained that the Church, by forbidding to princes the investiture of ecclesiastical benefices as such, that is, the collation of spiritual jurisdiction, in no way forbade their taking a hand in the election of bishops as chiefs of the people.<sup>113</sup> Urban II thereby prepared the formula of accord which a quarter century later triumphed in the concordat of Worms. Among the decrees of the Council of Clermont we should also note one that determined the manner of administering the Eucharist. The custom, still observed among the Greeks, of dipping the consecrated host in the precious blood and distributing it thus in communion, had been introduced into some Western Churches. This custom was now forbidden, at least in a general way, either because of a fear that accidents might result from this practice or because of a fear that the faithful might believe that Christ was not entire under each of the sacred species.

The question of the Truce of God received particular attention from the fathers of the council. The Pope wished, before preaching the holy war, "to preach the gospel of peace." William of Malmesbury quotes the first canon passed by the council in the following words: "From Advent to the octave of Epiphany, from Septuagesima Sunday to the octave of Pentecost, and from sunset on Wednesday to sunset on Monday, the

<sup>112</sup> In fact, France, Italy, and Spain were the only countries represented at Clermont. The bishops of Germany and Hungary did not appear at the council.

<sup>113</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *Epist.*, 60; *PL*, CLXII, 73.

Truce of God will be observed.”<sup>114</sup> “This decree has a particular importance. The Truce of God seems here for the first time to be imposed on the whole Church, whereas previously it had been adopted only by provincial assemblies.”<sup>115</sup> Thus, at the very time when the Pope was about to call upon Christians to draw their swords in defense of the cause of Christian civilization and to conquer the most sacred soil of the world,<sup>116</sup> he commanded them to make a truce to all hostility that sprang from private interests. Thus the very notion of war was altered under the influence of the Roman Pontiff.

### “God Wills It”

But the great question for which the Pope had convoked the council had not yet been publicly mentioned. The Pope held it in reserve for the closing of the council. When the affairs of the Church were terminated, the Pope proceeded to a very spacious place,<sup>117</sup> because no church could hold the numberless throng that surrounded him; and with captivating eloquence he addressed all present. From this address we quote the following excerpts, taken from the account by a contemporary chronicler:<sup>118</sup>

Frenchmen, beloved and elect of God, to you I address my discourse and my exhortations, to you I wish to make known the sad circum-

<sup>114</sup> The acts of the Council of Clermont have not come down to us in full. They have been largely reconstructed by the use of fragments which were preserved by William of Malmesbury, Orderic Vitalis, and Lambert of Arras. See Mansi, XX, 827, 912; Hefele-Leclercq, V, 399-406.

<sup>115</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 400 f.

<sup>116</sup> “The Christian world,” writes Gabriel Monod, “merely defended itself by attempting to recover the places that it regarded as the most sacred and that had been taken from it” (Monod in the *Encycl. des sc. relig.*, III, 481-83, 486).

<sup>117</sup> Crégut (*op. cit.*, p. 123) has identified the spot.

<sup>118</sup> Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Bk. I, year 1095, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, 31. Proof has been adduced that the author of this history is not Robert the Monk, but Albert, canon of Aachen (d. 1120), who made use of original Lorraine chronicles (Hefele-Leclercq, V, 420).

stances which have brought me into your country. From Jerusalem bad news has reached Constantinople. A cursed people has invaded the lands of the Christians, has laid them waste by sword, pillage, and fire. It profanes and smashes altars; it tortures Christians; it violates women. . . . Who will avenge these outrages? Upon you, Frenchmen, falls this duty, upon you whom God has raised above all peoples by valor. Recall the exploits of your ancestors. Recall the greatness of Charlemagne, that of his son Louis and of your other kings who fought against the empire of the Turks. But what should especially move you is the sacred tomb of the Savior, the holy places ravaged and stained by an impure people. Brave soldiers, descendants of those who were never vanquished, mark out a path all the way to the Holy Sepulcher and snatch the Holy Land from that abominable people.<sup>119</sup>

Before the Pope finished his discourse, the people were already shouting: "God wills it! God wills it!"

Raising his eyes to heaven, the Pope gave a sign that he wished to add a few words. "Those words: 'God wills it, God wills it,' will be your rallying cry in battle. I do not wish the old men, the infirm, or the women to take part in the expedition. Any women who go must be accompanied by their husbands or their brothers; otherwise they would be more harmful than helpful. Furthermore, no cleric should set out without his bishop's permission. The laity should not begin the expedition without the blessing of a priest. Whoever intends to offer himself to God in this manner should wear on his breast the sign of the cross."<sup>120</sup>

Baudry of Bourgeil, an eyewitness, relates that Ademar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy, a man of great repute, of an imposing presence and noble character, then approached the Pope

<sup>119</sup> Urban's address has been published in different words but substantially the same by Baudry de Bourgueil, William of Tyre, Guibert de Nogent, William of Malmesbury, and several others. The Pope, to be better understood by the crowd, spoke in the Romance tongue. Each chronicler has translated his words, more or less freely, into Latin.

<sup>120</sup> Bongars, *op. cit.*, I, 32.



and, kneeling before him, asked for permission to join the holy undertaking. After him, upon a sign from Cardinal Gregory (the future Innocent II), the entire people knelt down. The cardinal, in the name of all, recited a public confession of sins, the Pope gave to all those who were disposed to set out the Apostolic absolution.<sup>121</sup>

These, as a distinctive sign, fastened to their garments a piece of cloth cut in the shape of a cross.<sup>122</sup> Hence came the term "crusaders," which was at once given them. The next day the Pope appointed Ademar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy, his legate for the Crusade, declared inviolable for three years the kinsmen and property of the crusaders, ordered all the faithful, or perhaps merely the clergy, to recite every Saturday the office of the Blessed Virgin <sup>123</sup> to assure the protection

<sup>121</sup> This was not a sacramental absolution, given to the hundred thousand who were present, for all their sins, without previous confession; it was the remission of the temporal penalty which was promised to repentant and pardoned sinners who should undertake the holy war. The Council of Clermont had just declared in clear terms: "Whoever, simply in the spirit of faith, without vain desires of avarice and ambition, will set out for the deliverance of the Church of God at Jerusalem, for him that journey will take the place of penance" (*PL*, CLXII, 717). A few months later, Urban II himself, undoubtedly to forestall misunderstandings, explained this point in a discourse to the faithful of Bologna: "Know that all who undertake the holy journey, not from motives of earthly ambition, but solely for the salvation of their souls and the deliverance of the Church, will obtain the full remission of the penance after a true and perfect confession of their sins" (*PL*, CLI, 483). (Cf. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, p. 436. Tr.)

During the Crusades, the Latin clergy regarded as real martyrs, and consequently as thereby saved, the crusaders who had fallen in arms while fighting against the infidels. But this was only a particular application of a common belief of the Church. Probably we should see an allusion to this belief in the words which Robert the Monk (Albert of Aachen) puts on the lips of Urban II: *Arripite igitur viam hanc in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum, securi de immarescibili gloria regni coelorum* (Bongars, *op. cit.*, I, 32). At a period when a great faith was associated with great passions, the hope of these spiritual favors must have exercised a powerful influence on great criminals, who entered on the Crusade to redeem their past life.

<sup>122</sup> This piece of cloth, cut in the form of a cross, was sewed on the breast or right shoulder, sometimes fastened on the front of the helmet. *M. G.*, SS., VII, 765.

<sup>123</sup> St. Peter Damian had already introduced this practice among the monks. The Hours of the Blessed Virgin had existed for three centuries both in the Greek

of the Mother of God upon the Crusade, and declared the council dissolved.

The day fixed for the departure of the Crusade was August 15, 1096, and the city of Constantinople was appointed as the concentration point of all the forces. Urban II, after stirring the popular movement, then began to spread it and organize it. By letters sent in every direction, by synods in which he presided personally at Limoges, Angers, Tours, Nîmes, Pavia, and Rome, he aroused the zeal of the faithful. Popular preachers, under his direction, preached the Crusade. The most celebrated of all was Peter the Hermit.

### Peter the Hermit

A native of the city of Amiens, or at least of Picardy, a monk and a solitary, but without anyone knowing to which order to connect him,<sup>124</sup> Peter, surnamed the Hermit, had certainly undertaken a journey to the East to venerate the Holy Sepulcher, and had there been the victim of ill treatment by the Turks. That he was present at the Council of Clermont is probable, although the historians of the council make no mention of him. Did the account of his misfortunes have some influence upon the Pope, for the same reason as the stories about other pilgrims to the East? That such was the case is not unlikely, although contemporary writers say nothing about it. This much is certain, that Peter the Hermit very soon took a considerable part in the Crusade. Immediately after the Council of Clermont, he appeared as exercising an extraordinary influence over the people. Thin, with emaciated face framed in a long gray beard, wearing a monk's cowl over his woolen tunic, he traveled through Berry, Lorraine, and northern

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Church and in the Latin Church. Cf. Card. Bona, *Tract. de div. psalm.*, chap. 12, § 2; Martène, *De ant. Eccles. rit.*, IV, 82.

<sup>124</sup> *Conjectures sur Pierre l'Ermite* by F. Balme in Ingold, *Miscellanea Alsatica*, 2d ser., pp. 39-55.

France seated on an ass, which received part of the veneration shown for its master.<sup>125</sup>

Other preachers, not so well known, among whom we should mention Robert of Arbrissel, carried the Pope's word to other provinces. Everywhere the call of Urban II awoke enthusiastic echoes. Says Domnizo: "The French received Urban's appeal as the words of St. Peter in person."<sup>126</sup> "All at once," relates Sigebert, "we see dukes, clerics, monks, old men, young men, and boys set out, without anybody able to stop them. A countless army arose to go to Jerusalem."<sup>127</sup> William of Malmesbury writes: "No people or tribe was so remote that it did not send someone to represent it."<sup>128</sup> "The robbers and pirates," says Orderic Vitalis, "criminals of every sort, moved by grace, came forth from the abyss of their wretchedness, disavowed their crimes and forsook them, and as atonement for them departed for the far-off country."<sup>129</sup>

### Crusade of the Common People

This popular enthusiasm had happy results. All Europe was moved. Nobody was unaffected. All eyes suddenly turned toward the cross of Christ, as to the object most worthy to arouse the sacrifice of a man's life. The most commonplace and vilest souls found themselves of a sudden raised up from earth and attached only to the invisible realities of the supernatural world: Christ ever living, the mysteries of His passion, of His grace, of eternal salvation. But good order suffered from this universal excitement. Urban had contemplated an expedition wisely organized and well disciplined. Popular

<sup>125</sup> *De ejus mulo pili pro reliquiis rapiebantur*, says Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei*, II, 8, in the *Rec. des hist. des crois.*, IV, 142.

<sup>126</sup> Domnizo, *Vita Mathildis*; cf. Catalan, *Pontif. roman.*, II, 531.

<sup>127</sup> *Infinitus exercitus Jerusalem ivit*. *Ann. S. Ben. Div.*; *M. G.*, V, 43.

<sup>128</sup> William of Malmesbury, *De Willelmo secundo*, Bk. IV, chap. 2, p. 75.

<sup>129</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Hist. eccles.*, Bk. IX; *PL*, CLXXXVIII, 652.

groups formed spontaneously and started out, so numerous and animated by such divergent motives that they could not be embraced in a regular army. Some, prompted by trustful and naïve piety, set forth with the sole hope of undergoing martyrdom and gaining heaven. Others, less regardless of worldly things, rushed into the unknown with the prospect of escaping from the wretched life which they had undergone from hunger and the brigandage of private wars. In their minds Jerusalem was the end of all the ills afflicting them. Guibert de Nogent says: "A most touching sight was to behold these poor crusaders shoe their oxen like horses, harness them to a two-wheeled cart on which they put their poor baggage and their little children. At every castle and city which they saw along their route, they held out their hands and asked whether it was not that Jerusalem to which they were marching."<sup>130</sup>

The lack of discipline and order was the least of the evils from which these improvised troops suffered. Certain seriously perilous elements were to be found there. "As in the field of the householder," says Ekkehard, "an enemy sowed cockle, so the devil sowed false prophets in the bosom of the Crusade."<sup>131</sup> The chronicler is referring to William Chamberlain, viscount of Melun, who, at the head of a band of French and English, laid waste everything along his route; and to the German priest Gottschalk, who, "under the appearances of a feigned piety, betrayed the God whose servant he was";<sup>132</sup> and to the impostor Folkmar, whose troops, recruited in Saxony and Bohemia, pillaged the Jews and appropriated their wealth for themselves; to a still more terrible adventurer, the bandit Count Semicho, who, appealing to alleged heavenly visions, succeeded in gathering about him a force of twelve thousand pilgrims and, under the pretext of avenging the death of

<sup>130</sup> Guibert de Nogent, Bk. II, chap. 6, in Bongars, I, 482, and in *Recueil des hist. des croisades, Hist. occid.*, IV, 142.

<sup>131</sup> Ekkehard, *Libell. Hierosolim.*; PL, CLIV, 970.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 971.

Christ, had multitudes of Jews put to death at Spires, Worms, Mainz, and Prague. The bishops of Worms and Mainz, who had given refuge to some Jews in their own homes, were there assailed by these false crusaders, who sacked their palaces and there massacred the unfortunate refugees without pity.<sup>133</sup> Several of these sacrilegious profaners of the cross of Christ received punishment in this world. Folkmar's soldiers, while they were crossing through Pannonia, laden with booty, were surrounded by the native population and, almost to the last one, were slain or made slaves; <sup>134</sup> Semicho's bands met with the same fate before the walls of Merseburg, which they were besieging; the cruel leader, upon returning to his castle on the banks of the Rhine, died there, leaving an execrated memory. Popular ballads of the Rhenish province told that every night, round about the gloomy fortress, wandered the mournful soul of the hideous murderer.

Such misdeeds dishonored the Crusade and before long provided the leaders of the Greek army with a pretext for abandoning and even betraying the cause of the crusaders and the noble Christian idea of Urban II.

### Peter the Hermit's Contingent

The only group of the popular Crusade which corresponded with the views of the Roman Pontiff was the one that was formed around Peter the Hermit. "Nothing was more unselfish," says Marquis de Vogüé, "than those crusaders of the first hour. The French peasant who rose up at the voice of Peter the Hermit; the members of the lesser nobility in Provence and Picardy who sold their modest domains so as to take

<sup>133</sup> On these bands of robbers, who took the cross merely in order to exercise their brigandage, see Ekkehard and Albert of Aix, in *PL*, CLIV, and Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, 193-96.

<sup>134</sup> Ekkehard, *op. cit.*; *PL*, CLIV, 971.

the cross, hardly thought to carve out for themselves a fief in the unknown lands of the East; they obeyed the impulses of their generosity and their faith; the only land they conquered was that where their remains rested, forgotten and abandoned, beside the long route they marked out with their whitened bones, from the Loire to the Jordan.”<sup>135</sup> The authority which Peter the Hermit exercised over this army seems to have been considerable. Says Guibert de Nogent: “I do not know that any man ever was venerated and obeyed to the same degree that he was. He possessed a gift for settling disputes, for reconciling foes. In his least acts and in his words something divine was felt. He went barefoot. Bread was his sole food. Hardly could he be persuaded now and then to take a little fish. He never drank any wine.”<sup>136</sup>

The group led by Peter the Hermit did not form a real army. Rather it was a band of pilgrims whom the austere preacher undertook to lead to Constantinople by way of the Rhine and Danube valleys, as far as the foot of the Balkans, then along the valleys of Thrace, crossing through Philippopolis and Adrianople.

Several regrettable incidents troubled the march of this expedition. First some soldiers of the vanguard, that was marching under the orders of Gauthier de Poix, were attacked by people of the country while they were crossing Hungary, and were despoiled of their provisions, arms, and clothing, and were compelled to undergo most detestable treatment. The crusaders' first impulse was to stop and to inflict an exemplary vengeance for this brutal aggression. “But,” says William of Tyre, “after reflection, they said to one another: ‘For Christ we took up arms; let us leave to Christ the avenging of the of-

<sup>135</sup> Marquis de Vogüé, *Les croisades*, in *La France chrétienne dans l'histoire*, p. 212.

<sup>136</sup> Guibert de Nogent, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, chap. 8; *Histor. des croisades*, *Hist. occid.*, IV, 142; *PL*, CLIV, 705.

fense offered His servants.' And continuing on their way, they arrived in sight of Belgrade." <sup>137</sup>

The main part of the army, under the orders of Peter the Hermit, followed them a few days later. As they advanced, the Franks were joined by the Swabians, Bavarians, Franco-nians, Lombards, Austrians, people from all parts of Germany. This mixture of races, speaking various languages and with great difficulty understanding one another, added to the hardships of the expedition. While crossing Bulgaria, a group of about a hundred Germans, who had remained in the rear, separated from the troop, started a quarrel with a Bulgarian about the purchase of food and, to avenge themselves upon "those sons of Belial," as William of Tyre called them,<sup>138</sup> they set fire to seven mills on the banks of the Nichava. At sight of the flames, the inhabitants of Nyssa rose up, summoned to their aid bands of Bulgarians, Hungarians, and Petchenegs, fell upon the rear ranks of Peter the Hermit's army, seized the food provisions, pillaged the carts loaded with the army treasures and the baggage, made a frightful slaughter of the pilgrims, and led into captivity all whom weariness forced them to spare. In Albert of Aachen's account we read: "The others fled, like sheep pursued by wolves, some of them into the forest, others into the mountains of the neighborhood. Peter the Hermit that evening reached the top of a mountain, accompanied by only five hundred men. At first he thought this number was all that was left of his troop of forty thousand. But, during the following night, he had the trumpets sounded and fires lighted as rallying signals. Seven thousand fugitives soon answered his call. Twenty-three thousand came back during the next few days. The total loss was not more than seven

<sup>137</sup> William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, Bk. I, chap. 18, in *Historiens des croisades, Hist. occid.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 48.

<sup>138</sup> William of Tyre, *loc. cit.*, chap. 11; *Hist. des crois.*, I, 52.

thousand men. But the carts, the equipment, and the provisions had disappeared."<sup>139</sup>

Emperor Alexius Comnenus came to the rescue of the unfortunate pilgrims. The success of the expedition was not indifferent to him. He counted on the crusaders' victories to save the Byzantine Empire from the Turkish danger. And he was eager to make the acquaintance of the illustrious hermit whose fame had reached him. He furnished him with food supplies, but on condition that nowhere would he stop more than three days, and begged him to come with all haste to Constantinople.

Peter the Hermit arrived on August 1, 1096, before the walls of the Byzantine city and immediately went to the imperial palace. Says the chronicler Albert:

His smallness of stature was in contrast to the greatness of his eloquence and his heart. The monk, presenting himself with a noble assurance, greeted the Emperor in the name of Jesus Christ, set forth the origin and aim of his enterprise, related the vicissitudes of his journey, and announced to the Emperor the proximate arrival of an army composed of dukes, counts, and knights, who, like himself, had but one aim, to venerate the tomb of Christ and deliver it from the hands of the infidels.<sup>140</sup>

The Emperor appeared to be deeply moved by these words. He advised Peter to wait at Constantinople for the arrival of the regular army organized by the barons and to undertake nothing without it. Unfortunately Peter the Hermit was powerless to restrain the impatience of his followers, who began to pillage the city. Alexius made them cross to the other side of the Bosphorus. But their entrance into Asia was the signal for a general disbanding. Peter the Hermit's troop had given the example of great ardor of faith; but the lack of discipline

<sup>139</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Histor. Hierosol.*, Bk. I, chap. 12; *Hist. des crois.*, *Hist. occid.*, IV, 281.

<sup>140</sup> Albert of Aachen, *loc. cit.*, chap. 15; *Hist. des crois.*, IV, 283.



ruined it. Most of these first crusaders perished later under the blows of the Turks or died of hunger and thirst.<sup>141</sup>

### The Crusade of the Barons

The regular army announced by Peter the Hermit was in reality made up of four distinct and independent armies. Men from Lorraine and northern France as well as some Germans marched under the leadership of Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin. Bands of Normans and French advanced under the orders of Count de Blois and Count de Vermandois. The French from the south had as their leader Count Raymond of Toulouse; and the Normans of southern Italy were led by Bohemund and Tancred, the former being the eldest son of Robert Guiscard, the latter being Guiscard's nephew.

In solemn terms and an epic tone William of Tyre begins the account of the expedition led by Godfrey of Bouillon: "The year of the incarnation of our Lord 1096, the fifteenth day of the month of August, the illustrious and magnificent knight Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, having assembled all his warriors and concluded all his preparations, set out on the march to Jerusalem. Here are the names, deserving eternal memory, of the principal lords gathered under his flags: Baldwin of Boulogne, his uterine brother; Baldwin of Mons, count of Hainault; Hugh, count of St. Paul," etc.<sup>142</sup> In speaking thus, the historian of the Crusades gives, at the very beginning, to the person of Godfrey of Bouillon an importance

<sup>141</sup> Albert of Aachen, *loc. cit.*, chaps. 18-20; *Hist. des crois.*, IV, 286-88. The failure of this first expedition should not be laid on the shoulders of Peter the Hermit. His part was to maintain at a high moral level the ideal of his band, considered as a whole, and by the ascendance of his personal authority to prevent many disorders that would have occurred without him. If he had not put himself at the head of this popular movement, another would have done so, because nobody could think of holding back the masses of people who were pouring forth toward the East. Peter accepted a work that was full of perils, and the unfortunate issue of that work cannot rob him of the merit of his initiative.

<sup>142</sup> William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, chap. 1; *Hist. des crois.*, I, 71.

which in fact did not belong to him until later. The Duke of Lower Lorraine, who became celebrated in so many epic songs and poems as the great hero of the Crusades, at first enjoyed only a somewhat insignificant part. The forces raised by him were not distinguished at the outset from those raised by many other barons, unless perhaps by their numbers; according to Anna Comnena, they counted 10,000 knights and 70,000 foot soldiers.<sup>143</sup>

### Godfrey of Bouillon

Godfrey of Bouillon was born in French Brabant of one of the most valiant captains of Belgium, Eustace II, count of Boulogne and Lens, and of the pious Countess Ida, daughter of Godfrey the Bearded, duke of Lower Lorraine and Bouillon. From his father Godfrey inherited a fondness for battles, and from his mother a deep piety. The paternal instinct at first prevailed in his life. Attached to the party of Henry IV in the war of investitures, he took part in most of the combats engaged in by the imperial troops against the Holy See and, we are told, in 1082 was the first knight to enter Rome, the gates of which he opened to the besiegers.<sup>144</sup> When he retired to his castle after the war, he spent his time fighting against his neighbors.<sup>145</sup> The proclamation of the Crusade awoke in him the feelings of tender devotion which his mother had cultivated in his soul. To deliver the tomb of Christ and to prostrate himself on the soil made sacred by the Savior's footsteps, were henceforth his sole ambition. His sudden recovery from a lingering fever, the cure coming immediately after taking the vow to be a crusader, increased his fervor. Before setting out, he made peace with his foes, left his Bouillon castle in the

<sup>143</sup> Anna Comnena, *L'Alexiade*, X, 9.

<sup>144</sup> *Hist. litt. de la France*, VIII, 603.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 603.

hands of the Bishop of Liège, and sold all his patrimonies.<sup>146</sup> Contemporaries picture Godfrey of Bouillon as a robust knight, with a broad chest and manly bearing, but with a kindness that shone in the mildness of his blue eyes, in the delicately sharp and light-complected features, in the gracious harmony of his voice. His brother Baldwin, with his black beard, his dark skin, his aquiline nose, rather harsh and severe features, was a sharp contrast to Godfrey. Although his character was more unbending and less refined than Godfrey's, he was not without loftiness and unselfishness and tact.

### First and Second Armies

The army commanded by these two brothers followed almost the same route of march as the army of Peter the Hermit, through Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria. It encountered similar difficulties, but overcame them more easily, owing to the strict discipline which Godfrey strove to maintain. On December 23, 1096, it arrived before the walls of Constantinople. Later it formed the most solid nucleus of the Crusade. In fact, none of the other armies reached the Byzantine capital with forces so intact and under so capable a leader.

The second army, recruited in the royal domain and in the neighboring fiefs, contained, from the viewpoint of warlike valor, elements of the highest quality. But its principal leader, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother of the King of France, was fickle and meddlesome. None of the nobles who accompanied him—neither Robert Curthose (Courte Heuse), the bravest of all, nor Stephen of Blois, the most literary—had the persevering and prudent courage needed for the success of the rude campaign. The plan they adopted was to make part of the journey by sea: to cross the Alps, to embark at the ports of Apulia, then to pass by way of Epirus, Macedonia, and

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 604.

Thrace. But Hugh of Vermandois, made a prisoner as soon as he disembarked at Dyrrachium, was immediately brought to Constantinople under a strong escort. The troops of Robert Curthose and of Stephen of Blois, pursued in Italy by the followers of Guibert,<sup>147</sup> were exhausted when they reached Apulia. From there a large number of the discouraged soldiers returned home.<sup>148</sup> A ship carrying four hundred crusaders sank near Brindisi; others were drowned while crossing a river.<sup>149</sup> When the rest of the army arrived at Constantinople in March, 1097, it was composed only of fragments.

### Third and Fourth Armies

The third army, which followed almost the same route, contained the most hardened soldiers, accustomed to those coasts. It was made up of 10,000 knights and 20,000 foot soldiers, all Normans, most of whom had fought continually in southern Italy; many of them had carried their invasions even into the Byzantine Empire. But the memory of the depredations recently committed by them along their route, made the population hostile to them. Their leaders, Bohemund and Tancred, "half-Norman, half-Sicilian, displayed the qualities and the defects of their double origin: crafty and contentious, thinking only of themselves and unscrupulous in their greed, but in other respects excellent soldiers, especially Bohemund, 'the tall, pale-skinned warrior, with bluish green eyes' who is thus described by Anna Comnena the daughter of the Greek Emperor."<sup>150</sup>

The impetuous populations of the Midi formed the fourth army, which took the land route, by way of Lombardy and Dalmatia. Its leader, Raymond of St. Gilles, count of Tou-

<sup>147</sup> Foucher of Chartres, in *Hist. des crois.*, *Hist. occid.*, III, 329.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> Luchaire in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. II, part 2, p. 235.

louse, duke of Narbonne, and marquis of Provence, had made a solemn vow never to return to his states and to consecrate the remainder of his life to fighting the infidels. Anna Comnena speaks of him as "brilliant among the Latins like the sun in the midst of the stars." He was called king of the Midi district of France. His somewhat boisterous vanity lessened the influence which his bravery and talents would have merited for him, and led especially to the jealous enmity of Tancred. This fourth army contained a large number of clerics, among whom was the papal legate, Ademar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy, one of the noblest figures, along with Peter the Hermit and Godfrey of Bouillon, of the First Crusade. Ademar, son of a count of the Valentinois,<sup>151</sup> had, before receiving holy orders, led the life of a brave and courageous knight. As legate of the Holy See, he was the official leader of the Crusade. But he knew the turbulent independence of the barons and tactfully refrained from injecting his authority in the direction of military operations.

All historians of the holy war recognize that he was the heart and soul of the Crusade and that no other person was more effective in settling conflicts, in maintaining concord, and in giving confidence to all. The example of his piety radiated from his person, in particular the example of his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, whose banner he had borne before him.<sup>152</sup> The best understanding seems to have prevailed between him and Count Raymond of Toulouse. Both of them intervened vigorously, either to moderate the fretfulness of the southern soldiers or to repel the attacks of the ferocious populations whom they encountered while crossing Slavonia and Dalmatia. In the neighborhood of Achrida, Ademar was

<sup>151</sup> Up to the fourteenth century his family possessed the château of Montélimar and gave its name to it (*Montilium Adhemari*).

<sup>152</sup> To Ademar of Monteil is attributed the composition of the *Salve Regina*. *M. G.*, SS., XXIII, 828. Cf. Bréhier, art. "Adhémar" in the *Dict. d'hist. ecclés.*, I, 552.

wounded by the Petchenegs. At length, in the month of April, 1097, the army of the Provençals arrived at almost the same time as that of the Normans before the city of Constantinople, where the two other armies had preceded them.

A great danger awaited the Christian army there. The magnificence of Constantinople had always exercised an almost irresistible fascination over Westerners. In the midst of that city, with its marble palaces and gilded domes, where works of art and all sorts of riches were amassed, the uncultured Western knights were suddenly dazzled and were tempted to forget Jerusalem and to leap upon this prey, which seemed so easy to them. Bohemund, heir of Robert Guiscard's power and policy, stirred up this covetousness. Some haughty and untactful acts by Raymond of Toulouse aggravated the danger. This was brought to a climax by the attitude of Alexius Comnenus. The ambitious Emperor of the East had always hoped to make use of the crusaders to deliver himself, without striking a blow and without expending any funds, from the incursions of the Turks. He let his selfish designs become evident. The lofty wisdom of Godfrey of Bouillon and the earnest exhortations of Ademar of Monteil overcame these difficulties and restored the crusaders' enthusiasm for the unselfish conquest of the Holy Land.

Emperor Alexius, with an eagerness that some regarded as suspicious, then declared his wish to join the crusaders, on condition that they would swear to turn over to him the cities of Asia Minor and Syria that would fall into their hands. The oath was taken by all the leaders except Raymond of Toulouse, who, more directly influenced by Ademar of Monteil, declared "that he had not come to the East to serve any other master than the one for whom he had left his country." He would agree to nothing more than this, that he would not undertake anything against the honor and life of the Eastern Emperor.

## Crusaders' Victories

The first result of the alliance between the Emperor and the crusaders was the siege and capture of the city of Nicaea. Says William of Tyre:

This metropolis of Bithynia brought to mind the most illustrious memories of the history of the Church. In that city, in the time of Pope Sylvester (325), was held the first ecumenical council, where the 318 fathers confounded the impiety of Arius. Around Nicaea, one after the other, arrived all the contingents of Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, and Eustace of Boulogne. These leaders of the army of God might then have made an enumeration of their legions. The number reached a total of 600,000 on foot (including the pilgrims of both sexes) and 100,000 knights in armor.<sup>153</sup>

The siege of the city, begun on May 14, 1097, was going on for more than a month when the crusaders resolved to attempt a decisive assault. Great was their surprise upon seeing the flag of the Greek Empire flying above the walls. Alexius had secretly negotiated with the inhabitants, and the whole benefit of this conquest remained with him. The imperial troops entered the fortified town, but the crusaders were refused admittance. However, the Emperor distributed to them the booty conquered from the Turks and, by this largess, silenced the displeasure of the attackers.

The remainder of the expedition was the distinct work of the crusaders. The victory of Dorylaeum, the taking of Antioch and that of Jerusalem, were its glorious stages.

The battle fought on July 1, 1097, in a plain near Dorylaeum showed that the crusaders had maturely combined a

<sup>153</sup> William of Tyre, Bk. II, chap. 23; *Hist. des crois.*, I, 108. The figures given by William of Tyre are the same as those of Foucher of Chartres. The latter adds that, without the disasters of the preceding expeditions, the number would have been three times as large (Foucher of Chartres, Bk. I, chap. 10; *Hist. des crois.*, III, 333).

plan of campaign and a strategy. The gaining of possession of this plain opened the route to the south for them. Nothing was neglected to assure them of this victory: a wise choice of the battlefield, protected by a marsh, strict prohibition of any separate action, the formation of a body of reserves ready, at any desired moment, to execute a flank movement. The success of this tactic was complete. At once the march toward Antioch was begun. It was painful in all respects. Advancing under a blazing sun, harassed continually by the Turks, often betrayed by their guides, who purposely misled them, the crusaders soon saw the good understanding between their leaders undergo a change. Tancred and Baldwin separated from the main body of the army: the former captured the fortified places of Cilicia; the latter became master of Edessa, married an Armenian princess and, giving a sad example which other nobles later followed, carved out for himself a principality in the East, to the great detriment of the very purpose of the Crusade.

However, on October 20, the Christian army arrived before Antioch. The city, on the slope of a mountain and on the bank of the Orontes River, strongly defended by a high citadel and by 450 towers, seemed impregnable. Bohemund's valor and craftiness, alternately exercised, were eventually successful in taking the city. But the cunning Norman, in spite of his promises to the Emperor, wished to keep the city for himself. The barons, hard pressed by a Turkish army, had to agree to this demand. Soon the army of the infidels besieged them in the conquered city. Pestilence and famine decimated their ranks. The vision of a Provençal priest, Peter Bartholomew, to whom the Apostle St. Andrew appeared to reveal the place where the holy lance was, and the finding of the precious relic at the designated spot, revived the courage of the besieged. Under Bohemund's command they made a general sally and routed the army of the besiegers.



Antioch was the last stage on the way to Jerusalem. But the rivalry that sprang up between Raymond of Toulouse and Bohemund for the possession of Antioch delayed the triumphant march of the army. Ademar of Monteil, to whom the barons intended to entrust the settlement of the conflict, died of the pestilence. Fresh disputes arose. Instead of battles, diplomatic actions were started between the leaders of the crusaders and the Eastern princes, but without any previously concerted plans. In short, twenty months after the taking of Antioch, which was left in the hands of Bohemund, the crusaders were before Jerusalem. The date was June 7, 1099.

### The Taking of Jerusalem

The sight of the Holy City revived the feelings of faith which had started these multitudes of knights and pilgrims on the march to the East. As soon as their eyes beheld the walls of the city where the Savior had been crucified, a shout burst from all lips: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem!" All these warriors fell to their knees; they wept and kissed the ground trod by the steps of the Son of God.<sup>154</sup> At that moment, all quarrels disappeared and all private and separate interests merged into a single common aspiration: to deliver the tomb of Christ.

The siege began June 7. But soon they knew that Jerusalem would offer a resistance as great as that they had encountered at Antioch. The solid ramparts of the city were defended by a formidable garrison. The wells and springs within a wide radius had been destroyed. To the horrors of thirst were added the tortures of hunger. Many of those who ventured far from the camp in search of water or food were slain by the Turks. Others fought among themselves over a piece of bread or a few drops of cool water. In the absence of human resources, only God could succor His people. An immense procession was

<sup>154</sup> William of Tyre, Bk. VII, chap. 25; *Hist. des crois.*, I, 318.

organized. "The bishops, the priests, the clerics of all ranks, in their sacred vestments, preceded by crosses and banners and relics of the saints, and followed by the whole people, went barefoot to the Mount of Olives. There Peter the Hermit and a Norman priest, named Arnold, preached to the crowd." <sup>155</sup>

After this ceremony, the date for the assault was fixed for the next Thursday, July 14. A clever maneuver by Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse, who during the night of the 14th, moved their camp from the west to the south of the fortifications, disconcerted the besieged. In the morning of July 15, a movable tower, which was brought up to the walls, enabled Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Eustace of Boulogne to set down a drawbridge on the ramparts and thus to enter the city. At the same moment Tancred and Robert Curthose opened a breach at another point, and Raymond of Toulouse obtained the surrender of the Tower of David by negotiating with the Egyptian garrison. We are told by the chronicler Albert of Aix: "Godfrey's first care was to remove his armor and, wearing the penitential woolen garment, to go to the Savior's sepulcher and there prostrate himself. Several others followed him." <sup>156</sup>

But the mass of the crusaders, exasperated by so many days of fasting and so many nights of sleeplessness, could not control their rage against the infidels. Scenes of carnage followed. The chroniclers estimate at 10,000 the number of the Saracens slain in the streets of Jerusalem. An official letter, addressed two months later by the cardinal-legate Daimbert, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Raymond of Toulouse to Pope Urban II, states that the crusaders rode their horses through the blood of the victims and that in certain places the blood came up to the horses' knees. Thus the First Crusade ended as it began, by the manifestation of an ardent faith and by violent

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 11; *Hist. des crois.*, I, 341.

<sup>156</sup> Albert of Aachen, Bk. VI, chap. 35.

passions ill restrained by that faith. Unbridled barbarity was to be found at the side of the purest heroism. The Church had still much labor to perform to bring about a complete triumph of the Christian spirit in morals.

### Intellectual Movement

The importance of the outward events that filled the pontificate of Urban II, the long struggles he had to sustain against the princes, and that great expedition of the Crusade, the vicissitudes of which he followed with anxiety after organizing it with care, seemed to make impossible any intellectual movement. Yet this pontificate saw Scholastic theology born and organized with St. Anselm, and the science of canon law take an unprecedented progress with Ivo of Chartres.

We have already noted the importance of St. Anselm's political, social, and religious place in Anglo-Saxon history. His part in the intellectual development appears even greater. "He reminds one of Gregory VII, who, in the religious and political order of things, organized the Church and prepared the ground for the work of a Gregory IX or an Innocent III: Anselm was the Gregory VII of Scholasticism."<sup>157</sup> To organize a synthesis of all the religious speculations attempted before his time, and to try to define the relations of faith with reason, of the sciences of God with those of nature: this was the twofold object of Anselm's work. He has rightly been called the last of the fathers of the Church and the first of the Scholastics.

By the Scholastic movement, we mean the ensemble of the efforts made in the Middle Ages to seek an accord between the teachings of the faith and the data of ancient philosophy, by relying principally on the doctrine and method of Aristotle.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>157</sup> De Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, I, 169.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136 ff. A large number of historians erroneously identify Scholasticism with the philosophy of the Middle Ages. The latter included, besides two cur-

Two kinds of minds had already laid the foundations of these efforts. Some, like Isidore of Seville in the seventh century and Gerbert in the tenth, had endeavored especially to assemble the materials of the vast synthesis; others, such as Rabanus Maurus, Ratramnus and Lanfranc, had devoted their efforts more particularly to elucidation of certain theological questions, including those of the real presence and of predestination. A systematic general view had been undertaken in the ninth century by the genius of Scotus Erigena. But that brilliant attempt, undertaken too soon by a mind too rash, had satisfied neither the requirements of reason nor those of faith. The work was still to be done. It called for a mind both powerful and well informed, acute and prudent, as docile in accepting from revelation all the mysteries that depend on God's authority, as it is insistent upon submitting to the control of reason whatever belongs to that domain. At Bec Abbey, Anselm had seen Lanfranc, his teacher, in his strife against Berengarius, take for the basis of his polemic an ensemble of coordinated speculations, make use of logic, not, as his predecessors had done, merely for the refutation of error, but for the construction of a system intended to satisfy the mind.

Moreover, the movement of scientific curiosity, so much encouraged by Sylvester II, had not ceased to spread. While striving against the schisms of the Christian princes and against the violence of the infidels, Urban II continued to favor the monastic life. Like St. Jerome, he said that the monks are the best soldiers, because from them emanate the manly virtues that make men invincible. His bullarium abounds in evidences of his friendliness to the monasteries of all orders. Wherever a new monastery was established, there a school was founded, a new home of science appeared. These monastic schools became, in

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rents of Eastern philosophy (Byzantine and Arabic-Jewish), also several currents of Western antischolastic philosophy, bordering on pantheism, skepticism, false mysticism, and other systems.

turn, a forcible stimulant for the episcopal schools. In both, the study programs were enlarged. Legions of copyists worked there preparing and sending out the manuscripts of antiquity. In the *trivium* (embracing grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics), grammar had become, according to the definition of a contemporary, "the art of interpreting the historians and the poets." In the *quadrivium* (embracing arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), the invention of Guido of Arezzo had given a considerable importance to music. The need of corresponding with adventurous minds, such as the new Manichaeans and the followers of Berengarius, that fought against dogma in the name of reason, had led to an enlargement of the domain of dialectics.

### St. Anselm

This third branch of the *trivium* took on a particular development in the teaching of the school at Bec in Normandy, which acquired a fame that, in the second half of the eleventh century, by its brilliance outshone that of the other episcopal or monastic schools. A large cosmopolitan gathering of hearers, composed especially of French and English, thronged at first about Lanfranc, the brilliant adversary of Berengarius, the teacher par excellence, in whose case no one could decide which to admire the more, the erudition of his mind, the subtlety of his thought, or the elegance of his language. But the enthusiasm increased when Lanfranc yielded his place to the most brilliant of his pupils and, using a privilege which some professors of that period still assumed, chose the subject of his teaching, the philosophy of dogma.<sup>159</sup>

The new professor's success was owing less to the originality of his doctrines than to the opportune daring of his method; and we may rightly say that although, in the history of Catholic

<sup>159</sup> Ragey, *Hist. de saint Anselme*, I, 123.

scholarship, the name of St. Anselm is the greatest between that of St. Augustine and that of St. Thomas, his great fame arose especially because of his method. The essential character of that method is expressed in the title of his chief work: *Monologium, seu exemplum meditandi de ratione fidei* ("Monologue, or model of the way we can set about taking account of our faith"). His motto was, *Fides quaerens intellectum*. "It was the application of reason, with all its resources, to the study of the faith; this has since been called the Scholastic method."<sup>160</sup>

Lanfranc entered upon this path with timid step. According to him, philosophy should not be introduced into dogma except with the greatest reserve. He said: "God is my witness, that I would desire never to introduce questions of dialectics into the exposition of revealed truths."<sup>161</sup> Anselm had none of these apprehensions. He did not confuse faith with reason, he did not put them on the same footing, but he never separated them. He held as acquired the data of faith, and he gave them as such to his pupils, but he did not set forth a single one of these truths to his young students without saying to them: "You believe this truth; but do you know why you believe it? Do you understand its meaning, its relation to the other truths, whether natural or supernatural truths? We have questioned revelation; let us now question reason."<sup>162</sup> Regardless of what anyone said, he went to the very limits of his reasoning, having immense confidence in the power of dialectics and metaphysics.<sup>163</sup> "This is the Scholastic method in its essentials. He has rightly been called the Father of Scholasticism, and the Church with good reason speaks of him as being a model for all theologians who have treated of dogma according to the method of the School."<sup>164</sup> St. Anselm merits the title of "Father of Scholas-

<sup>160</sup> Bainvel, art. "Anselme" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, I, 1343.

<sup>161</sup> Lanfranc, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, chap. 7.

<sup>162</sup> St. Anselm, *Cur Deus homo*, chaps. I, 2, 11.

<sup>163</sup> See the preface of the *Monologium*.

<sup>164</sup> Roman Breviary, April 21, sixth lesson. Bainvel, *loc. cit.*

ticism" the more since he sums up all its aspects and since all the currents of the School can be recognized in him.<sup>165</sup> Like St. Thomas, he grants much to intellectual speculation; but, like St. Bonaventure, he gladly gives free course to love; and often, in the study of a dogma, after reason has exhausted all its resources, it is transformed into loving contemplation. In one of his philosophical *Meditations*, he exclaims: "Lord, grant that I may feel by love what I have just understood by reason."<sup>166</sup>

St. Anselm's principal writings are the following: the *Mono-logium*, a philosophical study about God, of which one writer has said that "neither the fathers nor St. Augustine contain anything so powerfully reasoned on the divine essence, and since the appearance of this work nothing has been written comparable to it as a summary of theodicy";<sup>167</sup> the *Prologium*, in which we find the famous ontological argument adduced to prove the existence of God;<sup>168</sup> the *Cur Deus homo*, "the saint's most elaborated work, and also one of the boldest efforts of the human mind considering the things of faith with a view to understanding them";<sup>169</sup> and the *Meditations*, real outbursts of the soul, so sincere and profound and eloquent that competent critics place them in the same rank as St. Augustine's *Confessions* and St. Teresa's *Elevations* and Bossuet's *Elevations*, and not far below the *Imitation of Christ*.

St. Anselm did more than leave a method and communicate a fresh stimulus to theological studies. Several of his formulas have passed into the language of dogma: for example, the formulas used to express the manner of transmission of original sin,<sup>170</sup> the purity of the Mother of God,<sup>171</sup> the role of Mary

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*.

<sup>166</sup> St. Anselm, *Contemplations*, II; *PL*, CLVIII, 769.

<sup>167</sup> Bainvel, *op. cit.*, col. 1335.

<sup>168</sup> On the value of this argument, see Bainvel, *loc. cit.*, cols. 1350-60.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1338.

<sup>170</sup> St. Anselm, *De conceptu virginali*, chap. 23; *PL*, CLVIII, 457.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 18; *PL*, CLVIII, 451.

coredemptrix.<sup>172</sup> In his writings we find for the first time the thoroughly examined notion of the unity of the divine essence compared with the distinction between opposed relations.<sup>173</sup> He is the first to show clearly the infinite element in sin and the need of a God-man for a suitable atonement for sin. On original sin, his explanations have become classical; his distinctions regarding the different kinds of necessity, between the two wills (antecedent and consequent), still throw light on the problems that concern man's free will under the influence of God's grace. Even in a question that is debatable and debated, as in the famous ontological argument, where he attempts to prove the existence of God by the existence in us of the idea of perfect being, he had the gift of attracting and arousing the mightiest minds.<sup>174</sup> Even though his formula of God, *Ens quo majus cogitari non potest* ("the Being such that a more perfect being cannot be conceived"), is less rigorous than that of *Actus purus*, he had the merit of being the first to set forth practically the problem of what was later called the metaphysical essence of God.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>172</sup> St. Anselm, *Orationes*, 52; *PL*, CLVIII, 956.

<sup>173</sup> St. Anselm, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, chap. 2; *PL*, CLVIII, 288 and *passim*.

<sup>174</sup> Suffice it to name Descartes (*Discourse on Method*, Part IV and *passim*) and Leibnitz (*New Essays Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. IV, chap. 10, § 7, and *passim*).

<sup>175</sup> Bainvel, *loc. cit.*, col. 1348. See the life of St. Anselm by Domet de Vorges and one by Cochin. Rousselot (*Etudes sur la philosophie du Moyen Age*) and Bouchitté (*Le rationalisme chrétien à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*) have tried to make St. Anselm a precursor of rationalism, or at any rate of Cartesianism. A gulf separates him from Descartes and from the modern rationalists. St. Anselm always based himself on faith and he sought merely to establish its foundations or to explain its formulas by the effort of reason. Yet we must recognize that, in certain passages when, for example, he tries to prove by reason the mystery of the Trinity or the necessity of the incarnation, here and there his expressions are exaggerated and evidently go beyond his thought. The Protestants who consider St. Anselm a forerunner of Luther, basing their view on certain of his expressions in which he commits himself "solely to the merits of Christ," are likewise in fault. Such expressions are thoroughly Catholic if they are taken in their context. Harnack is more correct in regarding St. Anselm as one of the most genuine representatives of Catholicism (Harnack, *History of Dogma*); but this Protestant historian then proceeds to declare that Anselm did not know what faith is. Probably, however, Harnack has in mind the Protestant notion of faith.



### Canon Law

If at first glance we are surprised at the existence of a great theological movement at the time of the war of investitures and the Crusades, the same is not the case with the movement of law studies, of which Ivo of Chartres was the outstanding representative. The claims of princes regarding the property and persons of the Church, the rivalries that arose between regulars and seculars, and on the part of both the inclination toward independence of the Holy See, were the occasions and the stimulants of these studies. These were, however, neither of the same value nor of the same character. Some of these studies, published in the heat of conflict—letters, invectives, and pamphlets—are largely polemical works and only now and then rise to the calm height of science.<sup>176</sup> Quite different is the monument erected by Ivo of Chartres. This merits the attention of history because of its importance and because of the influence it exercised on the development of ecclesiastical institutions.

Ivo was born in Beauvaisis about 1040 and was successively canon at Nesles, abbot of St. Quentin of Beauvais in 1075, then bishop of Chartres in 1091. He was educated in Bec Abbey, where he had Lanfranc as his teacher and St. Anselm as a fellow student. There he received an early training in the study of law and of Catholic tradition. His works and his letters bear witness to the vast extent of his knowledge. We have already remarked the firmness of his attitude with regard to the encroachments of the kings of France upon the rights of the Church. His written work is more significant. The Church at the close of the eleventh century, in a period when it had par-

<sup>176</sup> All these polemical works will be found gathered together in the *Monumenta Germaniae* under the title of *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI et XII conscriptis* (3 vols.). Migne published some of them in *PL*, Vols. CXLIII, CXLV, CLVI, CLXII, etc. See Imbart de la Tour, "La polémique religieuse et les publicistes à l'époque de Grégoire VII" in *Questions d'histoire sociale et religieuse, époque féodale*, pp. 225-66.

ticular need of order and peace, owes to him three valuable collections of ecclesiastical laws, prudent regulations for the execution of these laws, and an application of these principles to the pending question of investitures.

Two kinds of legislative collections were at the disposal of the Church at the close of the eleventh century. Some were chronological, such as the collection of Dionysius, in the form it had taken in the Carolingian epoch, and such as that of pseudo-Isidore in its various forms, more or less altered by additions and suppressions. The others were methodical. Of these the most famous was the collection in twenty books, published at the beginning of that century by Burchard, bishop of Worms, under the title of *Decretum*.<sup>177</sup> But the chronological collections, very inconvenient for consultation, were little used. As for Burchard's collection,

it fell far short, at the close of the eleventh century, of corresponding to the needs and aspirations of Christian society. By the nature of the sources that furnished its elements, it reflected especially the laws of the Carolingian epoch. It summarized the history of a time when the dominant influence in the Church belonged to the leaders of the Frankish Empire and their entourage. But the second half of the eleventh century witnessed a revival of society: upon the ruins of the Carolingian world was raised a new world, with its center no longer the emperor, but the Roman pontiff. Naturally the codes that governed Christian society were changed at the same time.<sup>178</sup>

Besides, a general movement led the canonists of the eleventh century to the study of Roman law, previously almost entirely neglected. The collection of Anselm of Lucca made extensive use of the decisions of the emperors, taken from the various

<sup>177</sup> The text will be found in *PL*, CXL. Cf. Paul Fournier, *Etudes critiques sur le Décret de Burchard de Worms* (taken from the *Nouvelle Revue hist. du droit français et étranger*) and "Le Décret de Burchard de Worms, ses caractères, son influence," in the *Revue d'hist. ecclés.*, XIII (1912), 451-73.

<sup>178</sup> Paul Fournier, "Yves de Chartres et le droit canonique" in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXIII (1898), 387.

compilations of Justinian: from the *Institutes*, the *Code*, and the *Novellae*.<sup>179</sup> When Ivo became bishop of Chartres in 1091, Italian and French canonists had tried, in new collections, to fuse the ancient and the modern elements. But none of these collections won acceptance because of its intrinsic value or because of the renown of its author. To Ivo was reserved the honor of giving the Church the work so long awaited.

### St. Ivo of Chartres

At almost the same date (in 1094 and 1095) he published three different collections. Although the hypothesis rests on no positive evidence, we may with some likelihood suppose that, when Pope Urban II came to France at this period for the holding of several councils, the meeting of these councils was the occasion for Ivo to compose his work.<sup>180</sup>

This work includes three collections: the *Tripartita*, a collection still unpublished, which seems to have been a mere essay; the *Decretum*, a more extensive collection where, in 3,760 chapters, Ivo inserted, besides nearly all Burchard's fragments, some texts taken from the decretals, the councils, the fathers, the Church historians, the *Breviarium* of Alaric, the Law of Justinian, and the capitularies of Charlemagne; lastly, the *Panormia*, Ivo's real methodical collection, the most widespread and the most used. "The great superiority of the *Panormia* over the *Decretum* is that the texts, divided into eight books, are arranged within these books in a methodical manner, in such a way that their location and examination are comparatively easy. Thus was available the chief texts of canon law in a short collection, convenient for consultation."<sup>181</sup> Ivo's collection soon

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 390. On this collection, see Fournier, "Le premier manuel canonique de la réforme du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," published in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* of the Ecole française de Rome, XIV (1894), and also issued separately.

<sup>180</sup> Fournier, *loc. cit.*, p. 398.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 404.

spread into all the countries of Western Europe, where it greatly facilitated the efforts of those who in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were undertaking to erect the Scholastic edifice of canon law beside that of theology.

Ivo of Chartres was not merely a scholar and a legal theorist. He was, in the fullest sense of the term, a jurist, engaged in the interpretation and application of the laws more than in their texts. Jurisprudence is indebted to him as greatly as is the theoretical science of law, and the principles formulated by him on this subject are perhaps the most remarkable part of his work.

In the mind of the Bishop of Chartres, one principle dominates all canon law: it is that, along with contingent laws which it contains, it includes unalterable rules, placed above the reach of any authority. These rules are the precepts "sanctioned by the eternal law," and the prohibitions concerning things that are intrinsically evil. Outside this category, the precepts of ecclesiastical law possess no character of necessity. Furthermore, they should not be unalterable. Ivo, following Isidore of Seville,<sup>182</sup> repeats again and again that laws need to be not only just; they must harmonize with the age and the country where their application is to be made, because the laws of the Church, instead of being an end in themselves, are simply means of assuring the salvation of souls.<sup>183</sup> But in practice how are we to reconcile this necessary accomplishment of the law with respect for the ancient texts? Ivo perceived the whole difficulty. He says: "Derogation from ancient usages is a serious thing for priests." Yet he recognizes that, "if the strict law were to be applied everywhere, the ministers of the Church would have no choice but to abandon their office and withdraw from the world."<sup>184</sup>

<sup>182</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *Ep.*, 189; cf. *Decret.*, IV, 168.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

Ivo sees the remedy in the "dispensation." To the subject of dispensation he devotes his only doctrinal exposition of an institution of canon law. He speaks of it repeatedly. The practice of dispensations granted by superiors is probably as ancient as the Church; but Ivo of Chartres was the first to enunciate the theory of dispensations. He showed their necessary part in the functioning of institutions and in the juridical life of societies. Moreover, dispensations must not be subject to the whim of the persons concerned; they depend upon the lawful superior: abbot, bishop, metropolitan, primate, and especially the supreme pastor, the pope.

In broaching this last question, Ivo was touching upon one of the most burning controversies of his time, a question that soon was much discussed in connection with the investiture quarrel.

To avoid any ambiguity, Ivo resolutely takes up the question of investitures and applies his principles to it. As clearly as the most ardent defenders of the Holy See, he decides for the supremacy of the Church over the state. In writing to King Henry I of England, he says: "As the body can do nothing unless governed by the soul, so the temporal power can do nothing unless it lets itself be enlightened and guided by the teaching of the Church."<sup>185</sup> But Ivo bitterly deplores the consequences of the quarrel that divided the two powers. The Church and the state are made to be united and to go ahead in concert. Their law is good understanding, not war. Therefore Ivo endeavors to remove the ambiguities that arose in the famous quarrel. For the sake of peace, he would even leave to the princes the ceremony of investiture with the crosier and the ring, provided these rulers admitted that they were not conferring any spiritual power.<sup>186</sup> Although he states that investiture with the crosier

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>186</sup> *Quae concessio, sive fiat manu, sive nutu, sive lingua, sive virga, quid refert, cum reges nihil spirituale se dare intendunt?* (*Ep.*, 60; cf. 236.)

and the ring is an evil because of the external symbol it expresses, he repeats his favorite thesis. Rather than the risk of disturbing the peace of the world, would not the better procedure in specific cases, of which the pope would be the judge, be to make use of that dispensing right which the Church often had occasion to employ? He says: "When the salvation of nations is at stake, we should moderate the strictness of the canons and use sincere charity for the cure of mortal ailments."<sup>187</sup> Such words prepared the way for the movement of ideas which was successful in the Concordat of Worms.<sup>188</sup>

At the time when the great Bishop was writing these lines, several symptoms gave hope of a proximate peace. The Crusade seemed to have given a mortal blow to the schism of Guibert. Rather than appear to range themselves under the command of the pope, the schismatic barons at first kept apart from the movement. Later, changing their tactics, they attempted to organize a separate expedition, under the direction of the anti-pope's brother, Albert II, count of Parma.<sup>189</sup> But this attempt did not win them any favor. The fortresses which they had long held at Rome were all recovered from their hands.<sup>190</sup> Pope Urban II at length found in Rome a tranquillity which he had not enjoyed for a long time past, but which, alas, would be of short duration, because presently he became afflicted with the grievous illness that brought him to the grave.

<sup>187</sup> *Ep.*, 60.

<sup>188</sup> We have merely given a summary of Ivo's ideas regarding questions of major importance from the historical point of view. A more detailed study would show that he opened the way for canonists in the solution of the most important questions of private law. Thus, in contrast to Hincmar, he teaches firmly that "marriage is indissoluble once the conjugal pact is perfect" (*Ep.*, 246), that is, he holds that marriage exists by the consentient contract of the parties, and not by its consummation. On the extent of the powers of bishops, metropolitans, prelates, and the pope, he expressed ideas that lighted the way for later canonists. In our whole exposition of the teaching of Ivo of Chartres, we have been greatly aided by the scholarly study of Fournier, frequently mentioned above.

<sup>189</sup> *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXXIV, 247 f.

<sup>190</sup> Ruinart, *Vita Urbani papae*, chap. 345; *PL*, CLI, 258.

## Monastic Foundations

The founding of the monastery of Fontevrault in 1096 by Blessed Robert of Arbrissel, and of Citeaux in 1098 by St. Robert of Molesme, were two of his last spiritual joys. The Breton Robert of Arbrissel (born in 1047) had at first been coadjutor of the Bishop of Rennes, and later professor of theology at Angers. Drawn to the contemplative life, he then withdrew into the Craon forest near Anjou to live there as a hermit. Urban II, who was aware of the extent of his learning and the ardor of his zeal, had him leave his retreat and ordered him to preach in the neighboring dioceses. He preached in Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, and Touraine, denouncing the vices of the age with unprecedented boldness and drawing after him penitents of both sexes. The effect was a sort of new crusade of people who, unable to take part in an expedition to the Holy Land, asked of him that they might lead a penitential life in their own country. Robert assembled them in a wilderness, called Fontevrault, in the diocese of Poitiers. There they lived at first in crude huts, men and women separately in two different quarters, under the guidance of the holy missionary. The generosity of the neighboring lords enabled Robert to build a double monastery there, which Pope Paschal II approved in 1106. By way of homage to the Blessed Virgin, the monks, so it was established, were to recognize the supremacy of the abbess of the nuns, considered as superior general of the new order.

Two years after the foundation of Fontevrault, Robert of Champagne, abbot of a monastery dependent on Cluny, saddened by his lack of success in leading his monks back to an austere life, withdrew with twenty companions to the neighborhood of the city of Dijon, to a solitary place called Citeaux (*Cistertium*) because, we are told, of the many cisterns in the

district. There, under his guidance, the virtues of poverty and humility flourished.<sup>191</sup>

But Urban saw scarcely the beginnings of this new monastery, destined to so great fame. He died on July 29, 1099, fourteen days after the crusaders' entry into Jerusalem, at the moment when at length, after so many difficulties and hardships, the enterprise triumphed, to which he had devoted so much of his life.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Ursmer Berlière, "Les origines de Cîteaux et l'ordre bénédictin au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle" in the *Revue d'hist. ecclés.*, I (1900), 448-71; II (1901), 253-90.



## CHAPTER VII

### *Paschal II to Callistus II (1099-1124)*

THE great and strenuous pontificate of Urban II finally produced all its fruits under his three immediate successors: Paschal II, Gelasius II, and Callistus II. The Concordat of Worms, in 1122, put an end to the investiture quarrel. In Palestine, conquered from the Turks, Christian states were organized. With St. Bernard and Peter the Venerable the monastic life and the sacred sciences flourished again as in the finest days of the Church. In 1123 the First General Council of the Lateran, the ninth of the ecumenical councils, sanctioned all these reforms and progressive movements. But these beneficent results were attained only amid severe trials. A perfidious emperor who was a traitor to the Holy See, the episcopate of a great country temporarily in revolt, the dissension insinuating itself among the conquerors of the Holy Land, heresy raising its head with Abelard and Peter de Bruys: these were the spectacles that saddened the pontificates of Paschal II, Gelasius II, and Callistus II. Like their divine Master, the vicars of Christ are victorious only by the passion and the cross.

Cardinal Rainier, who was elected pope on July 29, 1099, and enthroned <sup>1</sup> under the name of Paschal II, was a native of Tuscany. He was a monk,<sup>2</sup> whom Gregory VII had remarked at

<sup>1</sup> The *Liber pontificalis*, in connection with Paschal II, gives a summary description of the ceremonies of papal election and consecration at the beginning of the twelfth century. For these ceremonies, see Duchesne, *Lib. pont.*, II, 306 note 4. Cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Commonly Paschal II is said to have been a monk at Cluny. But the earliest writer who names his monastery (Orderic Vitalis, *Hist. eccles.*, X, 1), says: *Rainerius, Vallis Brutiorum monachus* (Duchesne, *Lib. pontif.*, II, 306 note 3).

the time of a business visit to Rome,<sup>3</sup> and whom Urban II on his deathbed recommended to the choice of the electors.<sup>4</sup> Therefore every reason justified the hope that he would zealously continue the reform work that had been commenced. But, although he possessed the purity of principles of those two illustrious pontiffs, he did not have to the same degree that knowledge of men and that firmness of character which distinguished both of them. He has been blamed, sometimes bitterly, with too easily letting himself be lured at the outset of his pontificate by the promises of Henry V, then later with not resisting vigorously enough the Emperor's deeds of violence. But he brought an end to the schism of England, firmly recalled the King of France to the observance of the laws of the Church, encouraged the struggle against heresies, favored the development of the religious life, labored for the reform of morals, and, until his death, which took place on January 21, 1118, never lost sight of the great objective of the Crusades, which he encouraged to be resumed.

His successor, Gelasius II, occupied the see of St. Peter only from January 24, 1118 to January 29, 1119. He was called John of Gaeta and had been a monk of Monte Cassino, then cardinal-deacon and chancellor of the Roman Church for forty years. At the time of his election he was very old. The violence of Emperor Henry V, who was sustaining an antipope, obliged him twice to leave Rome. In September, 1118, he even left Italy and went to France, where he had a conference with Louis the Fat and where the people "welcomed him as though they were beholding St. Peter in person." He died January 29, 1119, in Cluny Abbey, and was buried there. Gelasius, by his timely flight, not only placed the papacy beyond the reach of the German Emperor; he also taught the papacy henceforth to seek its reliance on France.

<sup>3</sup> *Lib. pontif.*, II, 296.

<sup>4</sup> Ekkehard, *Chronicon universale*, year 1099; *PL*, CLIV, 976.

Guido of Burgundy, who succeeded Gelasius II on February 2, 1119, under the name of Callistus II, had the consolation and the glory to seal the work of peace and the work of reform by the Concordat of Worms and by the First Council of the Lateran. He was related to the kings of England, of Germany, and of France. He was able to escape from the traps laid for him by Henry V, successfully intervened in the conflicts that were dividing France and England, ended the schism of the antipope Gregory VIII, and, after the two great acts of his pontificate, the Concordat of Worms and the Lateran Council, died on December 13 or 14, 1124, amid the preparations for a Crusade.

### Emperor Henry IV

At the death of Urban II, the situation of the antipope Guibert was critical. From Ravenna, where he resided, the false Clement III had seen nearly all the fortified towns of the exarchate successively fall into the hands of his foes. Pope Urban's return to Rome, the papacy's recovery of Castle Sant' Angelo, and the renewal by a Roman council (1099) of all the condemnations issued against the schism, brought about his discredit. Probably the month of October, 1100, at a date that cannot be exactly established, he died suddenly, stricken with a relentless disease. Before his death, according to some, he gave signs of repentance;<sup>5</sup> according to others he remained stubborn and impenitent, "taking his anathema with him," as Domnizo says, "into eternity."<sup>6</sup>

This death lessened the strength of Henry IV's party. The Emperor was at that time much occupied with his political situation in Germany. After the deposition of his eldest son Conrad, he had the royal crown bestowed upon his second son Henry,

<sup>5</sup> Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, Bk. II; *PL*, CLIV, 380.

<sup>6</sup> Domnizo, *Vita Mathildis*, Bk. II, chap. 12; *PL*, CXLVIII, 1018.

January 6, 1099. He took no hand in the election that was held in September by the followers of Guibert. The newly chosen antipope Theodoric was at once imprisoned by the followers of Paschal and was confined in La Cava monastery.<sup>7</sup> Henry IV even spoke of coming to a friendly understanding with the Pope and of assembling the German princes to conclude a reconciliation with the Holy See.<sup>8</sup> But Conrad's death, which occurred at Florence (July, 1101), suddenly changed the Emperor's attitude. He again became arrogant toward the papacy. Ekkehard maintains that the Emperor then conceived the idea of sustaining the new antipope Albert, whom the Guibertists had elected, and of overthrowing Paschal.<sup>9</sup>

#### Lateran Synod (1102)

The Pope's duty was clearly marked. Paschal convoked a great council at the Lateran, for Lent, 1102. It was attended by several bishops of Campania, Tuscany, Sicily, Apulia, and nearly all the regions of Italy. Many bishops from beyond the Alps were represented at it. The council took up the question of the schism, which it declared "the most detestable of heresies," and drew up the following formula, which each of those present was called upon to sign: "I anathematize every heresy, in particular the one which at present is disturbing the Church and which declares that anathema and ecclesiastical penalties are without value. I promise obedience to Pope Paschal and to his successors, accepting or rejecting what the holy universal Church accepts or rejects."<sup>10</sup> Henry IV was again personally anathematized; but no attention was paid to the antipope. Albert, three months after his election, had been given up to the

<sup>7</sup> Jaffé, no. 6630.

<sup>8</sup> *M. G.*, SS., III, 107.

<sup>9</sup> Ekkehard, *op. cit.*, year 1102; *PL*, CLIV, 985; Jaffé, no. 6630.

<sup>10</sup> Mansi, XX, 1147.

Holy See by one of his friends and was confined in the monastery of St. Lawrence at Aversa.<sup>11</sup>

A sudden change was then effected in the Emperor's attitude. He returned to his protests of peace and of loyalty to the Holy See. In a diet of the Empire held at Mainz at the beginning of 1103, he declared his intention of abdicating in favor of his son Henry V and, after being reconciled with the Pope, of undertaking a Crusade<sup>12</sup> for the expiation of his sins. He wrote to his godfather Hugh of Cluny, begging him to convey his intentions to the Holy Father. In this same diet of Mainz, Henry had his nobles swear to a perpetual peace, in which they promised to respect and protect not only monks, women, children, and old men, but also the Jews, then being persecuted by the crusaders in Palestine.<sup>13</sup>

Many clerics and laymen, moved by these declarations, put on the cross to accompany the Emperor to the Holy Land.<sup>14</sup> But the Pope, instead of crediting the Emperor's sincerity, did everything possible to keep the faithful from joining the project. To the Count of Flanders he wrote: "We point out to your piety a much greater object. Everywhere, according to your strength, pursue Henry, the leader of the heretics. We command this undertaking to you and your vassals for the remission of your sins and as a means of winning the heavenly Jerusalem."<sup>15</sup> At the same time the Pope endeavored to turn from Henry IV's cause several nobles, ecclesiastical and lay, who had rallied to him, among them Duke Guelph of Bavaria and Duke Berthold of Zahringen.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Jaffe, no. 6630.

<sup>12</sup> *Annales Augustani*, in *M. G., SS.*, Vol. III; Ekkehard, *op. cit.*, year 1103; *PL*, CLIV, 987.

<sup>13</sup> *M. G., SS.*, VI, 224.

<sup>14</sup> Ekkehard, *loc. cit.*; *PL*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, V, 479 f.; Cauchie, *La querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai*; G. Morin, "Un épisode inédit du passage de l'empereur Henri IV à Liège en 1103" in the *Rev. béd.*, LXXVII (1910), 412-15.

<sup>16</sup> Jaffé, nos. 5970-73; *PL*, CLXIII, 108-21.

## Revolt of Henry V

But an unforeseen event suddenly changed the political situation of the Empire and also, so it seemed, the religious situation of all Christendom. In December, 1104, the Emperor's own son Henry V, he whom he had but lately raised to the royalty power and to whom he declared he was ready to turn over the imperial crown, abruptly left the imperial camp and withdrew to Ratisbon. From there he wrote his father that he refused obedience to him. Gathering his friends about him, he told them he could no longer serve the cause of one excommunicated. Then, manifesting a delicacy of religious feelings that he was not previously known to possess, he wrote to the Pope, asking that he be relieved from an oath which he had formerly taken never to aspire to the Empire without his father's permission. In reality, Henry V had no need to be released from his oath; Henry IV, since his solemn excommunication by Gregory VII, was no longer, in the eyes of the Church, a legitimate sovereign. But Henry V needed to be absolved from the excommunication he had incurred for maintaining relations with his excommunicated father. The Pope received favorably his recourse to the Holy See. Distrustful of the old King, he believed in the sincerity of the young prince,<sup>17</sup> and declared to him that God would pardon him his past faults if he were resolved to be a just king and a loyal defender of the Church.

Provided with this approbation, Henry V recruited numerous followers for his cause. Thuringia and Saxony supplied him with powerful reinforcements. During the summer of 1105 he attended a council at Nordhausen in Thuringia, where his modesty and reserve won him the friendliness of the ecclesiastical world. He called upon God and the heavenly court to witness that he was not aiming at power, that he desired only the re-establishment of religious peace, so grievously disturbed by

<sup>17</sup> Henry V was then twenty-three years old.

his lord and father. "Let him submit to St. Peter," he concluded, "and I will eagerly submit to him." The council, deeply moved by these words, chanted the *Kyrie eleison* and recited other prayers for the conversion of the unfortunate Henry IV.<sup>18</sup>

But Henry IV did not remain inactive. Aided by some great vassals, he had raised a considerable army, against which Henry V advanced at the head of his partisans. Influential princes prevented a decisive battle. Henry V then used trickery. With unequaled duplicity he presented himself in his father's camp and, with tears in his eyes, promised that henceforth he would conduct himself as a dutiful son and faithful subject, if his father would be reconciled with the Church. Henry agreed at least to deliberate on this point with the bishops in a council which would soon meet at Mainz. In fact, he went to it with a small escort. But on December 23, 1105, he suddenly saw himself surrounded by the men-at-arms of his perjured son and was brought to a citadel near Kreuznach, where he was kept in close imprisonment. When the sovereign appeared before the Council of Mainz, he did so as a prisoner. The council, dominated by his son, obliged him to remove the insignia of his office. On January 5, 1106, Henry V was proclaimed king and crowned as such by the Archbishop of Mainz.

At this same time the imperial party attempted a similar coup at Rome against the Pope. On November 18, 1105, Margrave Werner of Ancona, profiting by Paschal II's absence, had the priest Maginulf proclaimed pope in the name of Emperor Henry IV. The antipope took the name of Sylvester IV.

Neither of the two criminal attempts was crowned with success. At the end of a few days Paschal II succeeded in seizing the usurper.<sup>19</sup> As to Henry IV, having escaped from the prison where his son was confining him, he made known everywhere the violence to which he had been subjected, wrote to the kings

<sup>18</sup> *M. G.*, SS., III, 108.

<sup>19</sup> *Annales romani*, in *M. G.*, SS., V, 477.

of France, England, and Denmark, appealing for their support, revoked his abdication as having been extorted from him through violence, and marched against his son at the head of an army. A big battle was about to take place between Liège and Aachen, when Henry IV died (August 7, 1106) after a short illness. Before drawing his last breath, he showed deep feelings of repentance in the matter of his conduct toward the Church, and he received the last sacraments piously. But ecclesiastical burial was given his body only five years later in the cathedral of Spire, when the sentence of excommunication against him was removed.<sup>20</sup>

### Henry V's Hostility to the Pope

By his father's death, Henry V became the undisputed head of the Empire. But this son who embittered his father's last days, this perjured prince who violated his most sacred promises, could not be a protector of the Church. He had made use of the papacy so far as he had need of it; he turned from it as soon as he attained his purpose. Less than a month passed before he shamelessly removed the mask, declaring that he had no other religious policy than that of his august father.

Henry V had none of those gifts of mind, of courage, of military and administrative authority which would have made of Henry IV, if an evil education had not corrupted such brilliant qualities, one of the greatest kings of Germany. But he possessed more cunning and penetration, and these traits made him more formidable to his foes. Paschal II seemed incapable of that inexorable firmness with which Urban II was able to

<sup>20</sup> This refusal of religious burial has been a subject of recrimination against the Church on the part of rationalist and Protestant writers. We should bear in mind that excommunication, like all censures, has only juridical effects and deprives the Christian of spiritual goods only of the external forum and that these effects can be prevented only by a juridical act of the external forum. Hence an excommunicated person may die in dispositions that will obtain God's pardon for him and yet be lawfully deprived of ecclesiastical burial.



arm himself when he saw the essential interests of the Church in peril. On the contrary, Pope Paschal professed, as a maxim of conduct, that when we wish to raise up a man who is prostrate, we must bend over to him without losing our balance. This comparison sums up the policy of his pontificate.

As the first testimony of his fatherly condescension, Paschal II at a council (October 22, 1106) in the city of Guastalla,<sup>21</sup> in the presence of royal deputies, had a proclamation issued, that a general pardon was granted to all the clerics of the Empire who had been declared schismatic or excommunicated during the recent conflicts. He even planned to go in person to Germany and bring to the King the decisions of the council, when he heard of a complete change in Henry V's attitude. Instead of proceeding to Germany, he went to France. In the spring of 1107, at St. Denis, he had an interview with Louis the Fat and his son, whom he begged to protect the Church against the tyrants, after the example of Charlemagne.<sup>22</sup> But at Châlons-sur-Marne he was joined by an imperial embassy, which called upon him to agree to the investitures. At the head of this embassy marched Duke Guelph of Bavaria, Countess Matilda's second husband who, when his greed was deceived, abandoned his virtuous wife and the cause of the pope, and became the tool of the imperial cupidity. "Wherever he went," says Suger, "he had a sword carried before him and used to speak very arrogantly."<sup>23</sup> The ambassadors, through their spokesman the Archbishop of Trier, pleaded that "the right of investiture was inseparable from those regalian rights (*regalia*) which bishops and abbots obtained over the cities, castles, and various domains, and which constituted for the Church a very appreciable source of revenue." Paschal, without stooping to discuss this pecuniary side of the question, answered them

<sup>21</sup> In northern Italy, between Verona and Mantua.

<sup>22</sup> Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros, annales de sa vie et de son règne*, p. 26.

<sup>23</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, chap. 9; *PL*, CLXXXVI, 1269.

through the Bishop of Piacenza: "The Church, redeemed by the blood of Christ, cannot become a servant. Such it would become if its pastors could not take possession of their offices without the assent of the king." The angry Germans, barely restrained by the presence of the French, replied: "Not here, but at Rome and with the sword this quarrel will be settled."<sup>24</sup> And they went off and returned to their master.

### Henry V at Rome

Henry V, notwithstanding the Pope's protests, continued to give investiture to his protégés. Wars that he had to wage in Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary occupied his attention throughout the year 1109. But in midsummer, 1110, he announced his coming to Rome soon. He appeared there at the head of a large army. He was followed by numerous scholars, as though to give the impression upon his arrival that he would defend his cause by arguments as well as by the sword. Henry's ambassadors entered upon conferences with a commission appointed by the Pope. The question of the investitures was at once taken up. The King's representatives repeated, in a milder form, the argument based upon the so-called regalian rights.

"We recognize," they said, "that these rights cannot be alienated, because they are worthy of all respect and are necessary for the Church. But, since they are located on domains that come from Charlemagne and his successors, to the successors of Charlemagne belongs the right to give the investiture of them." The sophistry of this reasoning had already been exposed. Ivo of Chartres, even Gregory VII, had answered the argument by distinguishing between the collation of the spiritual powers and the transmission of feudal rights. But the Pope's representatives, conforming to the well-known ideas of Paschal

<sup>24</sup> Such is the account of Suger, who was an eyewitness of this discussion. Suger, *loc. cit.*

II, had a more spirited reply. They said: "That does not bind us. The prelates will render to the king the goods and the regalian rights received from Charlemagne. The servants of the Church can be satisfied with the tithes and the offerings of the faithful." Trained by their master, the German ambassadors replied: "The King will not allow such a violence to be done to the Church; he will not tolerate this theft." Their purpose, by these words, was to cast on the Pope all the odium of a measure that was felt to be full of difficulties and that, if need be, would be made impossible of execution. The papal envoys, without seeing the trap, answered: "Next Sunday<sup>25</sup> the Pope will order the prelates to renounce the regalian rights."

### Treaty of Sutri

A treaty was concluded on this basis and was presented for the signature of King Henry, who ratified it at Sutri<sup>26</sup> on February 12, 1111. Hence the name "Concordat of Sutri" given it. The King gave up the right of investiture and in addition promised to respect the Patrimony of St. Peter, as also the immunity of the pope and of the legates; but at the same time he received official acknowledgment of the Pope's promise regarding the abandonment of the regalian rights.<sup>27</sup> Ekkehard adds that at the last moment the King, to make his promises more certainly illusory, set forth a new condition and required a modification in the text of the treaty. No longer does he, as previously, make his renunciation of the investitures dependent on the publication by the Pope of an edict ordering the abandonment of the regalian rights, but dependent upon the approval of the execution of this edict by the German prelates.<sup>28</sup> Again

<sup>25</sup> It was Quinquagesima Sunday, February 12, 1111.

<sup>26</sup> Sutri, in the district of Viterbo, province of Rome.

<sup>27</sup> *M. G.*, *Leges*, II, 66-69.

<sup>28</sup> Ekkehard's text is explicit: *Praebuit rex assensum, sed eo pacto, quatenus haec transmutatio . . . concordia totius Ecclesiae ac regni principum stabiliretur: quod*

the papal ambassadors were tricked by the perfidious craftiness of the King. The *Chronicle of Monte Cassino* adds a detail which renders the monarch still more detestable and which is not unlikely. It reports that the King swore in German "that he would do whatever he wished." Some Romans heard these words and took refuge in the city.<sup>29</sup>

### Imprisonment of Pope Paschal II

The King's coronation by the Pope was to follow the conclusion of the treaty. This was Henry V's great objective. For this very purpose he had schemed so many deceptions. But just when the ceremony was about to begin, when the Pope asked him plainly whether he renounced the practice of investiture in consideration of the conditions stipulated in the first Sutri agreement, Henry vainly tried to evade the question by vague words, then by threats, and lastly by changing the subject of conversation. Paschal showed himself more alert and energetic than the King had supposed he was. The King had only one expedient left: brutal violence. And he resorted to this. The Pope was seized and made a prisoner. But soon the Romans rose up. Blood flowed in the streets of Rome. The fight lasted throughout one whole day. The Romans, at first victorious, then repulsed, at last forced the Germans to withdraw to their intrenchments. The King then decided to retreat, but he took the Pope with him. Paschal was confined in the fortress of Trabico in Sabina. No Italian was allowed to speak to him. He was guarded and served by the Germans.

At first Paschal was very firm. But, at the end of two months, no longer expecting aid from any of his friends and knowing that the valiant Countess Matilda had been rendered powerless, beset by continual and urgent solicitations, afflicted by the griefs

*etiam vix aut nullo modo fieri posse credebatur* (Ekkehard, *op. cit.*, year 1111; *PL*, CLIV, 1021).

<sup>29</sup> *M. G.*, SS., VII, 779; Watterich, II, 54.

of the Romans and by the lamentations of the prisoners held as hostages, he pronounced these words: "For the deliverance of the Church, I yield to force; I do what I would have wished to avoid even at the price of my blood."<sup>30</sup>

It was April 10, 1111. The Emperor promised to release the hostages on the next day or the day following, to restore what he had taken of the Patrimony of St. Peter, and in everything to obey the Holy Father, in everything, "save the honor of the kingdom and of the Empire." Paschal swore to pardon the Emperor for all the outrages he had received from him, never to pronounce anathema against him, and "never to disturb him in the matter of the investitures."<sup>31</sup> But Henry was not satisfied with this formula. He had a notary come from Rome the next night and had him draw up a formula which the Pope signed at once. This is the celebrated formula known as the "Privilege." It says that the bishops and abbots elected without violence or simony will receive investiture from the Emperor by the crosier and the ring, and that no bishop-elect will be consecrated before being invested.<sup>32</sup> On April 13, while the antipope Maginulf, the false Sylvester IV, before the gates of the city solemnly renounced the papal office and swore obedience to Paschal II,<sup>33</sup> Henry V was crowned in the Basilica of St. Peter; then he returned to Germany. There, after celebrating his father's magnificent obsequies, he invested with the archbishopric of Mainz, the chief episcopal see of the Empire, his chancellor Adalbert, the principal instrument of his policy of trickery and violence in his strife against the papacy.

But the recriminations foreseen and provoked by the Emperor soon broke out. A considerable party of the faithful blamed the Pope for his weakness. The German prelates refused to cede their regalian rights. Eminent personages of the

<sup>30</sup> *Annales romani*, in *M. G., SS.*, V, 475.

<sup>31</sup> *M. G., SS.*, VI, 250.

<sup>32</sup> The text may be seen in Baronius, *Annales*, year 1111.

<sup>33</sup> Watterich, II, 68-90.

Church (Archbishop John of Lyons, Archbishop Guido of Vienne, Bishop Gualo of St. Pol de Leon, Bishop Ivo of Chartres) showed the Pope their deep grief. About the end of the year 1111, Paschal decided to withdraw his concessions. He wrote to Ivo of Chartres and to Guido of Vienne that "he had yielded only to force," that "he rejected what he had unjustly conceded."<sup>34</sup> Since then he thought of nothing but the means of expiating his fault and of recovering, by an official act, the concessions he had made to the Emperor. To expiate his act of weakness, he resolved to abdicate, then to retire to the island of Portia south of Rome and there live an ascetic life. His entourage dissuaded him from this project.<sup>35</sup> To accomplish the official revocation of the concession, he convoked a council, which met at the Lateran, March 18, 1112. Upon the proposal of Bishop Gerard of Angoulême, the council, made up of 12 archbishops, 114 bishops, 15 cardinal-priests, and 8 cardinal-deacons, unanimously signed the following declaration: "The *Privilegium*, which should rather be called a *Pravilegium*, extorted from the Pope by King Henry, is rejected by us all, assembled in this holy council with Pope Paschal."<sup>36</sup>

### Henry V's Peaceful Advances

Gerard of Angoulême undertook the delicate mission of notifying the King of the council's decision. As he remarked to the monarch that this declaration did not annul the oath taken by the Pope "never to disturb the Emperor for his attacks upon

<sup>34</sup> Mansi, XX, 1008; Baronius, year 1111, no. 24; year 1112, no. 3. We may compare this momentary weakness of Paschal II with the momentary weakness of Pope Liberius at Beroea in the fourth century (Mourret, *History of the Catholic Church*, II, 169 ff.) and that of Pope Pius VII at Fontainebleau.

<sup>35</sup> See Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, chap. 9; *PL*, CLXXXVI, 1272; *Gesta episcop. Engolismensium*, chap. 35; *M. G.*, SS., XXI, 52. Godfrey of Viterbo dramatizes the scene and represents the Pope as setting down his miter and mantle in the midst of the Lateran Council, in the presence of the fathers, who rejected his abdication.

<sup>36</sup> Mansi, XXI, 49-67.

the Holy See and for the right he arrogated to himself to give investitures," Henry refrained from any recrimination, temporized, and, according to his custom, at first by trickery sought to win back the lost ground. Moreover, he saw the number of his enemies increase in Germany, and would profit by a reconciliation with the Pope and with Italy.

Already he had gone to Tuscany to visit Countess Matilda, whom he called his mother and whom he made vice-queen of Italy.<sup>37</sup> In Upper Italy he gathered an important assembly of bishops and abbots, to deliberate on the means of re-establishing a lasting peace between the priesthood and the Empire. We must suppose that this assembly did not give him the satisfaction he hoped for, because in the spring of 1117, on the pretext of ending a conflict that had arisen between the Pope and the Romans, he appeared suddenly before Rome. He was there welcomed by the shouts of people paid in advance; but the clergy received him coldly. At the feast of Easter, no cardinal was willing to place the crown on his head, as was the custom whenever an emperor was at Rome on a great feast day of the Church. For this ceremony Henry was obliged to resort to an archbishop of Braga, Mauricio Burdinho, who had come to Rome on account of his difficulties with the primate of Toledo. As to Pope Paschal, he had left the city at word of the Emperor's approach and had gone to Benevento. From that city he excommunicated Burdinho and summoned the Normans to his aid. But the small Norman forces that answered his appeal were overcome and dispersed.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, thanks to the assistance of several cities and especially to the loyalty of the Romans, Paschal was able to return to Rome in January, 1118. But he was worn out and there fell sick and died on the twenty-first of the same month. As he was dying, he summoned the cardinals about him and recommended union to them; then he

<sup>37</sup> Domnizo, *Vita Mathildis.*, II, 18.

<sup>38</sup> Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, I, 320.

had them promise to resist with all their might the "Teutonic enormity" (*enormitati teutonicae*).<sup>39</sup>

### Pope Gelasius II

This advice was heeded by the cardinals and by the Pope they elected, Gelasius II. In vain Henry V employed promises and then threats to obtain from the new Pope concessions like those he had momentarily extorted from Paschal II. In the vain hope of scaring Gelasius, he had his faithful Burdinho solemnly consecrated (March 8, 1118) and attempted to impose him on the Church as pope, under the name of Gregory VIII. On April 7, Gelasius pronounced sentence of excommunication against Henry and his creature. The followers of Burdinho then resorted to violence and even in Rome engaged in violent strife against the Christians faithful to the lawful pope. Gelasius put an end to these sad scenes by quitting Rome. To his friends he said: "Let us leave Sodom." Passing by way of Pisa and Genoa, he went to France, reaching there at the end of October, 1118. He intended to assemble at Reims the bishops of France and Germany in a great council of peace, far removed from noisy provocations and impassioned disputes. But death overtook him at Cluny, January 29, 1119.

### Council of Reims (1119)

The next day the cardinals and the Roman clergy and laity who had followed Pope Gelasius in his exile chose as his successor Archbishop Guido of Vienne. When this choice was approved by the cardinals who stayed in Rome and by the Roman people, the new Pope was crowned at Vienne (February 9, 1119) under the name of Callistus II. His first care was to

<sup>39</sup> Peter of Pisa, *Vita Paschalis II*, no. 27; *PL*, CLXIII, 27; *Acta sanctorum*, May, II, 314.



assemble at Reims the great peace council planned by his predecessor. Louis the Fat, king of France, the chief prelates of France, Germany, Italy, and England, promised to attend. The tactic was, without negotiating with the Emperor or the anti-pope or any of their representatives, to oppose to them the authority of an immense council forcibly proclaiming what was right. This tactic had the more chance of success since the Emperor, engaged with internal strifes that were more and more desolating his Empire, was vainly seeking a solid support for his throne. He took the initiative in proposing to the Pope a formula of conciliation. He said that he would agree to renounce "any investiture over the Churches."<sup>40</sup>

The council opened on October 20, 1119. Present were 15 archbishops, more than 200 bishops, and many abbots and ecclesiastical dignitaries, in all 430 prelates. After the regulation of several special matters and the passing of several important decrees regarding the Truce of God, the great question of the investitures was then taken up. Not to be again tricked by the treachery of the Emperor, the Pope himself went to the imperial camp at Mouzon and again asked the Emperor for exact statements as to his intentions about the investitures. From his conferences with the Emperor, Callistus remained convinced that a new trap was set for him; that, in promising to renounce "the investiture of clerics," as heads of the Churches, the King meant to invest them as possessors of fiefs and thus to resume his former practices without any modification. When the Pope, upon returning to the council, reported the results of the conferences held at Mouzon with the Emperor, the 430 members of the council pronounced solemn anathema against the Emperor.<sup>41</sup>

The purpose of the great council was attained: Henry V understood the futility of further attempts to deceive the Pope

<sup>40</sup> *M. G., Leges, § 4, Const. et Acta, I, nos. 104 f., pp. 157 f.*

<sup>41</sup> *Mansi, XXI, 233-55.*

by dubious formulas. He knew that now he must reckon with a formidable opposition of the great Churches of Christendom, all ranged about the Pontiff to defend his rights. Various events showed him that what he had to face was not a passing manifestation. Public opinion, weary of so many quarrels, took its stand on the Pope's side. In April, 1121, the population of Sutri seized the unfortunate antipope Burdinho, seated him backwards on a camel, and in this guise led him to Rome, where the populace would have torn him in pieces if the Pope had not rescued him from the popular fury and confined him in the monastery of the Trinity at La Cava.

In the month of December the Emperor invested one of his creatures as bishop of Würzburg. Thereupon a large part of the clergy and people openly opposed the imperial appointee and at once elected someone else. The princes, who, in the diet at Würzburg in September, had decided that the Emperor should promise obedience to the Pope, took the side of the one chosen by the clergy and people. The Emperor was driven to a corner. A kindly and affable letter from Callistus facilitated the act of frank and definite submission which all the circumstances obliged the Emperor to make. Said the Pope: "The Church does not seek to claim anything whatever that is yours. Let the Church possess what is Christ's, and let the Emperor keep what is his, and let each party be satisfied with its own office." <sup>42</sup>

### Concordat of Worms

The Pope proposed to deliberate about the conditions of an accord in a diet at which the bishops and lay princes of the Empire would take part. The meeting place was fixed first at Mainz, then, out of consideration for the Emperor's feelings, at Worms, a city particularly devoted to him. The discussions

<sup>42</sup> Callistus II, *Bullarium*, II, 6.

were long and several times painful. But the representatives of the Holy See, by their patience and good will, finally overcame all the difficulties. By the treaty concluded on September 23, 1122, known as the Concordat of Worms, the Emperor renounced investiture by the crosier and ring, and promised to let the Church freely choose its bishops and abbots. The Pope conceded to the Emperor the right to preside at these elections and to give the elected candidate an investiture by the scepter.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, by a royal peace and a clearly worded formula, ended the conflict that began fifty years before. Some have said that the Concordat of Worms was a compromise. This is not quite exact. It was the triumph of the true Catholic doctrine and fundamentally of the ideas of Gregory VII. A distinction was established between the bishop as a pastor of souls by his ordination, and the bishop as a vassal of the Empire by his fief. In the former capacity he was invested by the Church, by means of the crosier and ring, symbols of spiritual authority; in the latter capacity he was invested by the Emperor, by means of the scepter, the symbol of temporal authority. The duty of the bishop as bishop was thus, in the eyes of all, withdrawn from the jurisdiction of a secular authority. To God was given what belongs to God, without taking from Caesar what belongs to Caesar. The Church could not desire anything else.

The concordat was beneficial for the Church, and it was equally so for the Empire, from the political and social point of view. The regime inaugurated by this great act assured the independence of the ecclesiastical principalities, thereby placing a check on the power of the emperors and preventing the Holy Roman Empire from being built, as several times it showed a tendency to be, upon the model of the pagan Empire of Rome. While seeking first the triumph of the kingdom of God, the Church, as always, had labored for the prosperity of the earthly city.

<sup>43</sup> See the documents in *M. G., Leges*, XI, 75 f.

## Investiture Quarrel in France

The termination of the investiture quarrels in France and England was of like import. In France several causes rendered the conflict less acute than in Germany. First, political authority was less centralized, and a number of the higher nobility, such as the dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy and the counts of Champagne and Anjou, arrogated to themselves the rights of investiture in concurrence with the king; naturally the king was the less eager to defend those rights. Furthermore, France had no great ecclesiastical domains comparable to the rich fiefs of the Church in German countries, with an opulence that aroused cupidity. Lastly, the clear genius of the French canonists of that time early perceived a sound conclusion of the conflict. We have already noted the ideas of Ivo of Chartres. One of his contemporaries, Godfrey of Vendome, said with even greater exactness: "One thing is the investiture which makes a bishop, another thing is the investiture which feeds him. The former is of divine right; the latter, of human right."<sup>44</sup>

The investiture quarrel in France was not marked by the dramatic episodes that characterized it in Germany. We cannot point to the public document that ended it, or even the date when it ended. The accord took place gradually in the practice, by successive modifications introduced into the ceremonies, the formulas, and their interpretations. Although we can hardly follow this development step by step, at least we can point out the principle stages.

Lay intervention and the canonical election altered in a parallel manner. The kings and the nobles ceased giving investiture by the crosier and ring. They even ceased using the formula: "To give the bishopric" (*dare episcopatum*); they delivered simply "the regalian rights attached to the bishopric" (*regalia dimittere*). At length the oath of allegiance, taken by

<sup>44</sup> PL, CLVII, 219; *Libelli de lite*, II, 691.

the bishop as a subject to his sovereign, replaced the liege homage which classified him as a vassal. To the king and to the nobles remained only two rights, which the Church tolerated: the right of administering the temporalities of the bishopric and of receiving its revenues during the vacancy of the see, and the right of presiding at the election of the prelate. These were called the right of regale and the right of patronage. Thereafter the Church merely attempted to keep within just limits, ordinarily determined by custom, these rights of regale and of patronage. As to the forms of the canonical election, they were also modified. At first the laity were excluded from taking part in it; then the lower clergy were excluded. Finally the electoral right was confined to members of the cathedral chapter. The king merely confirmed it after inquiry.<sup>45</sup>

### The Investiture Quarrel in England

We can more easily mark the phases of the quarrel in England. It took place almost entirely between King Henry I and St. Anselm. Henry I, called Henry Beauclerc, who succeeded his brother William Rufus in the month of August, 1100, began his reign with two measures, which seemed to introduce an era of peace for his kingdom and for the Church of England. He cast into prison his predecessor's evil counselor, the detestable Raoul Flambard, and he recalled St. Anselm from exile. But soon the King showed that the despotic instincts of his father and of his brother were again alive in him, and they were the more to be dreaded since they were not tempered, as in the case of William the Conqueror, by faith and by greatness of soul, nor accompanied, as with William Rufus, by a brutal candor. A boundless desire for absolute power, joined to hypocritical deception, was the basis of the new King's character.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, as soon as he reached Eng-

<sup>45</sup> Cf. E. Lesne, art. "Investitures" in the *Dict. apolog. de la foi*, II, 1097 f.

lish soil, was invited by the monarch to take the ordinary oath of vassalage and to receive from the royal hands the archiepiscopal benefice. Anselm openly declared that he would not and could not obey the King in this matter, alleging that Pope Urban II had forbidden any ecclesiastic to pay homage to any layman. And he added: "I have not returned to England to see the King disobey the pope." We are told by the chronicler Eadmer that "the King, upon hearing these words, was greatly disturbed. To lose the homage of the prelates of the kingdom seemed to him an affair of great moment; but to let Anselm depart from the kingdom before he himself was solidly established there, seemed to him also something to be feared. Might not the Archbishop of Canterbury go to Normandy to his brother Robert and assist in having him proclaimed king of England?"<sup>46</sup> Therefore he exhibited no displeasure toward the prelate. But Anselm surmised what resentment this apparent calm concealed.

The prelate soon had occasion to show the King his loyalty. The next year Robert, duke of Normandy and elder brother of the King, invaded England. Anselm, amid the defection of several nobles, remained firmly loyal to King Henry. He also approved and favored the King's marriage to the Scottish Princess Matilda, in spite of the advice of many prelates who saw some canonical impediments to that union.<sup>47</sup> But he refused to consecrate the bishops invested by the King. During the summer of 1101, Henry tried again to bear down on Anselm. He called upon him to quit England or to take the oath of vassalage and to consecrate the invested bishops. But, as the Archbishop was preparing for the deportation, the King begged him to delay, planning to send an embassy to the Pope about the matter. Anselm himself sent to Rome envoys commissioned to furnish the Holy See with the necessary explanations. The ne-

<sup>46</sup> Eadmer, *Hist. nov.*, Bk. III; *PL*, CLIX, 426.

<sup>47</sup> Ragey, *Hist. de saint Anselme*, II, 272 f.

gotiations continued amid incidents that were more or less dramatic. One day in 1103, in a public audience, the ambassador of King Henry, for the purpose of attempting intimidation, boldly exclaimed: "My master will not let himself be deprived of the investitures, even should it cost him his kingdom." To this the Pope replied: "And I will never give them to him, even though it should cost me my head."<sup>48</sup> The conversation ended in a more peaceful tone; but the Pope did not retreat; by a letter dated November 23, 1103, he informed the King, in gentle and benevolent terms, that he regretted he could not accede to the King's desires. Anselm, placed in the alternative of obeying the royal order or of going into exile, chose the latter. The King sequestered the property of the archbishopric and, toward the end of 1104, even confiscated all its revenues.

#### Concordat of London (1107)

Fresh negotiations were begun between the Holy See on one side, and the King and the Archbishop on the other. The pious Queen Matilda, Countess Adela of Blois, sister of the King and an admirer of the prelate, intervened with both. Pope Paschal II, by a letter dated March 23, 1106, officially declared that he agreed to tolerate the homage of vassalage on condition that the King would renounce the investiture and that thereafter the freedom of election should be re-established. On the basis of these conditions a concordat was concluded (August 1, 1107) between the King and the Archbishop, in a diet held at London at which the barons sat beside the bishops. According to the terms of this agreement, henceforth no ecclesiastic could receive investiture by the crosier and ring; but, on the other hand, no person elected to an ecclesiastical see could be consecrated without first taking the oath of vassalage to the king.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 485.

<sup>49</sup> Mansi, XX, 1227.

The fruits of this peace were lasting. The monarch, not content with religiously observing the clauses of the treaty, strove to second the primate of England in his work of evangelization. His relations with the saint and the sight of his heroic virtues had transformed him. "In the choice of prelates," Anselm wrote, "the King does not follow his own will, but he takes counsel with pious people."<sup>50</sup> During a stay in Normandy, Henry I even entrusted to the Archbishop of Canterbury the administration of his kingdom.<sup>51</sup> Nowhere was the victory of the Church more complete. To use an analogy employed by St. Anselm himself, "the weak old sheep had ended by prevailing over the ungovernable bulls yoked with him to the plough of the English Church."<sup>52</sup>

### The Christian States of Palestine

Thus, after so many strifes, this great investiture quarrel ended for the good of the Church and for that of the state, and the first council that met in the East was able, in 1123, to assemble in the midst of a pacified Christendom.

But, since the conquest of Palestine, Christendom had enlarged its domain. It now was extended beyond the West. Around Jerusalem a Christian colony was established, Christian states were constituted. In some respects, this new Christendom seemed to have a more solid cohesion than the old. It was grouped, not about a pope and an emperor often in disagreement, but only about the pope. "The Latin states of the East owed their existence to the repeated efforts of Urban II and his successors. We are not surprised, therefore, that the Holy Land was closely attached to the authority of the popes."<sup>53</sup> If any particular nation could lay claim to some pre-

<sup>50</sup> Eadmer, *loc. cit.*, Bk. IV.

<sup>51</sup> Ragey, *op. cit.*, II, 473.

<sup>52</sup> Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, Bk. XX, chap. 6.

<sup>53</sup> Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, p. 89.



ponderance in the midst of these new states, it was France, which had furnished the largest contingent of the Crusade. But the chief representative of France was most ardent in submission to the papacy.

Two Frenchmen had especially distinguished themselves during the Crusade: Raymond of Toulouse and Godfrey of Bouillon. But, when the question arose of choosing a leader to organize the conquest, no hesitation was felt in selecting Godfrey of Bouillon. In his person valor and piety were combined. He was offered the title and insignia of king of Jerusalem. He declined the title and consented to be called merely "the defender of the Holy Sepulcher." He likewise refused the royal crown, "because no one should wear a crown of gold," says a chronicler, "in that place where the King of kings Jesus Christ, the Son of God, wore a crown of thorns on the day of the passion."<sup>54</sup> In fact, however, he exercised all the functions of the royal office and made everyone respect his authority. But he liked to consider himself chiefly as the servant of Christ and the agent of the Church. Daimbert, who was elected patriarch of Jerusalem, was equally convinced that the Roman Church alone could be sovereign of the Christian states of the East. The power of the patriarch of Jerusalem was considerable; on him depended the four metropolitans of Tyre, Caesarea, Bessan, and Petra, seven suffragan bishops, and a large number of abbots.

Besides the king of Jerusalem, three other leaders had, as symbol of their political independence, the right to coin money: they were the prince of Antioch, the count of Edessa, and the count of Tripoli. Along the coast certain Italian cities exercised considerable influence. In a word, the supreme head of the feudal federation that was established in Palestine was not so much the king of Jerusalem, but rather the general assembly of

<sup>54</sup> *Recueil des historiens des croisades; assises de Jérusalem. Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, chap. I, p. 22.

the feudatories, which alone could vote "the assizes," or fundamental laws, and which sat as a supreme court of appeal, and to which even the king was amenable.<sup>55</sup>

This form of organization contained the first causes that weakened the Christian federation of the Latin states of the East. The continual attacks of the Bedouins, the presence of the Turks in some of the maritime cities, the progress of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor, and especially the evident rivalries between some of the crusader princes, and the quarrels that divided Tancred, Baldwin of Edessa, Bertrand and William of Toulouse, were even graver dangers.

Godfrey of Bouillon's personal prestige, his vigorous firmness, his well-known valor, and his capable diplomacy maintained unity in the Christian colony of the East until his death, at the age of forty-two. While his body was being buried at the foot of Calvary and while the herald-at-arms cried out: "King Godfrey is dead," even the Saracens, says the chronicler Albert of Aix, mingled their tears with those of the Christians.<sup>56</sup> His brother Baldwin, who succeeded him, possessed a less humble faith, a policy dictated more by human considerations. Instead of rejecting the insignia of royalty, he paraded them with ostentation. But he had the essential qualities of a ruler: a clear view of attainable conquests, perseverance in carrying out plans, and the art of dealing with men.

One of his happiest maneuvers was the drawing to Palestine, for the purpose of populating it, of the Christians scattered beyond the Jordan. Most of those whom heresy had separated from the Catholic Church (Jacobites, Nestorians, Monothelites of Lebanon) abjured their errors and formed, in the cities, an intelligent middle class whose industrial and commercial activity was encouraged by privileges wisely dispensed. In all

<sup>55</sup> The *Assises de Jérusalem*, drawn up in the thirteenth century, are the collection of its judicial decisions.

<sup>56</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Hist. Hierosol.*, Bk. VII.

the ports the Genoese, Venetian, and Marseilles merchants enjoyed even greater prerogatives, so that soon the Italians and Marseillians possessed the monopoly of the commerce of the Levant. At the outset, Godfrey of Bouillon had tried to conciliate the native population, at least its most important element, the Syrians, an agricultural, mercantile, and industrial race. Baldwin continued and developed this policy. "In the friendliness uniting the crusaders and the native Syrians we may perhaps find the secret of the long resistance which the Christian states of the East were able to maintain against the dangers threatening them on all sides."<sup>57</sup>

### Dangers to the New States

These dangers came first from the Mussulmans, still firmly established at Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus, and Mossul. As a remedy for this peril, Baldwin appealed to those who had been behindhand in the Crusade. New forces of Italian, French, and German crusaders, a sort of rear guard of the great expedition, landed in Palestine, but without success. A first army, more tumultuous, at first captured Ancyra; but, worn out by the march across the desert, it was routed by the Turks at Ramleh on May 31, 1102. A second army, better disciplined, was almost entirely massacred shortly afterward.

The Christians found a further danger in their too intimate relations with the natives. "That brilliant civilization of the East, so novel for the Christians, so different from the narrow and monotonous life which was led in the castles of the West, soon vanquished them. The Eastern dress, with its ample flowing robes, appeared to them more fitted to the climate than their own national dress. They eagerly adopted silk garments, ornamented with gold or pearls, and accustomed themselves to the delicate cuisine, the luxurious appointments, and the sumptu-

<sup>57</sup> Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient*, p. 100.

ous feasts of the Easterners.”<sup>58</sup> King Baldwin, dressed in a burnoose of cloth of gold, took his meals seated on a carpet, his legs crossed, after the Eastern manner. Says the chronicler Foucher de Chartres: “See our Westerners transformed into people of the East. The man of Reims or of Chartres has become the man of Tyre or of Antioch. We have already forgotten our native country; nobody hears it spoken of any more. Such and such a one has married, not one of his countrywomen, but a Syrian, an Armenian, sometimes even a baptized Saracen. He who was poor back home, is here opulent. Why return to the West, since the East more than gratifies our wishes?”

The material prosperity, so ably overcome by the policy of Godfrey and Baldwin, became a third danger. The barons established in the Holy Land were henceforth not satisfied with forgetting Europe and the great cause which started them on the march to the East. Their chief aim became the defense and increase of their personal conquests, the turning to their own profit the success of an expedition which they had undertaken to deliver the tomb of Christ from the hands of the infidels. At least such became the great temptation of the nobles settled in Palestine; and many of them succumbed to the temptation, at least temporarily.

### The Military Orders

A new institution, especially at its beginning, contributed to raise their ideals again: the institution of the military orders. This original creation succeeded in giving to the Christian states of the East their distinctive features. At first it included the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and the Knights of the Temple. The Knight of St. John and the Templar were related both to the monk and to the warrior. Even their costume mani-

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

fested this twofold character. They wore the armor of the soldier, over which the Hospitaller wore his black cloak with the white cross; the Templar, his white cloak with the red cross.

A guest-house, built at Jerusalem in 1048 by some merchants of Amalfi and tended by some French nobles, who formed a congregation for the reception of pilgrims and the care of the sick: such was the cradle of the Hospitallers of Jerusalem. Pious gifts and collections taken up in Christendom were the first resources of the charitable work. Godfrey of Bouillon ceded to it part of his domains.<sup>59</sup> Baldwin, to express his thanks to God after a great victory, gave it further gifts of considerable size.

A Provençal nobleman, Gerard de Tenque, born in the island of St. Geniez, today Martigues, for several years had been directing the work in a spirit of admirable piety and charity. He now decided to give it a greater extension by assigning to the Hospitallers the task of defending the pilgrims against the infidels. Many of the Hospitallers who had consecrated themselves to the peaceful service of the sick after having waged war against the Mussulmans, gladly took up again the lance and the sword which they had laid aside. In 1113 Pope Paschal II, in a bull addressed "to his venerable son Gerard," confirmed the new order under the name of the Order of St. John and placed it under the immediate patronage of the Roman Church.<sup>60</sup> At that period the Jerusalem house already counted six additional houses located on the Mediterranean shores: at St. Gilles in Provence, Pisa, Bari, Otranto, Tarento, and Messina.<sup>61</sup> In these places sick pilgrims were cared for with tender and respectful compassion; they were served before the Hospitallers themselves, whose food had to be taken from what was left after the pilgrims had been fed.<sup>62</sup> But the Knights of

<sup>59</sup> Vertot, *Hist. des Chevaliers de Malte*, I, 47.

<sup>60</sup> Paschal II, *Epist.*, 357; *PL*, CLXIII, 314.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> L. de la Birère, *L'Ordre de Malte*, p. 2.

St. John of Jerusalem, later called Knights of Rhodes and Knights of Malta, always remained fighters.<sup>63</sup>

Such was also the role of another congregation of soldier monks, founded in 1118, although it did not receive its complete organization until 1128: the Order of Templars. Two knights, Hugh des Payens<sup>64</sup> and Godfrey of St. Omer, distressed at seeing defenseless travelers attacked and often put to death by bands of brigands, thought they would be fulfilling the vow they had taken in becoming crusaders if they devoted their courage and their arms to defending pilgrims against these dangers. They united with six other knights, and a few years later were joined by Hugh of Provence. To the activity of knights, they wished to unite the austere and humble life of monks. To the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, they added that of consecrating their life to the protection of pilgrims. King Baldwin assigned to them as their residence a wing of his palace, built on the site of the Temple of Solomon: whence the name of Knights of the Temple, or Templars.

At first they had no special costume, living in the strictest poverty, wearing indifferently whatever clothing was given them. But soon rich noblemen, such as Count Foulques of Anjou, afterward king of Jerusalem, associated themselves with the order and endowed it. In 1128, at the Council of Troyes, St. Bernard gave them a rule, composed according to the Rule of Citeaux. Their first grand master was Hugh des Payens. The order included the following: knights (all noblemen) for fighting; sergeants, taken from the middle class, who performed the duties of squires or stewards; and clerics, serving as chaplains. The knight, upon joining the order, took an oath never to flee if not more than three enemies were facing him; in fact, he never retreated in battle except upon the order of the master.

<sup>63</sup> Several villages of Provence claim to possess relics of the Venerable Gerard Tenque, founder of the Hospitallers.

<sup>64</sup> The village of Payens is on the Seine, above Troyes.

Modeled after the Hospitallers of Jerusalem and the Templars, several military orders were founded later. The most famous were the Teutonic Knights, who were subsequently established in Germany; the Knights of Calatrava and the Knights of St. James of the Sword, who defended Spain and Europe against the Moors. At the end of the twelfth century, the military orders possessed a countless number of fiefs and castles in Palestine and Europe. Always armed, always on the watch, even during time of truce, they formed a sort of permanent Crusade against the infidels.<sup>65</sup>

### Clerical Life

The beginning of the twelfth century was marked by a particular development of the monastic life. In 1113 William of Champeaux established at Paris the Order of Canons Regular of St. Victor, and in 1120 St. Norbert founded near Laon the Order of Premonstratensian Canons, while Peter the Venerable was renewing the religious life at Cluny, and St. Bernard was reviving at Clairvaux the purest traditions of the Cistercian life.

The work of William of Champeaux and of St. Norbert has some analogy to that of Gerard de Tenque and Hugh des Payens. The latter two had undertaken to train a choice body of warriors in monastic discipline; the former tried to group under a like rule a choice body of priests. All four considered the monastic spirit as a leaven capable of regenerating the world.

The great popes of the eleventh century, while laboring for the reform of the clergy by repressing misconduct and simony and by the strife against lay investiture, continued to encourage their priests to live in community near their churches. At the Roman council of 1050, Nicholas II recommended to the

<sup>65</sup> On the military orders, see Hurter, *Würdigung des Mittelalters und der Kirche*.

priests, deacons, and subdeacons who had returned to the observance of the duties of their state, "that they live together near the churches for which they had been ordained and that there they have in common their table, sleeping quarters, and Church revenues." <sup>66</sup> Alexander II in 1063, Gregory VII in 1078, and Urban II in 1096, repeated similar recommendations. <sup>67</sup> Ivo of Chartres <sup>68</sup> and several other holy priests labored for the success of these recommendations by the restoration of an old and somewhat vague so-called Rule of the Apostles, or of directions given to the clergy of Hippo by St. Augustine, or of constitutions promulgated at Metz about the middle of the eighth century by St. Chrodegang.

These efforts resulted merely in some partial and temporary reforms. The direct influence of the monks, in particular those of Cluny, upon the clergy had no better results. The papacy, by exempting the monastic clergy from episcopal jurisdiction, had put them outside the scope of the hierarchy. Hence arose inevitable conflicts between the monasteries and the parishes. Under the pretext of reform, the secular clergy, sometimes uncere- moniously, were replaced by monks in a number of churches, even in cathedrals. Here and there this procedure made those conflicts very bitter. With some reason, especially if we bear in mind the discipline of that time, the secular clergy declared that "the monk sprang from the lay order of the Church; that, in the nature of monasticism or its traditions, nothing definitely vowed it to the clerical order; that ordinarily nothing in a monk's vocation destined him to the government of souls." <sup>69</sup> As for what particularly concerned the Order of Cluny, the hierarchical clergy felt some envy at seeing Cluny's vast territorial possessions increasing from day to day. All these reasons

<sup>66</sup> Thomassin, *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'Eglise*, Part I, Bk. III, chap. 11; Mansi, XIX, 897.

<sup>67</sup> Fourier Bonnard, *Hist. des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Victor*, I, xvii-xix.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Bonnard, *op. cit.*, p. xv.



explain how the direct influence of the Cluny reformers, effective over the episcopate, hardly reached the lower ranks of the hierarchical clergy.

Therefore some wise men attempted to reform this latter part of the clergy by the infusion of the monastic spirit into its life, but without the direct intervention of the monks. This method was entirely in conformity with the recommendations of the popes. The parochial and cathedral clergy used to think of the "canonical" order as contrasted with the "monastic" order.<sup>70</sup> These secular clergy were asked simply to take a "rule" such as the apostolic clergy and the clergy trained by St. Augustine exemplified; in other words, to become "canons regular." This proposal was made especially to the canons properly so called, that is, to those who composed the cathedral chapters, whose importance had become so great in the eleventh century. This importance was consequent upon the considerable property which they administered and upon the right to choose the bishops, which was granted them in many places; at the same time the proposal was addressed to all priests having charge of a church under a bishop's authority.

### William of Champeaux

To William of Champeaux belongs the honor of being the first to conceive and realize the type of canon regular. The study of the man is no less interesting than that of his work. William, born at Champeaux near Melun about the year 1070, in early youth attended the schools of Paris and Compiègne. There his teacher was the famous Roscelin, the daring philosopher who, we are told, was the first to venture beyond the circle of pure dialectics to take up the famous question of uni-

<sup>70</sup> Gréa, *De l'Eglise et de sa divine constitution*, p. 438. Etymologically and historically, the primitive meaning of the word "canon" (*canonicus*) is: inscribed in the "canon" of a church, attached to a church.

versals, that is, the metaphysical problem of the relations of the objective world to the subjective world. In 1095 he was invited to take the chair of dialectics of the Paris cathedral. Later he was advanced to the office of archdeacon and at the same time he was appointed general director of the Paris schools. Before enthusiastic young students, William, more prudently than Roscelin, discussed the most difficult problems of philosophical speculation. Among his listeners was the earnest and reckless Abelard, who later on in his *Historia calamitatum* relates his dialectical controversies against the teaching of the master. But, one day in 1108, a surprising report circulated in the world of the Parisian schools: Master William had resigned his archdeaconship and withdrew, with some of his pupils, to a humble hermitage, dedicated to St. Victor, there to subject himself, though remaining a simple cleric, to a regular discipline.<sup>71</sup>

### Canons Regular of St. Victor

"The little chapel of St. Victor stood not far from the banks of the Seine, on a level piece of land where the last slopes of Mount St. Genevieve came to an end, at that time covered with woods and vineyards. This chapel, erected at that spot, says a charter of Louis the Fat, in honor of the soldier martyr of Marseilles, served as a retreat for a few solitaries or recluses who led the eremetical life in its shade."<sup>72</sup> But the studious young men could not be resigned to losing the learned lessons of the master. Every day groups of students, lay and clerical, set out on the roads, so often trod since then, which led from the Notre Dame quarter or "the Mount" to William's scholarly retreat. Unable to resist their earnest solicitations, he continued to teach them the principles of dialectics and metaphysics, but

<sup>71</sup> *Recueil des hist. de la France*, XIV, 279.

<sup>72</sup> Bonnard, *op. cit.*, I, 6 f.

more than one student, touched by the life of intimate prayer and religious silence that was led at St. Victor, joined William's following and shared his eremetical life.

In the summer of 1113, William, after three times refusing the episcopacy, yielded at the King's insistence and accepted the bishopric of Chalon; but, in return, he obtained from Louis the Fat a royal charter giving legal existence and granting an endowment to the new monastery.<sup>73</sup>

The rules of the monastery of St. Victor are preserved in a precious manuscript, the *Liber Ordinis*.<sup>74</sup> The ordinary habit of the Victorines is a long linen tunic, or surplice with wide sleeves, falling almost to the feet and covered by a black cloak to which is attached a cowl large enough to cover the head and shoulders. The lay brothers have a tunic of gray wool, coming halfway down the legs, and a cloak of the same color, a few inches shorter than the tunic. The hierarchy of the monastery included an abbot, a grand prior, a chamberlain, a cellarer, a grand guest-master, a grand chanter, a librarian, and other usual officials. The abbot was elected by six or seven canons, chosen for this purpose by the chapter or general assembly of the canons, who subsequently ratified the election.

The life of a canon regular of St. Victor (or Victorine) included the following duties: the liturgical offices devoutly celebrated at the canonical hours of the day and night, manual labor, and intellectual labor. One of the best organized occupations was that of the copyists, who labored, under the direction of the librarian, in a separate part, well-lighted, tranquil, and silent. From there came forth several of the most precious manuscripts of the Middle Ages.<sup>75</sup> The Abbey of St. Victor likewise became a school of theology and mysticism.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13 f.; Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros*, no. 150.

<sup>74</sup> *Bibl. Ste Genev.*, MSS 1636 and 1637; British Museum, MSS latin, 14,673 and 15,059. A summary of the *Liber Ordinis* will be found in Bonnard, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-83.

<sup>75</sup> A. Franklin, *Recherches sur la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris*; L. Delisle, *Inventaire des mss latins de Saint-Victor conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale*.

## St. Norbert

Prompted by the same inspiration as the reform of St. Victor, the reform of Prémontré differed from it in its orientation. William of Champeaux, when he became a canon regular, remained a man of learning, and his work shared that same trait. St. Norbert, the Prémontré reformer, was rather a preacher and an apostle, and he communicated an analogous imprint to his work.

“St. Norbert, whom the almost unanimous opinion of his age regarded as the equal of St. Bernard and whom the latter considered his master, was born, according to the authors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, at Santen, a small town of the duchy of Cleves, about the year 1080. His family was a very old one and was the peer of the most illustrious families of Germany. To the advantages of his birth, he added brilliant qualities of body and mind. His teachers improved his talents, but they did not succeed in inspiring him with a solid liking for virtue. He cultivated the sciences as a voluptuous philosopher. The ecclesiastical state, which he embraced through human views, produced no reform in his morals. The court of Emperor Henry V, his relative, where he went next, accomplished his perversion. There for several years he filled the office of chaplain and distinguished himself by all the loose vices which the courtiers boasted of.”<sup>76</sup>

A grace, like that which converted the Apostle St. Paul, of a sudden transformed him. One day he was in a pleasure party, riding on horseback, when a bolt of lightning struck in front of him, killed his horse, and left him unconscious on the ground. Upon his recovering consciousness, “grace illumined his eyes at the same time as the light of day. This blind man perceived his wretchedness. The illusion of creatures was dissipated, and

<sup>76</sup> *Hist. litt. de la France*, XI, 243.

divine love took the place of profane love.”<sup>77</sup> He broke off his connections with the court, clothed himself in haircloth, retired to the monastery of St. Sigebert near Cologne, was ordained priest (he had been only a subdeacon), and thereafter devoted himself to prayer, vigils, fasting, and the assiduous study of Holy Scripture, finding compensation for all his hardships in the celebration of the holy sacrifice.

Soon the work of his personal sanctification did not suffice for him. He traveled through the country districts, preached in the churches and in public squares, recalling to sinners the hour of God, the hour of death and judgment. He was charged with preaching without authorization, of wearing the monastic habit without being a monk. He then left his country, came to France to see Pope Gelasius II, whom he met at St. Gilles in Languedoc, and from him obtained permission to proclaim the divine word wherever he wished. Provided with this power, he traveled through France and Hainaut, where his words produced most abundant fruit. When he came near villages or castles, the shepherds left their flocks and ran ahead to announce his coming. As soon as he entered a village, the church bells were rung. But what most rejoiced the apostle's heart was to see the numerous conversions that followed his preaching. He longed to multiply himself for the preaching of the Gospel truths.

### The Premonstratensians

He associated in his work some priests animated by the same zeal as his own. Bartholomew, bishop of Laon, to whom Pope Callistus II recommended him, offered to build a monastery for him in whatever place he should indicate. Norbert chose, in the forest of Coucy, a solitary valley, called Prémontré (*Premonstratum*, *Pratum monstratum*). There on Christmas,

<sup>77</sup> L. C. Hugo, *La vie de saint Norbert*, p. 31.

1121,<sup>78</sup> with a few clerics of the Laon diocese who had been won by his words, he founded the first abbey of the Canons Regular of Prémontré. By the austerity of life, promptness of obedience, and the spirit of prayer and recollection, the canons regular equaled the most edifying of the monks. A garment of white wool reminded them that they should be the representatives of the angels on earth. At the slightest sign from their master, who did not overlook a bitter word spoken by them or even a gesture offensive to another, they fell to their knees and asked pardon. They observed silence, not only within their monastery, but even in the midst of noisy crowds. Vocations arose on all sides. Less than four years after the foundation of Prémontré, Norbert was at the head of nine abbeys founded by him.<sup>79</sup> "The appearance of Prémontré and the rapid multiplication of its branch houses in France and in Europe, during the thirty years after 1120, were one of the prodigies of the time, almost as wonderful as the work of St. Bernard and the Cistercians."<sup>80</sup>

Norbert's insatiable zeal was not content with these first results. He had the idea, which was so wonderfully developed by the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century, of affiliating with his abbeys men and women living in the world and thus in an indirect manner benefiting by the graces attached to community life. Thus, under these different forms, by the religious orders properly so called, by the communities of clerics who were inspired by their principles and their disciplines, by the associations of laymen, the rough draft of the later third orders, which profited by their spiritual experiences, a single spirit of the Gospel penetrated all Christendom. A matter of

<sup>78</sup> The date of the foundation of the Order of Prémontré is often given as 1120, which is the date of the taking possession of Prémontré. But the first religious profession of Norbert and his disciples was on December 25, 1121. Cf. Hugo, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>79</sup> *Hist. litt.*, XI, 246.

<sup>80</sup> Luchaire in Lavis, *Hist. de France*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 255.

first importance was that this spirit be kept free from any alteration at its chief sources. At the period when William of Champeaux and Norbert were founding the Canons Regular of St. Victor and of Prémontré, the Order of Cluny was experiencing a sad crisis. Fortunately divine Providence raised up, for its regeneration, a great reformer, Peter the Venerable.

### The Order of Cluny

"The excess of power and wealth, the pride of an abbot, and the disunion of the brethren, the almost inevitable consequences of a long sustained greatness and prominence":<sup>81</sup> these were the causes of the decline of Cluny.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, the Order of Cluny counted 10,000 monks.<sup>82</sup> Its possessions, which are listed at length in a bull of Pope Victor II (June 11, 1055),<sup>83</sup> were immense. The church of Cluny, a masterpiece of Romanesque architecture, was the biggest church in the world; five hundred years later the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome exceeded its colossal dimensions by a few feet. The relations between the order and the popes had become intimate and almost habitual. Gregory VII sought at Cluny the inspiration of his reform; Urban II and Paschal II came from its cloisters; Gelasius II was buried under its stone floor; Callistus II increased its privileges, even giving its abbots, in 1120, the right to perform the functions of cardinal and conceding to its church the faculty of celebrating the office even during an interdict, behind closed doors.<sup>84</sup>

Saints, like the great abbots who had founded and maintained the austere traditions of Cluny (Odo, Majolus, Odilo, Hugh) could have guaranteed the monks of the order against

<sup>81</sup> Baudrillart, "Cluny et la papauté" in the *Rev. prat. d'apôl.*, XI (1910), 22.

<sup>82</sup> Hefele, art. "Cluny" in Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*.

<sup>83</sup> *PL*, CXLIII, 803.

<sup>84</sup> Pignot, *Hist. de l'ordre de Cluny*, III, 29-32.

the temptation of wealth and pride. But Pons de Melgueil, who in 1100, though still in his youth, received the abbatial crosier of St. Hugh, lacked the strong virtues of his predecessors. Sprung from a rich family of Auvergne, with a brilliant and distinguished mind, he had at first appeared worthy of his high office by the regularity of his life, by the adaptability of his mind, and by the lofty distinction of his literary culture. In the negotiations, so often broken off and so often resumed, of the investiture quarrel, he had served as a capable intermediary between the pope and the emperor. He had also given a strong impulse to studies. History has kept the names of three remarkable copyists encouraged by him: Albert, Oppizo, and Duranne. But a restless and proud disposition spoiled his brilliant qualities. From the very beginning of his government he seemed to place in the forefront of his concern the defense of the privileges of his order. The new prerogatives granted him by Callistus II seem to have upset him. He contested for the first place with the abbot of Monte Cassino; he longed for the title of "abbot of abbots." In his journeys he displayed a princely retinue. His luxury, his prodigality, his laxity, at first aroused murmurs, then open discord in the monastery. The austere life of Cluny had been the starting point of the reform of the monks, of the clergy, and of the faithful; now it was no longer a model for the Church.

We should at once note that at this period moral disorder had not penetrated the illustrious monastery. "St. Bernard's silence on this subject is the best praise we could wish for the morality of Cluny."<sup>85</sup> But, in the picture which the terrible censor makes of the softness and luxury of the monks of his time, we are forced to recognize the pompous Abbot Pons. Says St. Bernard:

In all truth, I declare that I have seen an abbot with a retinue of sixty horses and more. On seeing these heads of monasteries pass

<sup>85</sup> Vacandard, *Vie de saint Bernard*, I, 117.



by, you would say they were, not directors of souls, but governors of provinces. As soon as they are eight miles from home, they need all their household articles: drinking vessels, jugs, candelabra, large cases filled with all their bed clothes. . . . Why all this encumbrance? That you may be less burdensome to your hosts? Then take with you also your food, so as to spare them all expense.<sup>86</sup>

The divisions provoked in the monastery by the activities of Pons went so far that the abbot, yielding to the advice of prudent friends, went to Rome and resigned his office in the hands of Callistus II. The monks, freed from Pons' imperious levity, at first elected in his place an old man, Hugh II, who died almost immediately; then, on the octave of the Assumption (1122), they chose a young monk, thirty years old, Peter Maurice of Montboissier, who was destined to remain the highest personification of the Cluny Order under the name of Peter the Venerable.

### Peter the Venerable

In spite of his youth, Peter of Montboissier was not unknown in the various houses of the order, even the most distant ones. The prudence and learning with which for ten years in the Vézelay monastery he filled the important offices of guardian of the order and doctor of the ancients,<sup>87</sup> had drawn attention to him. As guardian of the order, he took the place of the grand prior in the latter's absence, and at all times watched over the proper maintenance of discipline with the most edifying zeal. As doctor of the ancients, his duty was to direct the studies of all the monks. He filled this office so well that, according to the expressions of his biographer, his gentle, grave words, like a dew, made the land of Vézelay fruitful.<sup>88</sup> As con-

<sup>86</sup> St. Bernard, *Apologia*, chap. 11.

<sup>87</sup> Rodulphus, *Vita Petri Venerabilis*; PL, CLXXXIX, 17.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

temporaries said, one sight was sufficient to keep living in your memory "the noble and gentle features of this young monk, whose imposing stature and simple and worthy attitude so well expressed the perfect ordering of his soul and his life."<sup>89</sup> His election was welcomed in the order with universal joy. Peter of Poitiers exclaimed: "Blessed monks of Cluny, applaud and rejoice. A new St. Hugh is given you. He equals the poets of antiquity by the penetration of his genius. In prose he is a second Cicero; in verse, a new Vergil; and he argues like Aristotle, while his words have the sweetness of those of Gregory, the fulness of those of Ambrose; and he examines the most profound mysteries with a genius equal to that of Augustine."<sup>90</sup>

In these emphatic praises the panegyrist of Peter the Venerable indicates the distinctive character of the new abbot's learning. Born in Auvergne about 1092,<sup>91</sup> of a noble family perhaps native of Burgundy,<sup>92</sup> brought up from early boyhood as an oblate in the Benedictine monastery of Sauxillages, where the most varied branches of profane and sacred studies were taught with ardor according to the program of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, Peter of Montboissier sketched his own portrait when he spoke of St. Bernard as "adorning himself with the spoils of the Egyptian and mingling them with the riches of the Hebrew."<sup>93</sup> His contemporaries bestowed on him the title "Venerable." This was rightly given him "as much for his eminent knowledge of divine and human sciences as for the uprightness of his life."<sup>94</sup> A nineteenth century writer compares him to Fenelon.<sup>95</sup> Although his style does not possess the exquisite elegance of the author of *Télémaque*, he has the same fondness for ancient literature, the same nobility of character,

<sup>89</sup> *Bibliotheca cluniacensis*, p. 589.

<sup>90</sup> Peter of Poitiers; *PL*, CLXXXIX, 49.

<sup>91</sup> Cellier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, XIV, 500.

<sup>92</sup> Pignot, *Hist. de Cluny*, III, 607.

<sup>93</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Epist.*, I, 28; *PL*, CLXXXIX, 112.

<sup>94</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, IV, 1137.

<sup>95</sup> Rémusat, *Abélard*, I, 250.

and the same unction. To a former companion of his monastic life, he wrote: "Happy times when, in pious conversations, we urged each other to the desire for eternal things! Ardent charity that made us on fire one for the other! In the beginning, the mere movement of nature drew me to you; in the end I loved you only in God and because of God."<sup>96</sup> In fact, what Peter especially acquired from his monastic training was a liking for gentle piety, which continued growing ever since the day when as a mere boy he was offered to the Order of Cluny.

The new Abbot was not unaware of the difficulties of the task that was his. Pope Callistus II, in his letter to the monks of Cluny confirming the election of Peter, testified that he did not misunderstand the seriousness of the situation. He encouraged the monks to show themselves docile toward their new superior, and threatened with ecclesiastical penalties those who "should dare to disturb the congregation."<sup>97</sup>

To aid him in his reform work, Peter appealed to a monk whose great experience and supernatural energy he knew, the prior Matthew, of St. Martin-des-Champs. Thanks to this collaboration, he was able to correct many abuses. In the matter of eating and drinking, excess was suppressed; many comforts, several of which had become habitual, were given up. Peace had returned to the monastery when of a sudden Pons, who had retired to Palestine, landed in Europe. To defeat the calculations of those whom he wished to deceive, he declared that he wished simply to change his place of retirement. In truth, the demon of ambition had again seized upon him. Choosing a moment when Peter the Venerable was absent from Cluny, he appeared at the monastery, accompanied by an armed troop of his followers and of some hired bandits, who broke down the doors, invaded the cloisters, and scattered or imprisoned the monks. They seized the gold and silver reliquaries containing the

<sup>96</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Epist.*, I, 16; *PL*, CLXXXIX, 85.

<sup>97</sup> Callistus II, *Epist.*; *PL*, CLXXXIX, 1256.

relics of the saints, even the sacred vessels; nothing was spared. The villages and fortifications around the monastery were invaded; for three months pillage and murder reigned at Cluny.<sup>98</sup> A condemnation by Pope Honorius, declaring Pons and his accomplices perpetrators of sacrilege, schismatics, and excommunicated, put an end to this abominable disorder; and he who during fourteen years had carried the abbatial crosier of St. Odo and St. Hugh, died, separated from the Church, without expressing any repentance and without being absolved.<sup>99</sup>

Calm returned to Cluny; but a crisis of this sort could not occur without reawaking in the community certain internal dissensions which the zeal of Peter had momentarily pacified. A struggle against the old abuses, which several months' excitement had revived, had to be started over again. Peter the Venerable in a dream saw St. Benedict lamenting the forgetfulness of his rule. "Alas," Peter exclaimed, "when the holy patriarch wrote his constitutions, he was living in a robust age; the world has grown old since then; let us avoid sudden shocks, that would destroy the institutions; they are shaking on their foundations; let us give them some props to hold them up."<sup>100</sup> He employed prudence. For fear of self-deception, he looked about him. Cîteaux, "which had dependent on it sixty-five abbeys, whose monks did not wear rich habits, observed strict enclosure, and fasted daily, except Sundays, from the ides of September to Easter,"<sup>101</sup> seemed to him a model to be followed. But a vague jealousy animated the two mighty orders. The Abbot of Cluny was criticized for taking from the Cistercians the principle of a reform that ought to derive its inspiration

<sup>98</sup> Orderic Vitalis, XII, 15; *PL*, CLXXXVIII, 894.

<sup>99</sup> Some time later, Honorius, "out of respect for the illustrious monastery," had the mortal remains of Pons transported to the abbey of Cluny. Cf. Honorius II, *Epist.*, 48; *PL*, CLXVI, 1266.

<sup>100</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Epist.*, I, 34; *PL*, CLXXXIX, 168.

<sup>101</sup> Orderic Vitalis, VIII, 25; *PL*, CLXXXVIII, 641.

only from the traditions of the order founded by St. Odo. A brief of Innocent II, dated 1137, ended these difficulties by giving to Peter the Venerable the faculty to modify the statutes of his order, to decree whatever he judged useful, without anyone having the right to protest or appeal.<sup>102</sup> The venerable reformer could then freely take his inspiration from the example of Cîteaux.

### The Order of Cîteaux

The illustrious order founded by Robert of Molesme had, at its beginning, its hour of distress. In their desire to assure a perfect austerity in their cloisters, had the superiors of Cîteaux gone beyond just bounds? Had this movement toward holy observance been too much deprived of that pious unction which would have made the sacrifices accepted with joy? We do not know. The fact is that from day to day the monastery was being depopulated. The old monks who died were not replaced by young recruits. The trial, though different from that afflicting Cluny, was not less grave. It might easily turn into disaster. Stephen Harding, the venerable abbot who had been at the head of Cîteaux since 1109, was greatly concerned over the situation. Discouraged and perhaps blaming himself for having contributed to the sad crisis by the rigidity of his rule, he entertained doubts as to his mission. We are told that the abbot, who confided his anxieties to one of his monks about to appear before God, a few days later received this prophetic reply: "Be of good heart. Soon God will send you many disciples, some of them men of noble birth and high station; and they will so fill your house that, like an overflowing hive, it will have to send out its swarms to various parts of the world."<sup>103</sup> At Easter

<sup>102</sup> Demimuid, *Pierre le Vénérable*, p. 102.

<sup>103</sup> *Exordium magnum ordinis cisterciensis*, Dist. I, chap. 16; *PL*, CLXXXV, 1013; *Acta sanctorum*, April, II, 499.

time, 1112,<sup>104</sup> the arrival at Cîteaux of thirty gentlemen, with a young Burgundian nobleman at their head, Bernard of Fontaines, seemed to be a pledge of the accomplishment of the heavenly prophecy.

### St. Bernard

At the name of Bernard of Fontaines, who soon became Bernard of Clairvaux, history should pause, because he was one of the most complete geniuses, one of the most stirring and appealing souls, that it has to depict. Orator, polemic, diplomat, poet, mystic, reformer, the latest of the fathers of the Church, and also as great as the greatest of them.<sup>105</sup> His teaching, as Pope Alexander III said, would illumine the universal Church.<sup>106</sup> All Christendom was thrilled at his words; princes and kings chose him to arbitrate their differences; four centuries after his death, Luther and Calvin sought shelter under his great name.<sup>107</sup> His writings kept a fragrance of piety so tender and pure that we have no liturgical prayers and hymns which the Christian people still repeat with greater devotion than certain prayers and hymns that sprang from his saintly heart.<sup>108</sup>

He who was to fill so lofty and pure a destiny was born in 1090 in the feudal castle of Fontaines in Burgundy, near the city of Dijon, of an illustrious and wealthy family. Among the relatives of the lord of Fontaines, his father, the chronicles and documents mention viscounts of Dijon and lords of Chatillon, and among his mother's ancestors, the former dukes of Bur-

<sup>104</sup> On this date, see Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, I, 32 note 2, and 34 note 1.

<sup>105</sup> Mabillon says: *Ultimus inter Patres, sed primis certe non impar* (PL, CLXXXII, 26).

<sup>106</sup> Jaffé, no. 12,330; PL, CLXXXV, 622.

<sup>107</sup> Luther in his *Table Talk*, nos. 490, 793; Calvin in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Bk. IV, chap. 11, pp. 438 ff.

<sup>108</sup> We refer especially to the *Memorare* (the beginning of it was composed by St. Bernard) and of the hymn *Jesu, dulcis memoria* which, if not composed by him, was evidently inspired by one of his sermons (Sermon 4, *De diversis*, no. 1).

gundy.<sup>109</sup> From this high and mighty lineage Bernard derived the lofty distinction and spirited courage which characterized his moral traits; and from his mother, Aleth of Montbard, he derived especially a kindly and solid piety. Even in early boyhood, so we are told by his biographers, he was a contemplative.<sup>110</sup> A quiet and timid student, withdrawing from the noisy company of other youths and going to some secluded spot for recollection, to the eyes of the world he gave no indication of that fiery zeal for making converts, which he later displayed. But he was preparing the foundations of that zeal by cultivating the spirit of faith.

For him religion was soon the whole of life. He was barely twenty-two years old; the world smiled upon the gifts of his youth. But, not satisfied with turning his eyes toward the life of the cloister, he acquainted one of his uncles, five of his brothers, and several of his young friends with his attraction for a life wholly consecrated to the service of God. At that period two traits already distinguished Bernard's soul: an earnest devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and a sort of filial cult toward his pious mother, whom he lost in his early youth, but whom he constantly remembered<sup>111</sup> and whose inspirations he always endeavored to follow in his hours of doubt. One day, when he was momentarily shaken in his vocation by the entreaties of his friends, upon thinking of his mother he finally and permanently renounced any worldly career.<sup>112</sup> Soon afterward we find Bernard, accompanied by thirty young noblemen, at Chatillon-sur-Seine, with them leading a common life of prayer and austerity. Six months later, in the spring of 1112, the thirty gentlemen asked admission to the austere life of Citeaux. Before his de-

<sup>109</sup> Jobin, *Saint Bernard et sa famille*.

<sup>110</sup> *Mire cogitativus* (William of Saint-Thierry, *Vita Bernardi*, Bk. I, chap. 1, no. 3; *PL*, CLXXXV, 228).

<sup>111</sup> "He always had what I would call the feeling of the *real presence* of his mother near him" (Vacandard, *op. cit.*, I, 18).

<sup>112</sup> Vacandard, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

parture, Bernard went to the Fontaines castle, embraced his venerable father and his youngest brother Nivard, who was too young to consider accompanying his brothers to the cloister. Bernard said to him: "Hereafter all this domain will belong to you alone." The boy replied: "You are taking heaven and leaving me the earth." Nivard wanted to follow his brothers; his youthful age prevented him from doing so; but when he reached his sixteenth year, the doors of Citeaux were opened for him also.<sup>113</sup>

With the aid of scattered details furnished by contemporaries,<sup>114</sup> we can sketch a portrait of the young Bernard at the time he entered Citeaux. His height was above medium, he had blond hair, the beginning of a blond beard, blue eyes, a serene look, a charm "that came from the spirit, not from the flesh."<sup>115</sup> Citeaux, the monastery where the austerities frightened the roughest and most rugged men, was the place where the young son of the lord of Fontaines asked for admission.

While in other places woolen tunics with narrow sleeves and fur hoods protected the monk against severe cold, the Cistercian monk wore, as his only garment, a close-fitting serge habit, which extended halfway down the legs, and a woolen cowl, which in the hours of manual labor was replaced by the scapular, tied at the waist by a leather cincture. At Citeaux the food was extremely simple. Vegetables, fresh or dried, oil, salt, and water constituted the entire victuals. In a common dormitory, lighted by a pale candle-light, the Citeaux monk took his rest on a simple cot, all dressed, his loins girded, so as to be ready to rise at the first signal<sup>116</sup> in the middle of the night to chant the night office in a cold and dim chapel.

<sup>113</sup> Gaufridus, *Fragm.*; *PL*, CLXXXV, 525.

<sup>114</sup> William of Saint-Thierry, *Vita Bernardi*, Bk. I, chap. 3, no. 6; Bk. III, chap. 1; *PL*, CLXXXV, 230-303.

<sup>115</sup> *Apparebat in carne ejus gratia quaedam, spiritualis tamen potius quam carnalis* (*ibid.*, col. 303).

<sup>116</sup> For further details, see Vacandard, *op. cit.*, I, 40-44.



The Cistercians' public prayers took about six hours a day; the rest of the time was devoted to manual labor. At Cîteaux they scrupulously observed the maxim that "the monk should live by the labor of his own hands."<sup>117</sup> But the entire time left free from the Sunday office and that of feast days, and the time between the end of sext and the first meal (*prandium*), that is, from nine o'clock to eleven o'clock in the morning, and during the winter also the interval between the evening meal (*caena*), which ended at six o'clock, and the office of vespers, which began at nine o'clock, was reserved for the *lectio divina*.<sup>118</sup> This exercise was conceived, at Cîteaux, rather as a meditation than as a simple reading. St. Bernard later recommends, not to read, but to "ruminate" the psalms.<sup>119</sup> He is alluding to the practice which he had followed in his monastery, a practice revealed to us also by the use he makes of Scripture in his writings. Besides, the well-known manual labor, performed in silence, favored, outside the hours of meditative reading, the prolongation of that pious "rumination"; and when Bernard declares that he never had any teacher but the beech-trees and the oaks,<sup>120</sup> perhaps he is referring to that habit of considering in his heart, amid the fields and forests, the words of God or those of the fathers which had more particularly touched him in the *lectio divina*.<sup>121</sup>

The arrival of Bernard and his companions at Cîteaux was the starting point of the movement of renaissance and expansion that had been announced to Abbot Stephen Harding.<sup>122</sup> "When the eyes of all," says a chronicler, "could see that the Cîteaux rule, reputed to be impracticable, was accessible to all

<sup>117</sup> *Rule of St. Benedict*, chap. 48.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 48; *Coutumes bénédictines*, chaps. 60 and 71.

<sup>119</sup> St. Bernard, *In festo SS. Petri et Pauli*, sermon 2, no. 2.

<sup>120</sup> *Experto crede: aliquid amplius invenies in silvis quam in libris. Ligna et lapides docebunt te* (St. Bernard, *Epist.*, CVI, no. 2). Thus speaks St. Bernard.

<sup>121</sup> We should note that the slow and metrical recitation of the office, such as practiced at Cîteaux, was a sort of meditation. Cf. *Rule of St. Benedict*, chap. 19.

<sup>122</sup> *Acta sanctorum*, April, II, 109.

these young noblemen, men of every age came, from various districts, and asked to be admitted.”<sup>123</sup> In June, 1115, all the empty places were filled. To provide for all the new vocations that declared themselves, Cîteaux swarmed. After the foundations of La Ferte and Pontigny, Abbot Stephen Harding commissioned Bernard to go and found a new monastery on the banks of the Aube at Clairvaux, on land offered by the generosity of the Count of Troyes. The new house was blessed by the Bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, the illustrious founder of the Canons Regular of St. Victor, William of Champeaux. From that day forth an intimacy, which afterward continued to grow, was formed between the eminent prelate and the holy founder of Clairvaux. The beginning of the foundation was rough. A grievous distress forced Bernard to make the austerity of the regime harder than it was at Cîteaux. But the courage of the monks was admirable. It became contagious. In less than three years Clairvaux testified to its vitality by founding three monasteries: that of Trois Fontaines in the Luiz forest; that of Fontenay in the neighborhood of Montbard, and that of Joigny near Vervins.

On December 23, 1119, a bull of Pope Callistus II confirmed the progress of the whole Order of Cîteaux by approving the charter of union known as the *Charta Caritatis*, established between all the Cistercian houses. Unlike the Cluny monasteries, which recognized a supreme power in the motherhouse, the Cistercian monasteries kept their autonomy of administration and were subject to the authority of the ordinaries.<sup>124</sup> In other matters also the viewpoints were different or even opposite. Whereas the churches of the Cluny Order were distinguished by their splendid architecture and the richness of their ornamentation, those of the Cîteaux Order were notable for simplicity and poverty. These differences and oppositions were the

<sup>123</sup> *Exordium parvum cisterciense*, quoted in the *Acta sanctorum*, April, II, 109.

<sup>124</sup> Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la Règle cistercienne*, p. 82.

occasion, between the two orders, of controversies in which Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux exchanged their views, at times in a rather lively manner, but never to the detriment of supernatural charity. The papal authority left the two tendencies free to develop, considering that each of them had a place in the Church of God.

### Intellectual Movement

An expansion of true monastic life never took place in the Church without a corresponding expansion of intellectual and moral progress. Men like William of Champeaux, Peter the Venerable, and Bernard of Clairvaux possessed a vigor of intellect equal to their strength of virtue. Their place is in the history of general civilization as well as in that of the Church.

Ever since St. Anselm, in his teaching and writings, gave so considerable a place to rational speculation, the Scholastic movement had not paused. In it we can distinguish two currents, although they are often mingled and confused: one, more strictly philosophical, which appears especially in the discussion of the problem of universals; the other, more especially theological or mystical, which appears in the controversies aroused by the heresies of Abelard and Peter of Bruys.

A Greek philosopher, Porphyry, who died at the beginning of the fourth century, in his *Isagoge* wrote this sentence: "I will not examine whether genera and species exist in themselves or only in the mind, or whether they exist separate from the sensible objects or in those objects and as part of them: this problem is too difficult."<sup>125</sup> This problem, which one of the last philosophers of the ancient world declared not yet solved,<sup>126</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Cf. V. Cousin, *Fragments philosophiques*, p. 68.

<sup>126</sup> Plato had considered universals as ideas pre-existing in the divine intellect, as archetypes, according to which all corporeal beings had been formed. Aristotle regarded them as creative forms which, by uniting with matter, gave birth to all beings. But the problem had not given rise to any great controversy.

was the one which stirred the leading metaphysicians of the Middle Ages. Do realities exist distinct from the individual beings whose existence we perceive? Have beings alike in species a real element, common to them all, distinct, but not separate from them? Besides the men that I meet, is humanity something? Or is it only a vain word? This problem has brought a smile to many historians, but in it many deep minds have thought to see "the inevitable problem" of metaphysics,<sup>127</sup> "the very problem of philosophy."<sup>128</sup> It is known as "the problem of universals." Toward the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, three celebrated men took up the question, discussed it earnestly before enthusiastic youth, and gave it three different solutions. These three men were Roscelin, William of Champeaux, and Abelard.

### Roscelin

A strange figure is that of Roscelin, that Breton innovator who, by the venturesome boldness of his thought and the shiftiness of his conduct, seemed, in his disconcerting complexity, to foreshadow in outline both Lamennais and Renan. The exact place of his birth in Brittany is unknown. Provided with a canonry at Compiègne, he taught there, probably as *écolâtre* of his chapter. The elegance of his language, the extent of his knowledge, and especially the censorious audacity of his assertions gathered about his professorial chair a numerous and attentive audience. Did he teach positively that "humanity" is only a concept of our mind, that genera and species are merely fictions, names, words without corresponding realities, *flatus vocis*? The paucity of our documents about him<sup>129</sup> do not permit us to

<sup>127</sup> Cantu, *Hist. univ.*, X, 490.

<sup>128</sup> Cousin, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>129</sup> The only contemporary documents that we possess on the life and ideas of Roscelin are: a letter addressed to Abelard (*PL*, CLXXVIII, 357-72); a few passages of his works, quoted by St. Anselm, Abelard, John of Salisbury, and Otto of Freising.

say that he did. De Wulf, the noted historian of medieval philosophy, considers him "a destroyer."<sup>130</sup> He professed for the abstract and the transcendental a contempt that gave him an appearance of common sense, that made the young men regard him as a robust mind, with sufficient self-mastery so that he reckoned only with visible and palpable realities.<sup>131</sup>

He became the great man of the day.<sup>132</sup> In the strength of his popularity he even applied his theory to the fundamental dogmas of Christianity. According to St. Anselm's testimony, he declared "that the three divine Persons are three separate beings, like three angels, and that we might correctly say that they are three Gods, if custom permitted the expression."<sup>133</sup> In 1092 a council of Soissons condemned him. He abjured his error; but he soon resumed the teaching of his first doctrine. Driven from France, he spread his errors in England and at Rome, came back to Paris, employed cunning and audacity in turn, at times trying to deceive his superiors by artful evasions, at other times insulting them brutally. If we accept the statements of certain chroniclers, he died, as Berengarius did, reconciled to the Church, devoting the last years of his life to the service of the poor.<sup>134</sup> But his work remains, and the doctor of nominalism<sup>135</sup> came to be appealed to as a forerunner by many rationalists at a later date.<sup>136</sup>

But, among the listeners of the doctor of Compiègne, one priest had been shocked at his teaching, even to the point of embracing, for the purpose of combating it, a diametrically opposite system. This was William of Champeaux, the future

<sup>130</sup> De Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, § 145, p. 159.

<sup>131</sup> Michaud, *Guillaume de Champeaux et les écoles de Paris au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 76.

<sup>132</sup> D'Argentré, *Hist. de Bretagne*, fol. 186.

<sup>133</sup> St. Anselm, *De fide Trinitatis*, chap. 3.

<sup>134</sup> *Hist. littér. de la France*, IX, 363.

<sup>135</sup> The terms "nominalism" and "realism" were not yet in use at the time of Roscelin, but they were much in use about the end of the twelfth century. Did Roscelin create nominalism? Did he not have for master and precursor a certain John the Deaf? Cf. De Wulf, *loc. cit.*

<sup>136</sup> See especially Rousselot, *Etudes sur la philosophie dans le Moyen Age*, I, 209.

founder of the Canons Regular of St. Victor. In the school of Notre Dame cloister, where he occupied a professorial chair, then at St. Victor, William of Champeaux taught that, instead of being a pure fiction of our mind, the universal essence (for example, humanity, that is, human nature, the human species) is the great reality, which brings about that such or such a man is truly man, and that all men are a single whole, a single species, identical by their essence and multiple by their individual qualities.<sup>137</sup>

### Peter Abelard

But William of Champeaux in turn met, in one of his pupils, an earnest opponent. The latter was called Peter. Like Roscelin, he came from Brittany, where he was born in 1079, in the domain of Le Palet, not far from Nantes, of a family of gentlemen. Soon he was known by the surname Abelard (*baiare lardum*), owing to a pleasantry by one of his teachers, Thierry of Chartres.<sup>138</sup> He was an elegant young man, of keen and inquiring mind, earnest and fluent in speech, possessing an amazingly varied knowledge. He used to interrupt his studies to sing gracefully some verses in the vulgar tongue, which he himself had composed, or to break a lance in the tournaments. He was one of those whom Roscelin's theories had seduced. Listening to the lectures of William of Champeaux, he hoped to enter the lists against him who was called "the first dialectician of the world."<sup>139</sup> The first objections he raised against the teaching of the master revealed his reckless and presumptuous spirit.

<sup>137</sup> Such, in main outline, is the theory of William of Champeaux. In the course of his teaching was it modified in such a manner that it was more radical at the outset and more attenuated at the end? As the information we have on this point comes from Abelard, his pupil, and as Abelard boasts of having provoked these successive modifications, we should not too readily accept his testimony. Cf. De Wulf, *op. cit.*, § 164, p. 179.

<sup>138</sup> A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen Age*, p. 192.

<sup>139</sup> Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*; PL, CLXXVIII, 115 f.

A party of students gathered about him. In 1102 he thought he was strong enough to found at Melun, a royal residence, an independent school, which he soon transferred to Corbeil. The clamorous success which his oratorical eloquence obtained there, the very temerity of his attitude, merely stirred his pride the more. This young professor, only twenty-four years old, even harassed with his arguments his former teacher in his retreat at St. Victor, then went to Laon to establish there a school in rivalry with that of Anselm.<sup>140</sup> A greater triumph awaited him. In 1113 the successor of William of Champeaux in the great school of Notre Dame at Paris ceded to Abelard the chair of his master.

For the twenty-three-year-old teacher, this was the beginning of a period of glory, the brilliancy of which, attested by all the contemporaries, seems fabulous.<sup>141</sup> Thousands of listeners thronged about his professorial chair. This unheard-of success finally intoxicated him. We know of the culpable and cruelly expiated passion that led him to embrace the monastic life. But his pride of intellect did not submit. He criticized the nominalism of Roscelin, which he found hesitant and timid, and the realism of William of Champeaux, which he tried to ridicule by exaggerating it. The doctrine which he propounded in opposition to them and which later was given the name of conceptualism, shows a real penetration of mind. Abelard held that the universal exists in the individual, but he does not clearly point out the abstracting process of the mind which disengages it. Consequently we may say that, although his theory is "a definite step toward Thomism, it remains incomplete."<sup>142</sup>

Abelard went astray particularly in the field of theology. Under pretext of opposing Roscelin's tritheism, he taught Sabellianism; to refute the theory which regarded the Trinity as

<sup>140</sup> We are here speaking of Anselm of Laon, who died in 1117. Pope Eugene III called him the restorer of theological studies in France.

<sup>141</sup> C. de Rémusat, *Abélard*, I, 44.

<sup>142</sup> De Wulf, *op. cit.*, § 174, p. 193.

composed of three Gods, he identifies the three Persons with the divine essence. He makes claim to render understandable all the mysteries and declares "that we can believe only what we have previously comprehended."<sup>143</sup> Thus, after ruining the Catholic notion of the Trinity, he ruins the Catholic notion of faith. A council of Soissons in 1121 condemned him to burn with his own hands the famous book containing those two grave errors, the *Tractatus de unitate et trinitate divina*.<sup>144</sup>

Despite everything, the controversy over universals contributed to the progress of philosophical studies. The realists, even the extreme ones, by their attention to the substantial reality of things, "powerfully promoted the development of metaphysics";<sup>145</sup> and the nominalists, by their earnest rejection of chimerical entities from philosophy and by their critical studies of abstraction and reflection, gave an undeniable stimulus to psychological studies.<sup>146</sup>

### Theology

The heresies of Roscelin and Abelard were connected with philosophical errors. Other heresies, which sprang up in the domain of theology and piety, disturbed the Church no less in the first quarter of the twelfth century. Whereas nominalism and exaggerated realism, carried into the interpretation of dogma, misrepresented the meaning of dogma in the world of the schools, the Manichaean heresy, secretly propagated in the popular masses, there spread the most dangerous doctrines.

Several times we have already met the Manichaean sect, and

<sup>143</sup> *Nec credi posse aliquid, nisi prinitus intellectum* (*Historia calamitatum*, chap. 9; *PL*, CLXXVIII, 142).

<sup>144</sup> Was the book condemned at Soissons the *Tractatus de unitate et trinitate divina*, discovered and published by Stolzle in 1891 at Fribourg, or was it a short work on the Trinity mentioned by Abelard in his letter 14 (*PL*, CLXXVIII, 357)? See Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des conciles*, V, 596.

<sup>145</sup> De Wulf, *op. cit.*, § 147, p. 161.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*



will meet it again. Bossuet, in his *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*,<sup>147</sup> pointed out the chief stages of that disastrous heresy which, with its amazing art of disguising itself and even of having itself forgotten when it found need of doing so, passed from Asia into Europe in the third century and reached France through Thrace and Bulgaria. Lacordaire compares it "to those monsters that, in the depth of the ocean, follow unknown routes and at times raise their ancient heads above the waves."<sup>148</sup> At the beginning of the twelfth century, the heresy appeared first in the north, around Antwerp and Bruges, and in the south, in Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc.

### Tanchelm

In the north a certain Tanchelm (or Tanchelin), a layman who called himself a bishop consecrated by the pope, very cleverly practiced the art of seducing the populace. He began by speaking mildly, making use especially of women, whom he indoctrinated, to spread his errors among the men. Then he started preaching in the open air. "Let us flee," he said, "from the darkness of the churches, which encourages fraud and crime. The priests in the churches do not consecrate the body of Christ and they commit crimes there. The true doctrine must be sought in the light of day with Tanchelm, because Tanchelm bears in him the fulness of the Holy Ghost: like Christ, he is God." When Tanchelm ascended a pulpit in a public square, he appeared in royal pomp, all covered with gold and purple. Guards carried before him a standard and a sword. An army of three thousand men surrounded him. The people, in wonderment, listened to him as though he were an envoy from heaven.

The heresiarch told them they must at once reject the ecclesi-

<sup>147</sup> Bossuet, *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*, Bk. XI, nos. 7 ff.

<sup>148</sup> Lacordaire, *Vie de S. Dominique*, chap. I, p. 19.

astical hierarchy and the sacraments. But soon people learned that this man, abusing his followers' confidence, was given to the most shameless debauchery. After a journey to Rome and to Germany, he tried in 1115 to reappear in Flanders; upon his arrival there he was slain by a cleric.<sup>149</sup> But his party continued, ardent, fanatical. The Bishop of Cambrai, for the enlightenment of consciences, then called the venerated founder of Prémontré, St. Norbert, who, with the assistance of several of his disciples, succeeded in extirpating the heresy. In doing so he employed extreme gentleness. "Have no fear," he said to the people of Antwerp; "you erred only through ignorance; listen to the true doctrine." This mildness and the examples of holiness given by the missionaries, touched the people's hearts. Men and women were converted and brought back the sacred hosts which, in obedience to the heresiarch, they had hidden in cellars or caves.<sup>150</sup>

### Peter of Bruys

We cannot easily determine the precise extent to which Tanchelm's doctrine was connected with Manichaeism. The denial of the hierarchy and of the sacraments, the claim to a direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost, the union of an extreme spiritualism and immoral conduct, are at any rate traits of his heresy which are common to it and to the Manichaean heresy. A connection with the doctrine of Mani is more evident in the teaching of Peter of Bruys, the heresiarch who disturbed the south of France.<sup>151</sup> He not only attacked the hierarchy and the sacraments; he also condemned the baptism of children, denied any

<sup>149</sup> *Epistola Trajectensis Ecclesiae de Tanchelmo*; PL, CLXX, 1312.

<sup>150</sup> *Acta sanctorum, Vita S. Norberti*, June 6. On Tanchelm, see Baronius, *Annales*, year 1126.

<sup>151</sup> The connections between Peter of Bruys and Manichaeism are admitted by Döllinger (*Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte*, p. 75), Mabillon (*Bernardi opera*, general preface, no. 73), and by Bossuet (*History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*, Bk. XI, nos. 36 ff.). Vacandard (*Vie de S. Bernard*, I, 229) doubted the existence of this relationship, because "we have no evidence that Peter of Bruys

value, even symbolic, to the sacrifice of the mass, turned to ridicule any prayers for the dead, other prayers, and all good works, and forbade crosses, because they recalled the suffering of Christ.<sup>152</sup> The Provençal heretic was more sophisticated and more brutal than the Flemish heretic. He reasoned and attempted to base all his assertions on Scriptural texts or on principles of common sense. Furthermore, joining action to words, he had monks and priests seized and flogged, overturned altars, tore down crucifixes.

For twenty years, from 1104 to 1124, he journeyed through the Pyrenees, Provence, Languedoc, and Gascony, where he made many disciples. But his iconoclastic violence finally brought about his ruin. Near the city of St. Gilles in Provence, a crowd, exasperated by his sacrilegious attacks, leaped on him, seized him, and dragged him to the stake, where he perished. His successor was a former Cluny monk, Henry of Lausanne, who spread the heresy in Switzerland, Savoy, and the diocese of Le Mans. The followers of Peter of Bruys and of Henry, commonly called Petrobrusians and Henricians, were condemned in 1148 by a council of Reims. A number of them were converted by St. Bernard's preaching; the others allied themselves in 1184 with the sect of the Waldenses.

St. Norbert and his Canons Regular had combated the errors of Tanchelm. To Peter the Venerable and his monks of Cluny fell the task of fighting against the errors of Peter of Bruys.

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professed all the Manichaean errors, for instance, that he condemned the use of meat." But we know, and Vacandard acknowledges, that "Peter of Bruys might have veiled not only the esoteric part of his system," that is, the part which he judged opportune to hide from the crowd he was addressing, for "that is indeed the method of the Manichaeans" (Vacandard, *loc. cit.*). Furthermore, the *Exordium magnum cisterciense* (Dist. I, chap. 17; *PL*, CLXXXV, 427, 1025) and the *Gesta pontif. cenoman.* (*Historiens des Gaules*, XII, 554) apply to Henry, a disciple of Peter of Bruys, the epithet "Manichaean," and nothing proves that they were mistaken on this point.

<sup>152</sup> All our information about Peter of Bruys's doctrine is furnished us by a letter of Peter the Venerable (*Contra Petrobrusianos*; *PL*, CLXXXIX, 720 f.).

The holy abbot wrote, in this connection, to the archbishops of Arles and Embrun, and to the bishops of Die and Gap: "To you belong the right and duty of pursuing error in the retreats where it hides and of attacking it by word and even, at need, by the secular arm. However, Christian charity seeks to convert the heretics rather than to exterminate them. Let us, therefore, try to speak to them in the name of authority and of reason."<sup>153</sup>

This advice was followed. Numerous preachers, monks and clerics, pursued the error wherever it showed itself; they preached not only in the churches and cloisters, but in the public squares and in the fields. That the masses might better understand them, they had to speak, no longer in Latin, but in the Romance tongue.<sup>154</sup> At the same time sacred eloquence assumed a less formal character and became more animated and dramatic. Under certain circumstances the exhortation was changed into a dialogue. Pulpit eloquence lost something of its gravity, but it was more flexible and penetrated the populace; the French language, then in the period of formation, was enriched with idioms and animated expressions that became elements of its originality.<sup>155</sup>

### Communal Movement

From the summit to the base of its hierarchy, the Church recovered, in the midst of so many crises, not only the order essential to its functioning, but a powerful vitality: and this vitality was evidenced in the preponderant influence it exercised on civil society. While the papacy gave proof of its influence over noblemen and kings by organizing the Crusades,

<sup>153</sup> *PL*, CLXXXIX, 721.

<sup>154</sup> Mabillon has established that St. Bernard himself spoke to the monks in Latin, to the people in Romance (*S. Bernardi opera*, preface, §§ 8-15).

<sup>155</sup> Bourgain, *La chaire française au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

the lower clergy manifested its influence over the people by its part in the communal movement.

The country clergy did not create the communal movement. Its origin goes back to political and economic causes historically assignable. In the communal franchises of certain regions of Italy or of southern France we can recognize the survival of Roman communal institutions; <sup>156</sup> and the commercial prosperity of certain regional groups following the Crusades was obviously one of the chief stimulants that led them to organize in an autonomous manner. The advance of communal emancipation has its starting point in the regions that felt the Roman influence most and it followed the direction of the great commercial currents. We must also note that the upper clergy did not always comprehend or favor this movement of enfranchisement. The words of Abbot Fulbert de Nogent are often cited: "Commune! a novel name, a detestable name!" And the words of Bishop Ivo of Chartres: "A communal pact cannot oblige, because it is contrary to the canon law." <sup>157</sup> The excesses committed by certain popular uprisings harmed the movement, so that the reprobation due to these excesses fell on the institution itself; and such or such an ecclesiastical lord might see especially in this emancipation the suppression of the feudal rights belonging to him. But this could not be the viewpoint of the rural clergy, who, living the life of the people and being the daily confidant of their sufferings, had no difficulty in understanding that the time was at hand for such or such an agglomeration to organize for the defense of its rights.

### The Confraternities

Two facts seem to have exercised an important influence on the communal movement: the increasing number of religious confraternities and the associations formed for the Truce of

<sup>156</sup> Cantu, *Hist. univ.*, X, 314.

<sup>157</sup> Lavissee and Rambaud, *Hist. gén.*, II, 427.

God. The merchant, the artisan, or the laborer, associated with his fellows to benefit from a spiritual mutual aid, acquired the habit of common action, of professional or local solidarity. The commune of Chateauneuf near Tours was organized by a confraternity of St. Eloi; at Poitiers the city corporation was recruited in a confraternity of St. Hilary; we are told that the commune of Mantes was created by a confraternity of the Assumption.<sup>158</sup> As to the form of oath taken for the maintenance of the Truce of God, it formed between the members certain agreements more directly connected with the mutual defense of their civil rights: "In favor of every associate who summons me to his aid, and against all those who refuse to keep the truce, I will take up arms; I will bear succor to all those whom I can assist." In the Roman council of 1102 a decision was adopted "that the people, in the presence of the clerics, will take an oath to pursue the violators of the peace." The Council of Clermont, in its ninth canon, made a similar decision. William, papal legate and archbishop of Auch, wrote in 1102: "If anyone attempts to violate the peace, let his prince and his bishop, with the clergy and the people, compel him to repair the damage caused."

Semichon, in his work on the Truce of God, says:

Frequently when we passed by the foot of the old castle towers—their remains still amaze us—or when from the high dismantled walls we turned our eyes to the lowly cottages which the eye can scarcely pick out, hidden as they are in the woods around the base of the towers, we asked ourselves: "How was the inhabitant of the humble cottage able to win equality of rights with the proud lord of the castle tower?" The answer is in our history: the Church and the associations. Henceforth the townsmen of the middle classes and the peasants are strong: they have right on their side; the Church has told them so. They have strength through the association.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 431.

<sup>159</sup> Semichon, *La paix et la Trêve de Dieu*, p. 128.

An eleventh century chronicler, Andrew by name, a monk of St. Benedict, shows us how the Truce of God, the initiative of which had been taken by the bishops and the abbots of Aquitaine, was established at Bourges.

The Archbishop of that great city assembled the poor and the clerics, all the weak and the oppressed of his diocese; he bound them together against the oppressors by an oath which he himself pronounced first of all; and he urged them to form a commune, *ut commune faciant*, that is, a league, a warlike and armed community with the aim of aggression and defense. The league was formed, in fact, by the care of Archbishop Aimoin and his suffragans.<sup>160</sup> Thereafter social conditions changed. Did war break out between two nobles? If they resolve, as formerly, to appeal to force and to lay waste the countryside, at once the people appeal to the bishop, and he, in virtue of the Truce of God, first stops the war for a period of forty days, then summons the two nobles before the peace tribunal; for peace has its tribunals, its judges, its taxes, and its police, which is everybody.<sup>161</sup> But if the nobleman refuses to appear before this ecclesiastical and popular tribunal, if as formerly he decides to appeal to arms, he is excommunicated; and, in case this penalty, at that time so terrible, does not suffice, the plebeian association moves forward at the bishop's word and, led by the curés and elected chiefs, it marches to the assault of the feudal manor.<sup>162</sup>

This was in the first years of the twelfth century. The people of all condition gathered together under the banners of the association of the Truce of God, besieged the castle of Le Puis, with the aid of King Louis VI. "The assault was languishing," relates the monk Suger; "the King's knights were weakening, when a poor bald-headed priest, who arrived with the communities of the parishes of the district, made possible what was

<sup>160</sup> See de Certain, *Miracula S. Bened.*, Bk. V, chaps. 1 f.

<sup>161</sup> Semichon, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-30.

<sup>162</sup> Labbe, *Concilia*, IX, 781.

thought impossible. This man, with unprotected head, carrying before him as his only defense a wretched plank, climbed up rapidly, reached the palisade, and tore it down piece by piece, while crouching under the boards arranged to cover the opening. Rejoicing to see that he succeeded easily, he signaled for aid to those of his people who were hesitating to follow him and were staying in the plain, without taking part in the combat." <sup>163</sup>

From the association for the truce to the association for the oath-bound commune or for the town liberty, was only a step; this step was taken easily. The day when the people met together by commune or by parish instead of assembling by district and diocese, the communal movement began. This change is perceptible under Louis VI. Says the chronicler Orderic Vitalis: "Then a popular community was established in France by the bishops, and the priests accompanied the king for the combats or the sieges with their banners and all the parishioners." <sup>164</sup>

At this same period the word "commune" appears in public documents; but the word "peace" continues for a long time, and we meet it in many cities. This fact is remarkable because the first communes are called indifferently "communes" or "peace"; the sworn members are called *pacarii* ("men of the peace"); the communal oath is called "the oath of peace." Lastly, to make the likeness more complete, the appearance of the first communes exactly coincides with the generalization, the solemn consecration, of the peace associations by the entire Church. <sup>165</sup>

<sup>163</sup> Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, chap. 18; *PL*, CLXXXVI, 1292.

<sup>164</sup> Orderic Vitalis, Bk. IX.

<sup>165</sup> E. Demolins, *Le mouvement communal et municipal au Moyen Age*, pp. 45-49. Semichon in his work *La Paix et la Trêve de Dieu*, from which we have taken several details of our account, has established that the communes were a transformation of the associations for the Truce of God, rather than a survival of the guild and of the Roman *municipium*. Cf. Luchaire, *Les communes françaises sous les Capétiens directs*; René Bourgeois, *Du mouvement communal en Champagne aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*.



## The Christian Life

Peace is indeed the inspiration that seems to dominate the concern of the Church, in the tendencies of the piety of the faithful as also in the canonical legislation of the popes. The Eucharist is more and more in honor. Paschal II moderates the penances and criticizes the violence of the customs; the rights and the duties of the clergy become more precise; and Callistus II crowns this general peace movement by the meeting of the ecumenical council of the Lateran.

Though often repeated, the statement is not exact, that the elevation of the host at mass was instituted immediately after the condemnation of Berengarius of Tours as a protest against his heresy.<sup>166</sup> This ceremony appears only at the end of the twelfth century. But we can note that at the beginning of the twelfth century the Eucharist took a large place in the Christian life. Undeniably Berengarius' heresy, through the reaction that followed, stimulated the people's faith. Communion was better understood. It was recommended with a warmth and delicacy of feeling that foretold the outbursts of piety of a St. Bonaventure and a St. Thomas Aquinas toward the sacrament of the altar. At the same time the rites of penance were moderated. In place of the petition formula of absolution, which in general prevailed up to that time, the indicative form became general. "I absolve you," said the priest; he no longer said: "May the Lord absolve you."<sup>167</sup> Concessions of indulgences increased in number. In 1116 Pope Paschal II granted the first general indulgence. Urban II conceded to the Church of St. Nicholas at Angers the privilege *in perpetuum* of an indulgence for all who should make a visit to it. Callistus II accorded a like favor to the Church of Fontevrault.<sup>168</sup> To put an end to private quarrels or to legal trials, a strange procedure was still in honor: it was

<sup>166</sup> See Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, IV, 2322. Cf. II, 740.

<sup>167</sup> Vacandard in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, I, 167.

<sup>168</sup> Galtier, art. "Indulgences" in the *Dict. apol de la foi. cath.*, II, 733.

the "judgment of God." A person was thought to prove his innocence or the justice of his cause by walking through the flames, by walking barefoot over hot iron, by being thrown, with arms and legs tied, into a large vessel of water (cold or boiling hot). Paschal II declared in clear language that he disapproved all these practices, taken from a gross superstition.<sup>169</sup>

In the ecclesiastical organization an element of order and peace was progressively formed. In the course of countless conflicts which filled the eleventh century, many occasions were furnished to regulate the respective rights and duties of clerics with regard to one another and to the laity. The juridical condition of the pastor, the canon, the bishop, was better determined, as also the supreme authority of the pope.

The bonds of vassalage that existed between the heads of the parishes and the nobles almost disappeared. The feudal suzerainty was followed by the patronage, a milder regime which conferred on the nobles only the right of presentation and sometimes homage.<sup>170</sup> The parish at times was governed by a chaplain, more often by a pastor, by a chapter, or by a monastery. The parish clergy gained in morality and in public regard after the breaking of the close bonds of dependence on the lay lords. Now the pastor was required to possess certain moral and physical qualities, canonical age, and a sufficient degree of education.<sup>171</sup> At the same time the landed property of the parishes increased. Gradual restitution was made of possessions usurped by the nobles, and many pious donations augmented the parish patrimony. A fewer number of pastors, driven by the meagerness of their resources, engaged in the practice of law and medicine.

The communities of the clergy serving the churches were called chapters; their members were called canons. Cathedral

<sup>169</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 480.

<sup>170</sup> Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises. Période des Capétiens directs*, p. 7.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

chapters served the cathedral church of the episcopal city; collegiate chapters were charged with the public worship and prayer in the other churches of the city and in those of cities and villages which had no pastor of their own.<sup>172</sup> In general, the chapter had at its head a dean or provost, elected by it, then a chanter, etc. It was lord of the lands constituting the capitular domain, which was administered by the provost. A large number of chapters embraced the rule of St. Victor or of Prémontré; but others resisted vigorously: for example, the Paris chapter, sustained in this by Louis the Fat, and the chapter of Compiègne.<sup>173</sup>

The cathedral chapters henceforth had a considerable importance. From the middle of the eleventh century they had in their hand the election of bishops. Sometimes they themselves elected new members to fill vacancies in the chapter; and then they constituted a power that might rival the authority of the bishop. But in many places the bishop was able to reserve to himself the appointment of the canons, with the approval of the chapter for each appointment.

### The Hierarchy

The nobles and the kings had excessively augmented the prerogatives of the bishops' power when they endeavored to make the bishops their liege men. But at the beginning of the twelfth century the episcopal power lost some of its importance. The chapters and the pope recovered some of its prerogatives; but its essential rights were firmly maintained. Even when the pastor was presented by the lord in virtue of a right of patronage, the bishop was the one who instituted him, who received his oath of fidelity, and who had him installed by the dean. The pastor could introduce no personnel, even lay, into the administra-

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>173</sup> Luchaire in Lavis, *Hist. de France*, II, Part II, 251-59.

tion of his church, nor could he collect any tithe without his bishop's consent.

The authority of the metropolitans underwent the same evolution as that of the bishops. The metropolitans had arrogated to themselves the right of instituting the bishops without recourse to the pope, to pass judgment in case of rivalries, even to create bishoprics. The papacy maintained and energetically confirmed the metropolitans' right of jurisdiction over the bishops of their province;<sup>174</sup> it recognized their right of custody over vacant churches, the right of investigation in elections, the right to consecrate their suffragans; but it took from them the other powers, which would constitute them autonomous prelates to the great harm of the unity of the Church.

In extraordinary circumstances the popes entrusted special powers to legates. These powers were restricted to a particular region, sometimes to a specific matter.<sup>175</sup> The legates were often chosen from the cardinals.

The body of cardinals, organized in 1059,<sup>176</sup> included, in the time of Callistus II, six cardinal-bishops, twenty-eight cardinal-priests, and eighteen cardinal-deacons. It revived, around the Roman pontiff, the ancient *presbyterium* which surrounded the bishops of earlier times.<sup>177</sup> We have seen the preponderant part belonging to it since 1051 in the election of the popes.

As to the power of the papacy, the sad crises it had to pass through did but make it more precise and stronger. At the Lateran Council of 1102, Paschal II aroused no objection from the bishops present, when he asked them to promise under oath "to approve and to condemn whatever the Roman Church would approve or condemn." Henceforth the pope exercised without

<sup>174</sup> *PL*, CLI, 495.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, CXLVI, 1295; CLXIII, 241, 1186, 1323.

<sup>176</sup> Before 1059 the word *cardinalis* designated the titular priest of a church. Sometimes it was also used with reference to the clergy of the episcopal city as distinguished from the rest of the diocesan clergy.

<sup>177</sup> Dufourcq, *L'avenir du christianisme. Le passé chrétien*, VI, 61.

hindrance his right to depose bishops, to confirm their election, to settle their differences, to create bishoprics, to confer their powers on metropolitans by sending the pallium to them, to establish primates, and to send legates wherever he judged opportune for the welfare of the Church. Neither the resistance of certain bishops and of certain kings, nor the momentary weaknesses of Paschal II prevented this acknowledgment of the supreme authority of the Roman pontiff.

Callistus thought the time had come to have sanctioned by a plenary assembly of the episcopate the results acquired during the long struggles which the Church had just passed through. On March 18, 1123, the third Sunday of Lent, he assembled at the Lateran three hundred bishops,<sup>178</sup> who came from all the countries of Christendom. This was the ninth of the ecumenical councils, the first held in the West. At it no new dogma and no new disciplinary law was promulgated; but all the progress realized by the Church during the latter centuries was confirmed, made precise, and approved. The Concordat of Worms was read and corrected, and twenty-two canons were published. Again condemnation was decreed against simony, clerical concubinage, the encroachments of the laity in the realm of ecclesiastical affairs, forbidden marriages, infractions of the Truce of God, debasement of coinage, the violation of the oath to take up arms against the infidels, and attacks committed against pilgrims. The relations between monks and bishops were regulated, as were several special matters.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>178</sup> This is the figure given by Suger, who was present at the council. The figure 997, given by Pandulph, seems to be a copyist's error.

<sup>179</sup> See the Latin text and the English translation in Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, pp. 178 ff., 542 ff. (Tr.) Canon 21 reads as follows: "We absolutely forbid priests, deacons, subdeacons, and monks to have concubines or to contract marriage. We decree in accordance with the definitions of the sacred canons, that marriages already contracted by such persons be dissolved, and that the persons be condemned to do penance." Some have at times concluded from this text that, until the First Council of the Lateran, the celibacy of those in major orders, although a matter of precept, was not considered a diriment impediment of marriage (Vacandard, *Etudes de critique et d'histoire*, p. 119). Thus stated, the

Callistus lived but a short time after the great council. He died on December 13, 1124. Emperor Henry V, the last of the race of Franconia, followed him to the grave, on May 22, 1125, at the age of forty-four.

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assertion seems too absolute. Let us note that the text of the council declares the nullity of the marriage of those in major orders by basing the decree on "the definitions of the sacred canons." From a study of several texts previous to 1123, we see that the Council of the Lateran, in pronouncing the impediment of orders for ecclesiastics in major orders, was merely consecrating an opinion that had become more and more accentuated and that had already been confirmed by provincial councils (Synod of Troyes, under Paschal II). On this question, see Choupin, *Valeur des décisions du Saint Siège*, pp. 393 f.

## PART III

### THE ORGANIZATION OF CHRISTENDOM

NEITHER the ecumenical Council of the Lateran nor the extinction of the imperial house of Franconia in the person of Henry V put an end to every conflict. Under the domination of the Hohenstaufens, the Church had to sustain many rude combats. But the conditions of the struggle were changed. From the long quarrel of the investitures, the Empire had retired enfeebled; the Church emerged free from its feudal shackles. From this a twofold consequence followed: the Empire, exhausted by the incessant plots of a turbulent feudalism and by its ambitions of conquests in Italy, no longer had the strength to give itself the powerful constitution it needed; the papacy, while resisting the external and internal enemies of the Church, found itself able to organize Christendom. Further, the Holy Germanic Empire was no longer the only great power in Europe. A nation which wise monarchical institutions had made great and on which the Crusades cast a brilliance of knightly valor, France, governed by the holiest and most just of kings, Louis IX, gave the Church her support. Thanks to the providential concurrence of these circumstances, the popes of the thirteenth century, among them Pope Innocent III, endowed the world with great religious, political, social, literary, and artistic institutions, which form the glory of the Middle Ages.



## CHAPTER VIII

### *From Honorius II to Frederick Barbarossa (1124-52)*

BETWEEN the death of the last Franconian emperor (Henry V) in 1125 and the coming of the most celebrated of the Hohenstaufens (Frederick Barbarossa) in 1152, five popes followed one another on the throne of St. Peter; a general council was celebrated; a Crusade was undertaken; heretics and schismatics disturbed the Church, while learned men instructed it and while great saints edified it. At first glance we do not easily see any unity in this period of transition. But the unity of the epoch is found at least in the influence of the great monk who dominated it with his genius and penetrated it with his inspiration: Bernard of Clairvaux. Counselor of popes, light of councils, preacher of the Crusade, dread adversary of heresies, and most eminent representative of the sacred sciences, Bernard accomplished a providential work: he assured to the Church the fruits of her victory over the Franconian emperors and prepared her to sustain the struggle against the new dynasty of the Hohenstaufens.

At almost the same time the Church had to elect a pope, and Germany an emperor. These two elections took place in the midst of circumstances that were particularly difficult. One of the regrettable results of the investiture quarrel had been to favor, at Rome as in Germany, an excessive increase of the aristocratic power. To win the nobles to their cause or to hold them, the popes and the emperors had been led to multiply their privileges and to tolerate their encroachments. But this generosity and tolerance had eventually constituted, beside the papal and the imperial power, powerful houses that had to be reckoned with.

## Pope Honorius II

At Rome two great rival houses, that of the Frangipani and that of the Pierleoni, each hoped to impose on the Church a pope of its choice. The Frangipani seem to have had a friendly feeling for the German policy, whereas the Pierleoni incarnated rather the popular and national party.<sup>1</sup> The former's candidate was Cardinal Lambert, bishop of Ostia, the negotiator of the Concordat of Worms; the latter favored one of the papal legates at Worms, Cardinal Saxo. To avoid the danger of the election of an antipope, the cardinals put aside the two candidates and unanimously chose Cardinal Theobald, who took the name of Celestine II. The *Te Deum* was intoned. Lambert of Ostia joined his voice with that of the assembly. But the singing of the thanksgiving had barely begun, when Robert Frangipani, accompanied by a band of his followers, suddenly acclaimed Lambert and had the papal mantle placed on his shoulders. The Bishop of Ostia resisted, and refused to lend himself to so irregular an election. The disorder, fomented by the two hostile parties, lasted five days. The prudence of the cardinals put an end to it. Celestine II, to bring about peace, abdicated, and the electors then agreed on Lambert, who, under these new conditions, accepted the tiara. He was canonically proclaimed pope on December 21, 1124, under the name of Honorius II, and was at once acknowledged by all. The new Pope was sprung from parents who were not wealthy and were of obscure condition in the district of Bologna. By the sole force of his talent, he had risen to the most esteemed positions in the Church.<sup>2</sup> Throughout his life he remained faithful to the spirit of prudence and moderation which he manifested at the time of his election.

<sup>1</sup> Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, IV, 390.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Duchesne, *Lib. pontif.*, I, 327.

Not satisfied with thus ending the painful conflicts stirred up at Rome in connection with the papal election, Honorius II did all he could to ward off the strifes which he foresaw would probably break out in connection with the imperial election. The fiercest cupidity was involved. Honorius II had had frequent occasions to become acquainted with this condition during the negotiations which he was commissioned to carry on in Germany regarding the investiture quarrel. Upon learning of the death of Henry V, his first care was to send to Germany a legate, who would follow at close hand the events which he feared would occur.

The fears often manifested by Henry IV and Henry V during their strife against Rome, with regard to the claims of the German aristocracy, were in no way exaggerated. While the emperors were absorbed by their conflicts with the Holy See, feudal Germany was being constituted almost as it continued until modern times. "All fiefs are now hereditary, and when vacant can be granted afresh only by consent of the States; the jurisdiction of the crown is less wide; the idea is beginning to make progress that the most essential part of the Empire is not its supreme head but the totality of princes and barons." <sup>3</sup>

For a century the imperial house of Saxony, and for another century the imperial house of Franconia, had labored to make the Empire hereditary. This they did by the reigning sovereign designating his son, by associating him in the government of the Empire, or by recommending him to the choice of the electors. But henceforth the feudal nobles were resolved to bring about the triumph of the elective principle in all its fulness.<sup>4</sup> In vain Henry V before his death summoned, in the presence of all the princes at his court, his wife Matilda and his nephew Frederick of Hohenstaufen, entrusting to this latter the care

<sup>3</sup> Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. 10, p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

of protecting the princess and of watching over her heritage. This implicit choice, even though so discreet, rather turned the nobles against Duke Frederick than won them to his cause.

### Emperor Lothair

Still young—he was only thirty-five years old—Frederick, duke of Swabia, descendant of the noble family of the Hohenstaufens, was endowed with great qualities. But the lords, both ecclesiastic and lay, in an assembly presided over by Archbishop Adalbert of Mainz, at which the papal legate Gerard took part, preferred a man of more mature age, Lothair of Supplinburg, duke of Saxony and margrave of Meissen and Lusatia. To the ecclesiastical lords, this candidate offered the guaranty of a devotedness to the Holy See, if not more sincere, at least more tried than that of the Duke of Swabia; the lay princes appreciated that he was relying on the most homogeneous part of the Empire. Pope Honorius, requested to approve this choice, ratified it solemnly.<sup>5</sup> Frederick of Hohenstaufen himself took the oath of fidelity to Lothair.<sup>6</sup>

The *Narratio de electione Lotharii* declares explicitly that Lothair, at the moment of his election, renounced two important privileges of the Concordat of Worms, namely, the right to be present personally at the episcopal elections and the right to give investiture before the consecration.<sup>7</sup> The silence of later chroniclers and historians on this point, and the fact that Lothair, without raising any protest from the Holy See, later

<sup>5</sup> Jaffé, no. 7413.

<sup>6</sup> Watterich, II, 160 f. At that time the right of election was not the privilege of a small number of prince-electors and was not yet subject to official regulation. The prince-electors as a distinct body are not mentioned until 1156 (*M. G., Leges*, Vol. II). But in this election of 1125 we see the outline of this organization. Ten of the highest princes of the Empire met to make preparations for the election of a new king. Then they named a commission of forty trusted persons. A certain rule of procedure was adopted in the deliberations. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, V, 653.

<sup>7</sup> *M. G., SS.*, XII, 511.

exercised these rights, have cast doubt upon the testimony of the *Narratio*. Probably we should admit, with some historians, that the King personally made these concessions to the legate, but that they failed to obtain the necessary approval of the princes.<sup>8</sup> In any event, Lothair subsequently always showed himself loyal in following all the clauses of the Concordat of Worms favorable to the Holy See, and was ever ready generously to take in hand the cause of the Church whenever the occasion offered.

Honorius, for his part, firmly sustained the cause of Lothair. Conrad of Hohenstaufen, the brother of Frederick of Swabia, rose up against the newly elected Emperor, with the title of king and had the crown of Italy bestowed on him by the Archbishop of Milan. The Pope thereupon, in the midst of the paschal solemnity of the year 1128, pronounced, with the usual ceremonial, the excommunication of the "false king Conrad, of his brother Frederick, and of their followers."<sup>9</sup> Besides, Honorius sent to Lombardy Cardinal John of Crema, who, in a council held at Pavia, had the Archbishop of Milan excommunicated and deposed for daring to crown Conrad. These measures and the deposition of the patriarchs of Aquileia and of Grado, who had joined the party of Conrad, resulted promptly in isolating the Hohenstaufen and in obliging him to return to Germany without obtaining anything.

### The Church in England

Honorius showed the same prudence and the same political firmness in his dealings with England, France, and Sicily. The relations between the Holy See and the King of England were made very strained by a double conflict, going back to the preceding pontificate and not yet settled. In 1119 Pope Callistus

<sup>8</sup> H. Witte, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Wormser Konkordats*, Part I, p. 92.

<sup>9</sup> Jaffé, no. 7308.

II had consecrated at Reims, in spite of the express prohibition of the King, the priest Thurstan, archbishop-elect of York, who had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the archbishop of Canterbury or to receive episcopal consecration from him. Henry I, deeply offended, then forbade Thurstan residence in Normandy and England.<sup>10</sup> Further, the King of England then claimed, by virtue of a privilege going back to William the Conqueror, the right to prevent at his own pleasure any papal legate from exercising his functions in England. He said: "The question is not one of inflicting harm on the primacy of the pope, but of safeguarding the rights of the legate for Great Britain, who is such by virtue of being archbishop of Canterbury. Honorius II resolved to put an end to both conflicts. Following long negotiations, he succeeded not only in obtaining the admission of Thurstan to England and the acceptance of the legate John of Crema, but also the holding at London in 1125 of a council at which Thurstan of York sat at the side of William of Canterbury. The Council of London confirmed the reform ordinances published by St. Anselm in 1102 and 1108, and referred to Rome the solution of the difference which divided the archbishops of York and Canterbury."<sup>11</sup>

### The Church in France

At about this same period, in France the difficulties that set the king and the episcopate in opposition to each other were themselves of a less serious nature. But, through the incidents they aroused, through the passions they started, and through the regrettable misunderstandings they occasioned, they came near letting loose a storm as dreadful for the Church as for France. The zeal of Bernard of Clairvaux and the consummate prudence of Honorius brought about a peaceful solution.

<sup>10</sup> *PL*, CLIX, 505.

<sup>11</sup> *Mansi*, XXI, 333; *Hefele-Leclercq*, V, 657-60.

The notable measures of monastic reform, emanating from Cluny, Clairvaux, St. Victor, and Prémontré, brought about some disturbance in the state. "Louis the Fat, notwithstanding his attachment to the Church, showed himself rather disinclined to the introduction of the religious reform in his kingdom. This prince, whose life was one long military epic, naturally considered the bishops and abbots as mere vassals. When a conflict of interests arose between him and his clergy, the temptation to oppose right by might was hard for him to resist. In this matter his council oddly favored his policy. 'The less regular an abbey is,' they used to say at court, 'the more it is dependent on the king and the more useful it is, at least in what concerns the temporal interests.'"<sup>12</sup> With such principles, a conflict between the Church and the state was inevitable."<sup>13</sup>

The conflict broke out in connection with the reform which the bishop of Paris, Stephen of Senlis, converted by St. Bernard, wished to introduce in his clergy. Louis the Fat expressly forbade the Bishop "to make any changes in the customs, statutes, and orders of the Church of Paris."<sup>14</sup> The King's interference in the realm of ecclesiastical discipline was manifest. The Bishop ignored the monarch's prohibition. The latter laid hands on the *regalia*. The Bishop replied by imposing an interdict on the diocese of Paris. Thereupon the wrath of the King's court reached its height. Stephen, his life in danger, fled to Sens to his metropolitan, while his foes pounced on his possessions as on some prey.<sup>15</sup>

At this juncture the Abbot of Clairvaux thought the time had come for him to intervene. By a courageous letter and later personally at an audience with the King, he urged the clear prescriptions of the Church laws, threatened the King with an interdict more general than the first, and finally exclaimed:

<sup>12</sup> Abelard, *Hist. calamitatum*, in the *Rec. des hist. des crois.*, XIV, 290.

<sup>13</sup> Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, I, 263.

<sup>14</sup> Luchaire, *Louis le Gros*, no. 424.

<sup>15</sup> St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 45.

"Sire, take care that God does not avenge upon your eldest son the outrage you are inflicting on His bishops." The King, seized with an uncertain terror, promised everything that was asked.<sup>16</sup>

But the cunning monarch had not waited until that hour to maneuver on the side of Rome. Shortly after this interview, a brief from Honorius reached Paris, unconditionally lifting the interdict imposed by the Bishop. Honorius, deceived by the lying reports which Louis the Fat had sent him, decided in favor of the King. The latter at once withdrew all his promises. From that moment on, the affair became embroiled. We have a tearful letter of St. Bernard, begging the Pontiff, "for the honor of the Church," to revoke "the rescript which had been surreptitiously obtained from him by a lie." We know also that Stephen of Senlis, after a short sojourn at Lagny in the states of the Count of Champagne, appeared before Louis the Fat. The details of this meeting have remained a mystery for historians. But we are certain that Honorius revoked his decision and that he sent a legate (Matthew, cardinal-bishop of Albano) to France with instructions to negotiate the peace between the Bishop of Paris and Louis the Fat. These negotiations resulted in an accord, for no trace of the conflict again appears in the writings of contemporaries and, about the end of 1129 or the beginning of 1130, the peace seems well established between the Church and the state.

### Sicily

The issue of the disputes that arose between the Pope and Count Roger of Sicily were less happy. Roger, after the death of his cousin William, duke of Apulia (July 26, 1127), invaded his domains, disregarding the claims of Bohemund, who was then in Palestine, and the rights of the Pope as suzerain. Honorius fulminated anathema against the usurper and attempted

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 46, 47.



to restrict him. But Roger succeeded in having the affair drag out and, profiting by this delay, detached several nobles from the cause of the Pope, who was forced to treat with his adversary. Honorius gave up continuing the dispute about the possession of Apulia. However, he required Roger to take the oath of vassalage and to acknowledge the rights of the Holy See, so often contested, over Benevento.

### Papal Elections

While Pope Honorius was laboring to settle these various conflicts, he was not unaware that his enemies were preparing a more terrible conflict. The Pierleoni family, vanquished at the papal election of 1125, were on the watch for the Pontiff's death so as to renew its ambitious claims to the tiara. At the beginning of February, 1130, the Pope, feeling himself grievously attacked by disease, had himself moved from the Lateran to the monastery of St. Gregory. His purpose was to shield the future election, as far as possible, from the encroachments of the Roman nobility. But the latter did not remain inactive; as the Pope's illness grew worse, a constantly increasing excitement was evident in Rome.

The Sacred College saw it would have to take exceptional measures in view of the violent competitions that were being prepared. A commission of eight cardinals was appointed, which, immediately after the Pope's death, should meet in St. Adrian's Church and there, provided with plenary powers by the other members of the Sacred College, should by themselves proceed to the election. Means of defense were set up around this church. At the same time, the leader of the Frangipani party and the leader of the Pierleoni party were sent for and they were required to take an oath to acknowledge the pope regularly elected. Rumors and popular disturbances, stirred up by the Pierleoni, and the struggle that had to be undertaken

to gain possession of St. Adrian's Church, showed that all these precautions were not enough. The Pierleoni were rich; with their fortune they could easily pay and organize a whole army. At any price, something had to be done to prevent them from getting the start and, if once they proclaimed their candidate, to prevent their imposing him by force, thus rendering any other election impossible.

### Pope Innocent II

Pope Honorius died during the night of February 13. At day-break, before news of the Pope's death was spread in the city, the Pope's body was hastily placed in a temporary vault, and the cardinals present (four bishops, five priests, five deacons), in all fourteen members of the Sacred College, proceeded to the election of the new pontiff. The cardinal-deacon Gregory of Sant' Angelo was designated by unanimous vote and, after a moment of natural hesitation, accepted the formidable burden.<sup>17</sup> He took the name of Innocent II.

But, in the afternoon of the same day, twenty cardinals, partisans of the Pierleoni, met together and chose for pope, under the name of Anacletus II, the cardinal-priest Pierleone. The mighty house had already won the people by its gold, and a large part of the nobility by its relationships. On the very day of his election, Innocent II, finding that he was not safe, had to flee to a monastery. Only two Roman families remained faithful to him: the Frangipani and the Corsi. In the month of May, the defection of the Frangipani, who passed over to the party of his foes, forced him to withdraw to a fortress of his family in Trastevere. New threats against the safety of his person and the conviction that no solution could emerge from the agitation of the parties in Rome and Italy, determined him

<sup>17</sup> For the details of this election and a criticism of the documents containing the account of it, see Hefele-Leclercq, V, 676-80 and Vacandard, *op. cit.*, I, 280 f.

to seek refuge in France with Louis the Fat. From there he would more easily address the universal Church. King Lothair, informed in the month of February of the Pope's situation, by a legate and later by two letters addressed, one to him personally, the other to his subjects, had not replied. According as Germany abandoned the protective mission over the Church which it had previously assumed, France more and more became the providential support on which the papacy relied in times of crisis.

### Council of Etampes

What Innocent found in France was not merely a nation devoted by tradition to the defense of the Holy See, not merely a powerful king who, despite certain weaknesses, was sincerely attached to the faith, but also the great reformer whose prestige was more and more recognized in all Christendom. As soon as the Pope and the King of France expressed the wish to convoke a council in France to settle the question of the lawful pope, all eyes turned to Bernard of Clairvaux. Louis the Fat and several bishops urgently begged him to come to the council. The holy abbot prepared by prayer and fasting for the task which awaited him. The council met at Etampes.<sup>18</sup> One of its first acts was a unanimous decision that Bernard would be judge of the great question.

Never in the course of the ages had such a mission been confided to one man. The question was most grave and delicate. From the standpoint of strict legality, neither of the elections was altogether safe from criticism. Although the vote of the twenty cardinals who acclaimed Anacletus II might be called tumultuous, still the vote of the fourteen cardinals who elected

<sup>18</sup> On the date of this council, which probably took place in the spring of 1131, see Vacandard, "St. Bernard et le schisme d'Anaclet II en France" in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, January, 1888, p. 12. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, V, 681 note 1.

Innocent II could be called surreptitious. But the Abbot of Clairvaux, as a real statesman, took the more positive point of view. An inquiry into the canonical regularity of the electoral procedure was impractical. However, the two competitors, the two parties, the two elections could be compared with each other. Which of the two competitors offered in his person the greater guaranties of integrity and worthiness? Which represented the sounder part of the electoral body? Which had been elected in the more regular fashion? <sup>19</sup>

The replies to all these three questions evidently militated in favor of Innocent II. In the person of Anacletus, as in that of his electors and in the manner of his election, everything suggested the ideas of unworthiness, simony, and disorder. Bernard decided in favor of Innocent. If something was lacking for the lawfulness of his election, it was for the universal Church to supply that by ratifying the vote of his electors. This supplement of guaranty, in so far as it might be necessary, was quickly given. The decision of St. Bernard and of the Council of Etampes was like a flash of light, which promptly turned away from the antipope Anacletus at first the Church of France, then the Churches of Germany, England, Castile, and Aragon. Soon the cause of Anacletus was backed by nobody except the Duke of Aquitaine and the Count of Sicily. The former was urged by Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, whom Innocent II was unwilling to confirm in his office of legate; the antipope had won the latter by conferring the royal dignity on him and by giving him his sister's hand in marriage.

### The Antipope Anacletus II

True, the duchy of Aquitaine and the countship of Sicily formed only a very small part of Christendom. But the prestige

<sup>19</sup> *Quis dignior? Quae electio sanior? Quae actio ordinabilior?* St. Bernard, in one of his letters (124) sets forth the reasons that made him decide in favor of Innocent II.

enjoyed by Gerard of Angoulême, the soul of the schism in southeastern France, was immense, and the Normans of Sicily represented a military power that had to be reckoned with. Innocent II, or rather his most trusted adviser, Bernard of Clairvaux, thought that the especially important thing was to make sure of the agreement of King Lothair. The agreement was reached easily. The head of the Church had need of the armed support of the monarch; the latter, like his predecessors, desired to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff. In November, 1132, the Pope and the King of Germany met near Piacenza in the plain of Roncaglia. Of this interview we have no details except that they fixed the next spring as the time for their common march toward Rome.

The antipope Anacletus trembled for his cause, the more as his authority was declining at Rome and as in Italy his chief support, Roger of Sicily, had just been overcome by an insurrection of the nobles of Apulia. He hastened to negotiate with Lothair. His proposals were flattering for the monarch's ambition: the two competitors were to withdraw from the contest, and the King of Germany was to preside at a new papal election. Lothair and his court were on the point of being caught in the snare; but the Abbot of Clairvaux, who had accompanied the Pope in his journey, disclosed the trickery. He showed that the antipope's project was contrary to the canons. "The universal Church," said Bernard, "has spoken; it has pronounced against Anacletus and his accomplices; the case is adjudged; a decision rendered by all Christendom cannot be referred to a particular tribunal."<sup>20</sup> The King yielded to this argument. He perceived that his entry into Rome at the head of a powerful army was the only means of extinguishing the schism.

The expedition was carried out without encountering any resistance. On April 30, 1133, the imperial troops made their entry into the Eternal City. The next day, Innocent II occupied

<sup>20</sup> St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 26, no. 11.

the Lateran Palace. The last followers of Anacletus had withdrawn to the fortresses of the Pierleoni and were still holding the basilica of St. Peter. Lothair failed to dislodge them from these last places of retreat by a regular siege, which would have required too much time. The stay in Rome had become dangerous for the German army on account of the fevers. As St. Peter's was not available, Lothair asked that he receive the imperial crown in the Church of the Lateran. On June 4, 1133, in the hands of Innocent II, he swore "to protect the papal dignity and to defend the fiefs of the Holy See." Then the Pontiff crowned him emperor.<sup>21</sup>

Although weakened, the schism persisted at Rome. It was especially alive in Aquitaine and in Sicily. There Bernard of Clairvaux undertook the task of pursuing it.

<sup>21</sup> On this occasion the Pope and the Emperor renewed the promise to observe religiously the reciprocal agreements made at Worms. They also concluded an accord on the subject of the property which was left by Countess Matilda to the Holy See and over which the German emperors claimed to have rights of suzerainty and even of ownership. They decided that, by the annual payment of 100 livres of silver the Emperor and his son-in-law Henry of Bavaria should receive as fiefs the alodial lands which Matilda had given to the Roman Church. Duke Henry of Bavaria would take an oath of vassalage and fidelity to the pope and, after the death of the Duke and his wife Gertrude, the property of Matilda would return in full to the Roman Church (Jaffé, no. 7633). Cf. Theiner, *Cod. diplom. dom. temp.*, I, 12. "What was the extent of Countess Matilda's donation? This point has been much discussed. Opinion is divided. Without entering into this discussion, we will, so far as possible, set forth the results. In the deed of donation, Matilda said merely: *Dedi omnia bona mea jure proprietario*; that is, her alodial lands, her lands that were free from subjection, not dependent on any lord. Which were these alodial lands? They were not the Tuscan March, given in fief by the emperor to the countess' father, and before that to her grandfather. They were not the countship of Ferrara, ceded by the pope, a possession which, after the death of the vassal, would have to return to the suzerain. The assignment of alodial lands in the midst of fiefs is something bizarre and extremely difficult to explain. They were scattered over the whole extent of the territory. By combining the text that refers to Countess Matilda's donation, we see that this donation included parcels of land that were generally far separated from one another and that formed a notable extent only at the extremity of Romagna near the frontiers of the district that became the duchy of Modena" (Henri de l'Épinois, *Le gouvernement des papes*, pp. 43 f.).

## Gerard of Angoulême

Gerard of Angoulême is a significant figure. Former legate of Popes Paschal II, Gelasius II, Callistus II, and Honorius II, with marvelous diplomatic talent he had conducted the most delicate affairs. As professor in the schools of Poitiers, he had acquired the reputation of an acute theologian, a well-informed canonist, a prudent and safe moralist. His views carried weight in the councils.<sup>22</sup> The charm of his conversation and the loftiness of his eloquence, no less than his dexterity in momentous affairs, won for him enthusiastic admirers and friends in the many countries where he had traveled. Many of these friends, even after his worst defections, remained loyal to him, palliated his faults, and covered him with so much praise for his learning and his character, that they disconcerted the judgment of many historians.<sup>23</sup>

Gerard's danger lay precisely in this immense success. Apparently the Bishop of Angoulême was never blameworthy in his moral conduct, and we are told that all his life he showed himself charitable toward the poor. But he was unable to resist the intoxication of power. Under four successive pontificates he had had in hand the conducting of the weightiest affairs of the Church. When he saw, in 1125, two candidates contesting their right to the tiara, he was fearful of seeing his lofty position slip from him. From each of the two competitors he solicited the retention of his office. This was his first weakness. Anacletus gladly granted his request. But Innocent II, probably advised by the Abbot of Clairvaux, discovered the pride of this man, and refused services that were suspected of being inspired by a selfish ambition.

Removed from his office of papal legate, Gerard, who had

<sup>22</sup> Notably at the Council of the Lateran (1112), where he found means of extricating Paschal II from his disastrous promises given to Henry V (*Historiens des Gaules*, XII, 394).

<sup>23</sup> Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, I, 317.

seen above him only the authority of the pope and who, unable to aspire to that office, was unwilling to accept the loss of his high rank, assumed the task of making a pope. To advance Anacletus to the power by driving out Innocent II, he stirred up the dioceses of Angoulême, Limoges, Poitiers, and Bordeaux; in favor of the antipope he drew up memorials full of legal science and cleverly studied sophisms; <sup>24</sup> and especially he won to his cause William X, count of Poitiers. This prince, "of weak and violent character, of light morals, and of misconceived piety," placed an imposing material force at the service of the antipope and in the hands of Gerard.

Several steps taken by Peter the Venerable and St. Bernard had been unavailing against the obstinacy of the prelate and of the Count, when, about the end of 1134, the Abbot of Clairvaux judged the time was ripe to renew his attempts. The strengthening of Pope Innocent's authority had necessarily lessened the power of the schism. Further, the irregular occupation of the episcopal see of Bordeaux by the Bishop of Angoulême had turned his suffragans and the Bordeaux people against him. Bernard went to Aquitaine and proposed to the two leaders of the schismatic party a public debate. William agreed merely to argue the question with the Abbot of Clairvaux in his castle at Parthenay. Shaken by the powerful argumentation of the monk, but not daring to break with his friends, the Count hesitated, evaded, prolonged the controversy for several days. To end the affair, Bernard proposed to the Count that they turn to God. He would celebrate mass in the venerated shrine of Notre Dame de La Coudre and, in the presence of the people, would implore the light of heaven. The sacrifice began and continued up to the moment of communion amid religious silence. After giving the pax to the people, Bernard, as though under an impulse of sudden inspiration, took the

<sup>24</sup> *Historiens des Gaules*, XII, 366-68.



consecrated host on the paten and turned straight toward the Count of Poitiers: "Here is the Son of the Virgin who comes to you," he said. "Here is your judge. Are you going to reject Him? Are you going to despise Him, as you have despised His servants?" The Count, as though astounded by these words and this sight, fell on his knees and promised to abandon the schism.<sup>25</sup> He died piously three years later, on Good Friday, 1137, while on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostela. Gerard preceded him to the grave by a year.<sup>26</sup>

Historians are not agreed in their accounts of the last moments of the Bishop of Angoulême. St. Bernard says that he died suddenly. We may hope that the almsgiving which the prelate practiced up to his last hour and which, according to the Scripture, has the power to blot out sins,<sup>27</sup> obtained the grace of final repentance for him who, before being the victim of his own renown, had been one of the glories of the French episcopate in the twelfth century.

### Pope Innocent II at Pisa

While these events were taking place in Aquitaine, Innocent II was living at Pisa, where he had withdrawn to avoid a conflict with Anacletus. There he awaited a favorable occasion to resume the struggle against the party of the antipope. At the beginning of 1135 a letter from the Abbot of Clairvaux informed him that the moment had come. Bernard wrote: "Pisa has been chosen to replace Rome. This is not the result of chance, but a favor of Providence. . . . O Pisans, Pisans, the Lord intends to do great things in you."<sup>28</sup>

But, before the campaign should be started, material sup-

<sup>25</sup> *Vita Bernardi*, Bk. II, chap. 6, nos. 37 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Historiens des Gaules*, XII, 395, 397.

<sup>27</sup> Tobias 12: 9.

<sup>28</sup> St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 130. Cf. 140.

port must be assured. In a council held at Reims (October, 1131), the Pope had received the adherence of three kings (Henry I of England, Alfonso VII of Castile, and Alfonso I of Aragon). In that same council, he had consecrated the son of King Louis the Fat of France. However, none of these princes could take the part which Lothair reserved to himself as the proper mission of his imperial dignity. Innocent II sent Bernard to Germany to hasten the pacification of the Empire, still upset by the rivalries of the Hohenstaufens. During the summer of 1134, the son-in-law of Lothair, Henry of Bavaria, had, in a brilliant two-months' campaign, succeeded in isolating the army of the enemy and had compelled Philip of Swabia to sue for grace and pardon. The Emperor's first impulse was to refuse any condition and to ruin completely the power of his foe; but the Abbot of Clairvaux, in a diet at Bamberg (March 17, 1135), at which he was present in the name of the Pope, prevailed upon both parties to accept a peace treaty by which Frederick recovered his duchy of Swabia, and in return promised his fidelity to the Emperor and his assistance in an expedition against Rome. For a while Conrad persisted in his opposition, but he finally had to yield and to accept similar conditions, about the end of September, 1135.

### Council of Pisa

Immediately after the close of the diet of Bamberg, Innocent II assembled a council at Pisa (May, 1135).<sup>29</sup> The antipope Anacletus and his principal defender, Roger of Sicily, were anathematized. Interdict was pronounced on Sicily and Apulia; to all who had taken arms against Roger and against the antipope, was accorded an absolution like that which Urban II had accorded at Clermont for the First Crusade. The Council of Pisa also promulgated several canons regarding simony,

<sup>29</sup> On the date of the Council of Pisa, see Hefele-Leclercq, V, 706.

the right of sanctuary, and the heresy of the Henricians.<sup>30</sup>

Bernard, whose intervention had been preponderant in all these events, wished to crown the work of the council by a great popular assembly, which was held in the basilica of St. Ambrose. Before the altar the consuls of the city, in the name of all the people, took the oath of obedience to Pope Innocent II and to Emperor Lothair. Thereafter the cause of Lothair was not subjected to any attack. But the foes of Innocent II had still two centers of action: in Sicily and at Rome. There they had to be overcome.

Two expeditions, St. Bernard's peaceful expedition and Lothair's military one, put an end to the schism of Lower Italy. The words and miracles of the holy Abbot of Clairvaux exercised an immense influence over the people.<sup>31</sup> But Roger, whose ambition was still to become master of all southern Italy and who remained faithful to Anacletus, continued to extend his conquests. At the Pope's urgent request, Lothair (September, 1136) with a large army arrived in Lombardy by way of the Trent valley. Thanks to the accord he met with in the cities and castles of the peninsula, the conquest was rapid. At the Emperor's approach, Roger left Italy and withdrew to Sicily. In June, seeing his principal fortresses in the hands of the enemy, he sued for peace. But, in spite of the efforts of St. Bernard, he obstinately refused to disavow the antipope. Neither Innocent II's entry into Rome (October, 1137) after the imperial army nor the death of Anacletus shortly afterward (January 25, 1138) ended the schism. Roger of Sicily at once had another antipope proclaimed, Cardinal Gregory, under the name of Victor IV. But the latter soon made peace with Innocent at Bernard's urging, and even the Pierleoni came over to the true pope.

Emperor Lothair did not witness this reconciliation. He died,

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 711-13.

<sup>31</sup> Chalandon, *Hist. de la domin. normande en Italie et en Sicile*, II, 52-97.

upon returning from his expedition, in a Tyrolese cabin, December 4, 1137.<sup>32</sup>

### Guelphs and Ghibellines

In the election of Lothair's successor, the independence of the great German nobles again declared itself. Lothair, by giving to his son-in-law Henry of Bavaria the crown jewels and the marquisate of Tuscany and in addition granting him as a fief the duchy of Saxony, clearly designated him to the electors. Henry's power was precisely what alarmed many of the princes.<sup>33</sup> The choice of the electors was not in his favor, but seemed even to be against him. The father of this Henry of Swabia, belonging to the noble family of the Welfs or Guelphs, had been one of the bitterest foes of Frederick of Swabia, the head of the house of the Weiblingen or Ghibellines. Instead of the competitor of Frederick of Swabia, the electors preferred the latter's brother, Conrad of Hohenstaufen. The Ghibelline was in opposition to the Guelph. Thus continued that strife between Guelphs and Ghibellines which, while frequently changing in character and significance, would profoundly divide the states and cities of Germany and Italy.<sup>34</sup> In this election the ecclesiastical lords were in agreement with the lay lords, and the Pope was favorable to the choice of Conrad, who, since his reconciliation with Lothair, had shown himself as respectful to the Church as he was faithful to his sovereign.

<sup>32</sup> After the conquest of Apulia, when the question arose about the right to the duchy, the contest came near embroiling the pope and the emperor. Innocent II, basing his claims on titles that went back to Louis the Debonair and that had been recognized by the emperors Otto the Great, Henry II, and even Count Roger himself, laid claim to the suzerainty of the duchy. To these claims Lothair opposed the example of several of his predecessors, who had exercised an absolute authority over southern Italy. For the sake of peace, the two sovereigns postponed the conclusion of the disagreement and together gave the investiture to the new duke.

<sup>33</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 717.

<sup>34</sup> Romolo Caggese, *Su l'origine della parte Guelfa e le sue relazioni col comune*.

## Lateran Council (1139)

The time of comparative calm following these events seemed to the supreme pontiff favorable for the calling of a general council. It took place on April 4, 1139,<sup>35</sup> in the Lateran. Almost a thousand prelates,<sup>36</sup> patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries of the Church attended, under the presidency of the Pope. Of this council we possess thirty canons, which contain nothing new. They merely recall and confirm the laws relative to simony, clerical incontinence and luxury, the breaking of the Truce of God, and duels, and thus show that these laws were not sufficiently observed. But the chief aim of the Pope, in gathering about him in this council the representatives of all Christendom, seems to have been to stigmatize, with all possible vigor, the schism and its abettors. The Chronicle of Morigny contains part of the Pope's opening address. He said: "You know that Rome is the head of the world. But you know also that its whole ambition is to reconcile those who are divided, to restore order where it does not exist. However, and this we say in tears, we have lived long enough to see right trodden under foot and replaced by might. Against the Holy Ghost and against His saints, men have raised their pride, like a new tower of Babel. Therefore we must now without further delay use like a sword the laws of God, which, during the peace, are like plowshares."<sup>37</sup> After saying this, the Pope by name stripped of their dignities not only the bishops and abbots who were persisting in the schism, but also several of those who had taken part in it only momentarily and had already repented, such as Bishop Peter of Pisa, whose deposition was so deeply

<sup>35</sup> Not April 8, as some historians have said. See Hefele-Leclercq, V, 721.

<sup>36</sup> The reported number varies between 500 and 1,000.

<sup>37</sup> *Chronicon Mauriniacense*, in Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores coe-tanei*, III, 383.

felt by St. Bernard that he immediately wrote to the Pope, though without result, a spirited letter of complaint.<sup>38</sup>

### Sicily

The Pope's severity is understandable especially since, at the very time he was speaking, other symptoms of revolt appeared in the Church. In Sicily, Count Roger remained unyielding and threatening. In Upper Italy, a young cleric, Arnold of Brescia, with fiery eloquence was reviving and urging, in favor of the liberty of the Italian cities, some of the violent ideas which had recently been expressed in the investiture quarrel in favor of the German rulers.

Beaten by the Emperor, excommunicated by the Pope, the nephew of Robert Guiscard<sup>39</sup> had given up none of his ambitions, among others that of forming a great kingdom for himself by the conquest of Apulia and the duchy of Capua, of having the Pope recognize that title of king which the antipope had conferred on him, and thus of being on a par with the great sovereigns of Europe. The circumstances favored him. Rainulf, duke of Apulia, died suddenly on April 3, 1139, and Roger with an army immediately fell upon the coveted duchy, pushed

<sup>38</sup> St. Bernard's letter is indeed very spirited, but it is entirely proper and correct from the disciplinary point of view. From the Holy Father's decision, Bernard appeals, not to a council or to Christ, but to the Holy Father himself. He says: "I appeal from you to yourself. Are you not the one who delegated me in the affair of the reconciliation of Peter of Pisa? If you deny it, I will prove it by witnesses" (St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 213). This letter was written shortly after the Council of the Lateran. Peter of Pisa remained apart throughout the pontificate of Innocent II. At least we do not find him in possession of his office until the pontificate of Celestine II (Jaffé, no. 8433). In the eyes of Innocent II and, we may say, of most Christians of that time, schism was considered the most disastrous of all evils, and the disturbers of Christian unity were committing so enormous a crime that, even after their repentance, their punishment had to remain as a reparation and an example.

<sup>39</sup> Roger II of Sicily was born in 1093 and died in 1154. He was the son of Roger I (d. 1101) and brother of Robert Guiscard. Sometimes Roger II, the second count of Sicily, is called Roger I because he was the first king of Sicily.

his conquests in southern Italy as far as Garigliano, and even seized the person of the Pope, who had unwisely advanced into the zone of military operations. As Leo IX had done formerly, Innocent now a prisoner had to subscribe to the conditions which the victor dictated: recognition of his title of king, ratification of his new conquests, and the lifting of the excommunication imposed on him. In return, Roger took the oath of vassalage to the pope and promised him the payment of an annual tribute. Such were the chief clauses of the treaty concluded at Miniano (July 25, 1139). The aspirations of the ambitious Norman were realized. From that hour on, he was most deferential toward the Church, made numerous gifts to monasteries, and received the hearty felicitations of St. Bernard.<sup>40</sup>

While southern Italy was thus formed into a strongly centralized monarchy, political passions were stirring the rest of the peninsula, where many cities were organizing themselves into republics.

### Italian Cities

The persistence in Italy of the old municipal institutions of the Roman world, in the case of several cities the resulting autonomy of the episcopal power,<sup>41</sup> the comparative liberty left them by the struggles of the kings against the Church and of the antipopes against the lawful pope, had contributed to form, in central and northern Italy, especially in Lombardy and Tuscany, petty states having their own government and their jealous independence. Their claims were stimulated by

<sup>40</sup> St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 209.

<sup>41</sup> Says the learned C. Hegel: "Municipal liberty in Italy arose in the eleventh century from the episcopal supremacy." "The Lombard municipalities were formed under the shadow of the episcopal power" (Bayet, *Hist. gén.*, III, 129; cf. Provana, *Studi critici*, chap. I, p. 148; Bonaini, *Archivio storico*, XVI, 28; H. de l'Épinois, *op. cit.*, p. 46).

the wealth which came to certain cities from the industrial progress and the impulse given to commerce by the Crusades. A higher administration, in which we see commoners sitting beside the lords as consuls; a council made up of notables, without whose advice the consuls could undertake nothing of importance; a general assembly in which the whole people took part and before which, in some places, the consuls rendered an account of their administration: in its broad lines such was the organization of the big Lombard and Tuscan cities. Each city had its customs, in which Roman law and national law were mingled. In the case of most of the cities, these institutions seemed to assure the liberty of the city rather than that of the individuals. Factions kept up a perpetual agitation, sometimes engaging in furious battles. In such a city, the rivalry between the wealthy middle class and the common people, "the fat people" and "the thin people," as they were called, was a source of ceaseless disturbances. ◦

Among the large Italian cities, some, because of their maritime location, had been particularly enriched by the commerce with the East. Such were Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi. Their leaders, called doges, had become very powerful personages. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa had quarters of their own in Constantinople. The aspect of these cities, at the beginning of the twelfth century was as Oriental as it was Italian. The Greek Empire sided with them; and their fleets would have been victorious in the contest with the Arabs for the dominance of the Mediterranean if fatal divisions had not weakened them. Until 1173, at Venice and at Genoa, the doges were at strife with the aristocracy; in 1136, Pisa seized Amalfi and destroyed it; later Genoa overthrew Pisa; between Genoa and Venice the strife lasted to the end of the Middle Ages.

Of course the effects of such a movement were felt in the papal states and in Rome itself. In 1140 the little city of Tivoli, after conquering several neighboring castles and building for-



tresses of its own, rose up against the pope and the Romans. A military expedition in 1142 re-established the papal authority there. But the Pope refused to yield to the desire of the Romans, who wished to lay the city in ruins. "Then," says a chronicler, "the Romans revolted. They gathered at the Capitol. In their desire to give the city its ancient dignity, they re-established the senatorial order, which had long since disappeared."<sup>42</sup> Following the example of the Lombard cities, the people of Rome resolved to constitute themselves under the republican form. The national spirit, the memory of old Rome, to which we have often seen the Romans appeal in the course of the strifes and quarrels stirred up by the imperial claims, of a sudden awoke more ardent than ever, but with a new orientation. "So long as the emperors, pursuing the idea of being sovereigns of Rome, showed themselves the adversaries of the popes, the party which at Rome wished also to restore the splendor of pagan times, had followed the emperors. But now, since the emperors, instead of following the ambitious plan of Henry IV, took up again the generous idea of Henry II, the Roman party separated from them and determined to act alone."<sup>43</sup>

### Arnold of Brescia

This movement was embodied in one man, Arnold of Brescia. He was born at Brescia, a Lombard city, toward the end of the eleventh century. The events which he witnessed seem to have exercised a great influence on his lively imagination and thereby on the whole direction of his life. At Brescia he witnessed the fruitless efforts of Bishop Manfred to bring back to a regular life the simoniacal and dissolute clergy of the city. On the other hand, he saw there a young municipality, equally independent of

<sup>42</sup> Otto of Freising, *Chronicon*, Bk. VIII, chap. 27.

<sup>43</sup> H. de l'Épinois, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

the Church and of the Empire, making the first endeavor for its liberty. Two consuls, elected annually by the people, exercised the judicial and military powers. The Bishop, of blameless private life, had scarcely any other power than that which he derived from his great fortune, and was equally powerless in the presence of an insubordinate clergy and independent officials.

Unwisely generalizing what he saw with his own eyes, Arnold regarded the wealth of the clergy as the source of all the evils which afflicted the Church and society; he regarded the government of cities by lay representatives of the people as the secret of all regeneration and of all true greatness. The reading of Roman history eventually inflamed his mind. Having joined the Order of Canons Regular, he assumed as his mission the preaching of the principles which he thought he had discovered. This he did with an ardor and eloquence that recalled the invectives of Peter Damian. The austerity of his life, the fire of his words, the rare charm of his manners, drew disciples to him. The Lateran Council of 1139 seems to have been disturbed by his preaching. Since he did not yet sustain any formal heresy, the fathers merely forbade him to preach.<sup>44</sup> After this condemnation, he was removed from his office and banished from Italy.

He went to France and there he became enthusiastic for Abelard's ideas.<sup>45</sup> Gradually his own ideas formed themselves into a system, and this system appeared manifestly heretical. No satisfactory proof has been adduced that he professed blame-worthy opinions about the baptism of infants and about the Eucharist.<sup>46</sup> But he maintained: 1. that a cleric or a monk possessing lands cannot be saved; 2. that all lands rightly belong to the civil authority; 3. that the Church, corrupted in the person of its landowning monks and clergy, is no longer the true Church; that its pope is no longer the true pope; that its faith-

<sup>44</sup> Otto of Freising, in *M. G.*, SS., XX, 403.

<sup>45</sup> That Arnold was a pupil of Abelard is not proved. Cf. Comba, *I nostri protestanti*, I, 173.

<sup>46</sup> Verney, art. "Arnaud de Brescia" in the *Dict. de théol.*, I, 1974.

ful should no longer receive the sacraments from the priests of the Catholic Church, but should confess their sins to one another or to Christ.<sup>47</sup>

Probably Arnold of Brescia was in Rome at the time when the Romans, haunted by the memories of the past, were attempting to revive the Roman republic.<sup>48</sup> In any event, his spirit presided there. At the foot of that Capitol where old Rome had crowned its victorious generals, around those palaces and statues that recalled the ancient glories, the municipal life must have appeared with a far greater prestige than in a simple city of Tuscany or Lombardy. The insurrection which, in 1143, resulted in setting up the power of the Senate in opposition to that of the pope, was the starting point of a struggle that lasted forty years. Innocent witnessed only its beginning. It was one of the last griefs of his life. He died September 24, 1143, after a pontificate of thirteen years.

### Pope Celestine II

Three days after the death of Innocent II, Cardinal Guido of Castello was elected pope and took the name of Celestine II. This former pupil of Abelard was renowned for his learning and for his peaceful and conciliatory character.<sup>49</sup> His election seems to have been determined by the consideration of these two qualities, so opportune at the moment when so many ideas were being agitated in Abelard's lecture hall and when an eager interest in municipal life was stirring up the Italian cities. But Pope Celestine's pontificate lasted only five months. Thus it was unable to meet the hopes of the Church. The two chief events of his reign were the removal of the interdict against the King of France and an attempt to make Roger of Sicily agree to the

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1973 f.

<sup>48</sup> Rocquain, *La Cour de Rome et l'esprit de réforme avant Luther*, I, 199 note 2.

<sup>49</sup> St. Bernard, in a letter, finds fault with him because he showed too much favor to Arnold of Brescia.

abrogation of the treaty forced on Pope Innocent II. Louis the Fat's son and successor, Louis VII, showed himself even less favorable than his father toward ecclesiastical reform. From the very first years of his reign, he was in conflict with the Abbot of Clairvaux over this question.

In 1141, intending one of his chaplains for the archbishopric of Bourges, he refused to recognize the titular of that see, Pierre de la Châtre, regularly elected by the chapter and consecrated by the Pope himself. In the presence of this opposition, Innocent II imposed an interdict on the King's land. It was not excommunication; it was a prohibition forbidding the celebration of the religious offices wherever the King of France should pass. The monarch, instead of submitting, declared war upon Thibaut of Champagne, whom he blamed for taking sides with Pierre de la Châtre, the archbishop of Bourges consecrated by the Pope. But the combined efforts of St. Bernard and of Suger, the King's counselor, led to a relaxation of hostility. The peaceful spirit of Pope Celestine II completed the work of the two monks. In return for the withdrawal of the papal interdict, Louis gave the investiture of the regalian rights to Pierre de la Châtre. We are told also that he made a promise to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>50</sup>

### Pope Lucius II

Celestine II died March 8, 1144. The election of his successor followed immediately. It was the cardinal-priest Gerard, who took the name of Lucius II. The new Pope had distinguished himself, as legate in Germany, by his knowledge of affairs and by his activity. He resumed the program of his predecessor. After the conflict with the King of France was settled, his attention turned to the affairs of Sicily and of Rome. He had a meeting with Roger, who at first showed an intention of revok-

<sup>50</sup> Vacandard, *op. cit.*, II, 182-202; Luchaire in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 4-9.

ing the conditions imposed on Innocent II at the treaty of Mini-ano. But, offended by the cardinals' refusal to consent to certain of his proposals, Roger suddenly changed his attitude and even had the papal domain invaded by an army. The Pope, unable to resist, was reduced to the necessity of concluding a truce.<sup>51</sup>

The Pope's negotiations with the Roman municipality met with almost the same failure. The senators, yielding to the Pope's fatherly solicitations, consented at first to withdraw from the management of municipal affairs; but the failure of the negotiations undertaken by the Holy See with the King of Sicily prompted them suddenly to change. Not only did they resume their situation at the Capitol, but they re-established, on their own authority, the office of patrician, abolished by Henry III, and conferred it on a brother of the antipope Anacletus, named Giordano.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, trying to apply the theories of Arnold of Brescia, they endeavored to convince the Pope that the Church would profit by a return to the golden age of the poverty of the first centuries: to the patrician would be entrusted the management of the temporal goods, and the clergy would receive merely the offerings and tithes. The trap was crude. The plan of the chiefs of the revolutionary municipality tended to nothing less than the subordination of the pope's authority to that of the municipality.

In the presence of these haughty pretensions, Lucius saw no safety except in an open strife. He reminded King Conrad III that the kings of Germany gloried in their office of protector of the Church, and reminded him also of his personal promises. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to the monarch to the same effect. But Conrad could not or would not engage in an armed expedition. Lucius, then perceiving that he must rely only on his own forces, levied troops and, with a handful of resolute sol-

<sup>51</sup> Jaffé, no. 8653.

<sup>52</sup> This revolt took place in the autumn of 1144. It was the starting point of a new era which the Romans then adopted. See Jaffé, no. 8684.

diers, courageously attempted the assault of the Capitol. The attempt failed. The Pope, who had come to encourage the attackers by his presence, was wounded by a projectile and died as a result of his wounds, February 15, 1145.

### Pope Eugene III

The very day of Pope Lucius' death, the cardinals had to proceed in haste and in secret to the election of his successor. More than ever a coup was to be feared. The revolutionary party had in their hands the administration of the city police. In these circumstances the election of an antipope would have disastrous results. This peril was warded off by the spirit of agreement and union among the members of the Sacred College. Meeting in the monastery of St. Caesarius,<sup>53</sup> a little removed from the city proper, they unanimously<sup>54</sup> raised to the papal throne a Cistercian monk, Bernard of Pisa, abbot of St. Anastasius at Tre Fontane, one of the cherished disciples of Bernard of Clairvaux. The esteem in which this monk was held by his former teacher, the high qualities which he showed in the administration of the monastery of St. Anastasius since 1140, were pledges of the wisdom and firmness of his government in the Apostolic See. He took the name of Eugene III.

In the papal chronicle we read:

According to the custom of the Church, he should have been consecrated at St. Peter's the next Sunday. But he received word that the Senate intended by the use of force to annul his election, unless he gave papal confirmation to their usurpations. Under cover of night, he left Rome with a small number of trusted followers and sought refuge in the citadel of Monticelli. The following day, after gathering about him all the brethren who had been scattered by fear of the people's fury, with his entourage he reached the monastery of

<sup>53</sup> On the monastery of St. Caesarius, see Duchesne, *Lib. pontif.*, II, 136 note 23.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 386.

Farfa in Sabina. The next Sunday he received the grace of consecration for the fulness of his apostolate. News of the event immediately spread, like a song of joy, among all the nations, and the universal Church thrilled with glee.<sup>55</sup>

The Pope soon left Farfa for Viterbo, but he did not return to Rome until December 23, 1145. During those nine months of exile he was not inactive. By his conference with Arnold of Brescia at Viterbo, by the deputations sent to him from the Eastern countries, and by his correspondence with Bernard of Clairvaux, he was able to form a correct idea of the needs of the Church. In these first months of solitude and apparent inactivity, he seems to have worked out the whole program of his pontificate: to oppose the revolutionary element in the movement of municipal independence inspired by the ideas of Arnold of Brescia, to resume the work of the Crusades, to continue the labor of religious reform, to defend the purity of dogma against the new heresies, and to promote the advance of ecclesiastical sciences.

### Revolutionary Disturbances

The struggle against the revolutionary agitations that were desolating the city of Rome was the most urgent of the undertakings. From the time of the Pope's departure, anarchy prevailed in Rome. After the Senate declared the abolition of the office of prefect and placed the population under the sole authority of the patrician, an excited populace thought everything was allowed them. The houses of the clergy and nobles faithful to the Pope were pillaged; St. Peter's Church was sacked.<sup>56</sup> During that time Arnold of Brescia went through France and Germany, preaching against the wealth and ambition of the clergy, drawing the masses to him by the outward

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Otto of Freising, *Chronicon*, VII, 31.

appearance of an affected austerity, increasing his attacks upon the Abbot of Clairvaux with obstinate hatred.

But Bernard did not lose sight of the agitator. Enlightened by Bernard, the King of France at first drove Arnold from his states; the Bishop of Zurich then expelled him from his diocese; the people themselves, after a first burst of enthusiasm, finally saw clearly and withdrew from him. Guido, the cardinal-legate in Germany, profiting by these disappointments of the innovator, persuaded him to go to the exiled Pope and make his submission to him. The news coming to him from Rome urged Arnold to follow this advice. "Eugene III, able diplomat and accomplished tactician, succeeded in winning to his cause the counts of Campania, the inhabitants of Tivoli and of the neighboring cities or villages. Gathering together all these forces, further increased by the information which he obtained on the spot, in a few months he reduced his enemies to the last extremity. The vanquished Senate asked for a conference. The Pontiff was the one who dictated the terms of the peace. The office of patrician was abolished, and the office of prefect was re-established. The Roman Senate was retained, but on condition that it should preserve a purely municipal character."<sup>57</sup> Arnold of Brescia, about the end of 1145, went to Viterbo, abjured his doctrines, and was received by Eugene III into the communion of the Church, on condition that he should, in penance for his sins, perform in Rome fastings, vigils, and prayers designated by the Pope.<sup>58</sup> Shortly afterward (December 20, 1145), the Pope made his entry into the Eternal City amid the joyous shouts of the population.<sup>59</sup>

This peace was unfortunately of short duration. Arnold's submission had no doubt been determined by the failure of his cause more than by a true repentance. A few months later,

<sup>57</sup> Vacandard, *op. cit.*, II, 266 f.

<sup>58</sup> *M. G.*, SS., XX, 537.

<sup>59</sup> Jaffé, nos. 8807 f.; *Lib. pontif.*, II, 387.



demagogy was again rampant in Rome, and Arnold was its leader. From the height of the Capitol, he now not only thundered against the clergy in general. He directly attacked the papacy, which he declared devoid of any right to the respect of the nations; he attacked the temporal power, which he pronounced unlawful; he attacked Eugene III himself, calling him anathema.<sup>60</sup> Arnold of Brescia remained master of Rome for ten years, until, when demagogy had destroyed itself by its own excesses, he was obliged with shame to leave the city in 1155, under Adrian IV. The troops of Frederick Barbarossa seized him; and the prefect of Rome, who represented both the papacy and the Empire, condemned him to be hanged. His body was burned, and his ashes were cast into the Tiber.<sup>61</sup>

### The Crusades

The misfortunes of Rome did not for a moment make the Supreme Pontiff forget the misfortunes of another holy city, Jerusalem, and of the Christian states of Palestine.

During his exile at Viterbo in 1145<sup>62</sup> Pope Eugene received two ambassadors from the East. Armenian deputies came and set forth to him certain differences which they had with the Greeks; and Hugh, bishop of Gibelet,<sup>63</sup> announced to the Pope that the city of Edessa had fallen (December 23, 1144) into the hands of Zenki, prince of Mossul.<sup>64</sup> The Greeks and the Mussulmans were threatening the work of the First Crusade.

"For a while the popes had thought they could find in the emperors of Constantinople auxiliaries who would direct the

<sup>60</sup> *M. G.*, SS., XXIX, 133.

<sup>61</sup> On Arnold of Brescia, see Vacandard in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXV (1884), 52-114.

<sup>62</sup> According to the Annals of Monte Cassino, Eugene III stayed at Viterbo from April 15, 1145, to the end of November of the same year (Hefele-Leclercq, V, 797 note 5).

<sup>63</sup> The ancient Byblos of Syria.

<sup>64</sup> Otto of Freising, Bk. VII, chap. 28.

struggle of Christendom against the Mussulmans. Urban II had exhorted the Crusaders 'to deliver the Eastern Churches.' Paschal II had negotiated with Alexius Comnenus a closer relationship between the Church of Rome and that of Constantinople. The unyielding stubbornness of the Greek clergy made all these attempts vain. The emperors claimed the right to profit by the French conquests to re-establish their domination over the whole East."<sup>65</sup> They based their claim on the oath taken by the leaders of the First Crusade in the hands of Alexius Comnenus. Innocent II, in a bull dated August 22, 1138, objected to this claim, and forbade the faithful to help the Emperor to occupy the cities held by the Crusaders.<sup>66</sup> In 1144, Manuel Comnenus went further in his demands than did his predecessor. He required and obtained from Prince Raymond of Antioch the promise to accept at Antioch a patriarch chosen from the clergy of Constantinople.<sup>67</sup> From that moment the Greek Empire evidently had to be considered, no longer an auxiliary, but a formidable adversary, in the enterprise of the Crusades.

The Mussulman states, which encompassed the Christian states, presented a more immediate peril for them. Their principal leaders were Omniad caliphs of Bagdad,<sup>68</sup> the Fatimites<sup>69</sup> of Cairo, the sultan<sup>70</sup> of Damascus, and the emir of Mossul. The Omniad caliphs were in a state of dependence on the Seljuks, who dominated under their name. The Fatimites of Egypt had suffered much from their many losses in Palestine. The Turks were more to be dreaded. Their forces were intact and, as they had a practical knowledge of the country, they came, not with regular armies, but in bands, and harassed their

<sup>65</sup> Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, p. 103.

<sup>66</sup> William of Tyre, XV, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Nicetas, *Histor.*, I, 11.

<sup>68</sup> A title which, after Mohammed's death, was taken by the members of his family who ruled over the Mussulmans.

<sup>69</sup> Descendants of Fatima, who ruled over northern Africa at the beginning of the tenth century.

<sup>70</sup> A name given to the sultans of Syria and Egypt.

enemy on the march, ambushed them, and attacked them in their flight. Because of the discords of their chiefs, they had no orderly system of war; but their attacks were incessant; fresh hordes kept arriving at every moment from Khorassan, from the Tigris, from the Caucasus, to replace those whom the war had wiped out. The sultans of Mossul on the Tigris governed through ministers or atabeks.<sup>71</sup> One of these latter, Imaded-Din Zenki, having made himself independent, obtained Mesopotamia and Syria from the sultan of Bagdad, whom he persuaded that the small states located between the Tigris and the Mediterranean should be united under a single hand. Zenki, as daring as he was capable, resolved to destroy all the Christian states. In 1144 he appeared unexpectedly before the city of Edessa, undermined the walls, and, immediately after their fall, invaded the city with an army and massacred the inhabitants before the other Christian states had time to send help.

Edessa was considered the bulwark of Jerusalem. Europe was in consternation at news of its fall. The idea of a new Crusade must have entered simultaneously into the mind of the Pope and that of the Christian rulers. The King of France, Louis the Younger, was more particularly prepared to make it his. He had already made a vow, in expiation of his faults, to go to Jerusalem. On Christmas Day, 1145, he announced to his barons that he intended to take the cross. As some of them made objections, he sent for the Abbot of Clairvaux,<sup>72</sup> who advised that he refer the matter to the Pope.<sup>73</sup> Eugene III answered the King's request by a bull which invited all the faithful of the Kingdom of France to arm for the defense of the tomb of Christ.<sup>74</sup> The preaching of the Crusade was entrusted to Bernard of Clairvaux.

<sup>71</sup> From *Ata* ("father") and *Bey* ("lord").

<sup>72</sup> Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frid.*, I, 34.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *PL*, CLXXX, 1064.

## St. Bernard

Bernard, then entering upon his fifty-sixth year, was at the apex of his glory. "Germany and France venerated him as an apostle and a prophet," says Otto of Freising.<sup>75</sup> His repute as a miracle worker preceded him everywhere.<sup>76</sup> An assembly was convoked to meet on Easter, 1146, at Vézelay in Burgundy. There, on a platform erected in the open air, Bernard appeared beside the King. He read the Pope's bull and then delivered an address, exhorting the faithful to take part in the Crusade.<sup>77</sup> As at Clermont, the crowd replied to the orator by acclamations. The shout, "Crosses, crosses!" arose on every side. The people rushed to the holy speaker to receive the sacred emblem from him. Queen Eleonora of Guyenne and several ladies of the court also wished to take the cross.

After preaching the Crusade in the various provinces of France, Bernard went to Germany. Everywhere he was received as the messenger of God. Emperor Conrad hesitated to enrol. Bernard, in a harangue at Spire before the King, summoned him in the name of Christ, saying: "O man, what have I not done for you? I have given you glory, riches, good counsel, health of body and strength of soul. O man, O king, what will you do for your God?" The King, unable to resist this appeal, enrolled at once, followed by a large number of nobles. In England, Italy, Bohemia, in all Europe, Bernard's discourses or letters stirred enthusiasm, winning adherents. Two armies were formed, each composed of 70,000 knights and accompanied by an enormous throng of footmen. The King of France took command of one; the King of Germany put himself at

<sup>75</sup> Otto of Freising, *loc. cit.*

<sup>76</sup> Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, II, 278.

<sup>77</sup> This discourse has not been preserved. Says Vacandard: "Judged by the effect it produced, it must have been the greatest oratorical success of Bernard's life" (*loc. cit.*).

the head of the other. Under their orders, all Europe, represented by the best of its knights, marched against the infidel.

### Difficulties of the Crusade

This great enthusiasm, this rising up of all Christendom at the voice of a monk, for a cause surpassing all earthly causes, was the real and only success of this second expedition. The undertaking was rendered extremely difficult on account of the hostile attitude of the Greek Emperor and the entrance into the picture, with the Turks of Zenki, of a young, strong, warlike race, to which Islam communicated its proselytism and its ardor. The disunion of the Christian princes and the lack of sufficient organization threatened to become additional causes of failure. Eugene III and Bernard took account of these difficulties. An attempt was made to forestall the obstacles that had paralyzed the action of the first crusaders. A prohibition was published against the formation of any group outside the two regular armies; the groups of noncombatant pilgrims must join these and be dependent on them in a military way. The Pope forbade the barons to take dogs and falcons with them, and even prescribed for them a particular form of arms and dress. The itinerary of the Crusade was marked out in advance. To avoid the risk of straying into unknown routes, they were to follow the route which had been taken by Godfrey of Bouillon and the majority of the pilgrims of the First Crusade. Union, concord, purity, and austerity of life were warmly recommended to the crusaders in the name of the holy cause for which they were going to fight. Eugene III and Bernard had performed their duty as apostles. The cause of the Christian peoples could have triumphed, despite every difficulty, if Louis VII and Conrad III had exercised the same zeal in performing their duties as military leaders.

These latter did not carry out their duties perfectly. The throng of noncombatants, who might have been kept within bounds by a strict discipline, became a source of disorder and hindrance for the movements of the troops. The presence of Queen Eleonora, of several ladies of her court, and of a number of other women who followed their imprudent example, gave rise to scandals, from which the King of France himself suffered personally. At last the leaders of the two armies committed two major tactical blunders in the general direction of the expedition. Instead of following, one after the other, on the same route and at a short interval, so as to be ready to lend assistance to each other, as the Abbot of Clairvaux wished,<sup>78</sup> they separated; and, in spite of the evident unfriendliness of the Greek Emperor, they persisted in not regarding him as an enemy.

### Defeat of the Crusaders

The German army went first. To rush ahead, pillaging as much as possible along their route, seems to have been its watchword; at least this was the great temptation which its leader could not resist. His pillaging, as he crossed Thrace, was such that Emperor Manuel Comnenus sent a military force to oppose them, and defeated them near Adrianople.<sup>79</sup> After that the Christian army was merely an undisciplined horde which was ceaselessly harassed by the Turkish cavalry who hovered around it on their light horses. Day by day it became more and more exhausted and no longer offered any resistance to the charge of the Turkish army, which crushed it at Dorylaeum.

From that time on, the outcome of the expedition was decided. To avoid the route where the German army had perished, the French followed the coast line of Asia Minor, by way of

<sup>78</sup> Luchaire in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 14.

<sup>79</sup> Odo of Deuil, *M. G.*, XXVI, 64.

Smyrna, Ephesus, and Laodicea. But, along the unknown and difficult mountain paths which they had to follow, the crusaders disbanded. At one time the King of France, separated from his forces and isolated on a bare rock, was attacked by several enemies who took him to be a simple soldier, and he had to defend himself by backing against a tree. He saved his renown for valor, but a large part of his army, surprised in a defile by the Turks, was massacred. The two kings met at Jerusalem, accompanied by a few bodies of knights, the remnants of their armies. The march against Edessa was now impossible. The king of Jerusalem, Baldwin III, persuaded them to besiege Damascus. But, after several futile assaults, the two sovereigns, discouraged, raised the siege and left for Europe.

Bernard drew the lesson from this setback. He declared:

We announced the peace, and the peace has not come. We promised success, and we have had desolation. We marched with confidence under the orders of the supreme pontiff, that is, under the very orders of God, and God has permitted that the Crusade should fail lamentably. Whom shall we make responsible for this disaster? It is a fact which none of us is unaware of and yet which all at this hour seem to have forgotten. Moses promised the Hebrews to lead them into the land of Chanaan, and during his lifetime none of them entered the Promised Land. The Hebrews, you may tell me, were unbelieving and rebellious. But what, then, have the crusaders been? Ask them. Why repeat what they themselves avow? In both cases, God's promises did not hold against the rights of His justice.<sup>80</sup>

### Religious Reform

Once again the success of the Christian arms in the East seemed connected with the moral and religious reform of the West. The mission undertaken by Pope Eugene III with the advice of his teacher Bernard, was the following: to repress the schisms and heresies, to spread the spirit of the Gospel by

<sup>80</sup> St. Bernard, *De consideratione*, Bk. II, chap. 1.

the most effective means, in particular by increasing the number of those centers of Christian life, the monasteries, and from them to make it radiate over the progress of science and the development of institutions.

Schism and heresy in the Middle Ages never appeared as a simple attack on the faith: they were attacks against the public order, social crimes. Whoever weakened the authority of the Church and its dogmas, was regarded as thereby weakening faith in Christ, the foundation and guaranty of all order and all peace. St. Bernard did indeed teach that "heretics should be overcome by arguments, not by arms";<sup>81</sup> but he added that from heretics must be taken every means of destroying others.<sup>82</sup> Hence his ardor in combating, under the direction of Pope Eugene, all the heresies of his time, in particular those of Abelard, Henry of Lausanne, and Gilbert de la Porrée.

### Abelard

In the course of the year 1140, the Abbot of Clairvaux received from the former Abbot William of St. Thierry who was then a Cistercian monk at Signy, a letter in which the devout and learned monk pointed out with alarm thirteen notable errors which he had just discovered while reading, pen in hand, two recent works of Abelard: the *Introductio ad theologiam* and the *Theologia christiana*. William says: "The question is nothing less than belief in the Holy Trinity, the person of the Mediator, the Holy Ghost, the grace of God, and the sacred mystery of our redemption." He called particular attention to the following errors, saying:

Abelard maintains that the names of Father, Son, and Spirit are improperly used with regard to God and are merely a description of the fulness of the Supreme Being. He maintains that the Holy

<sup>81</sup> St. Bernard, *In cantic.*, sermon 64, no. 9.

<sup>82</sup> St. Bernard, *De consideratione*, Bk. III, chap. 1.



Ghost is the soul of the world. According to him, man can will and do good without divine grace. He says that Christ became man and suffered not to deliver us from the yoke of the devil. Man's temptations are nothing more than the results of purely physical causes. In the Eucharist, the form of the substance of the bread and wine remains in the air. What we call faith is only the judgment we form about invisible things.<sup>83</sup>

Bernard's reply was moderate and prudent. "Your zeal is well founded," he writes, "and the little book you sent me shows that this zeal is not that of an idler. . . . I think the best thing for us to do is to confer together and look into the affair."<sup>84</sup>

The result of this conference, which took place soon afterward, was Bernard's resolve to confer on these grave questions with Abelard himself. He had two meetings with the celebrated professor: one alone with him, the other in the presence of two witnesses. Abelard seemed to be moved by the criticisms offered him, and promised to make some corrections in his works.<sup>85</sup>

Bernard of Clairvaux and Abelard were at that time the two most talked-of men in France, perhaps in Christendom. The news of the conferences between the two doctors soon spread to the schools and the monasteries; there it created a great stir. As usually happens, the unrestrained zeal of the disciples embittered the controversy of the masters. A canon of Tours, Hugh Metel, a fine mind of that time, poured out the most offensive epithets on the professor of Mont-Sainte-Genevieve: "that hydra of recent times," "that Phaeton," "that Ezechiel," "Ezechiel's vessel, set to boiling on the hearth fanned to flame by Aquilo."<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, Abelard, in his professorial chair, was greeted with the applause of his hearers. On both sides a wind storm seemed to be blowing.

<sup>83</sup> *PL*, CLXXX, 249 f.

<sup>84</sup> St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 327.

<sup>85</sup> *Vita Bernardi*, Bk. III, chap. 5; St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 337.

<sup>86</sup> Hugo Metellensis, in Hugo, *Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta historica, dogmatica, diplomatica*, II, 330.

Meanwhile a solemn exposition of relics was prepared in the cathedral of Sens, then the metropolitan see of the Church of Paris. Several prelates, the King of France himself, promised to come to enhance the brilliance of this feast by their presence. Abelard requested of the Archbishop of Sens and obtained from him authorization to explain himself before the assembly of prelates, transformed into a council. The Abbot of Clairvaux augured no good from a public debate. He yielded to the invitation of the Archbishop, but, at a preliminary meeting of the bishops present, he soon convinced them that there should be no question of giving the innovator an occasion for a brilliant tilt. As one accused, not as a disputant, Abelard should appear. Bernard produced the incriminated works, took the most daring propositions from them, proved the heterodoxy of these propositions. When Abelard appeared before the assembly, he was given the choice of abjuring his doctrines or of justifying them by theological reasons. Disconcerted by the tactics of the assembly and foreseeing a condemnation, Abelard refused to justify himself and proudly declared that he appealed to the pope. The council gave him a certificate of his appeal; it also censured, in his works, fourteen articles, which it declared opposed to the faith and manifestly heretical.<sup>87</sup>

Abelard seems to have been one of those natures that popularity intoxicates, that excitement exalts, but that silence and solitude bring back to wisdom. Shortly after the Council of Sens, he wrote: "Logic has made me hateful to the world. . . . I no longer wish to be a philosopher if I have to revolt against Paul. I do not wish to be Aristotle if I am separated from Christ; because under heaven no other name but His exists in which I must find my salvation."<sup>88</sup> However, Innocent II, appealed to by Abelard and by Bernard, had investigated the af-

<sup>87</sup> St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 337.

<sup>88</sup> Cousin, *Œuvres inédites d'Abailard*, I, 680.

fair. On July 16, 1140, he wrote to the Archbishop of Sens, confirming the decision of the council;<sup>89</sup> then, in an edict, he ordered that Abelard be confined in a monastery and that his books be burned.<sup>90</sup>

Abelard bowed before the supreme decision. He merely begged of the Pope the favor of ending his days under the guidance of Peter the Venerable in Cluny Abbey. Innocent granted his request. After edifying the great abbey by the regularity of his life, the penitent monk was obliged to retire, because of numerous infirmities that attacked him, to the priory of St. Marcellus near Chalon on the bank of the Saone. There he died April 21, 1142, after receiving the last sacraments in dispositions of edifying compunction.<sup>91</sup> He was sixty-three years old. Perhaps no man since Origen had gathered around a professorial chair a more numerous and more enthusiastic throng. Abelard was one of the most illustrious and most unfortunate victims of success. Taken as a whole, his influence was harmful. However, just as everything in his life is not blameworthy, so in his work everything is not to be rejected. "By showing, in his *Sic et Non*, the need of an exigent criticism in the use of patristic texts or even of biblical texts, he was a forerunner in a reform of studies";<sup>92</sup> and a school which appealed to his name<sup>93</sup> introduced "three essential improvements in theological teaching: the idea of condensing in a *Summa* the synthesis of all theology, the introduction of the strictest methods of dialectics, and the fusion of patristic erudition with rational speculation."<sup>94</sup>

<sup>89</sup> *PL*, CLXXIX, 515; Jaffé, I, 8188.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 517.

<sup>91</sup> Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, II, 177.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>93</sup> The scholarly researches of Denifle and Gietl have brought to light the existence of a theological school dependent on Abelard.

<sup>94</sup> Portalié, art. "Abélar, Ecole théologique d'" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, I, 49-55.

## Heresies

A short time after Abelard's death, about 1143, Everwin or Ebroin, provost of Steinfeld, drew Bernard's attention to the existence of a new sect of heretics in the neighborhood of Cologne. They enveloped themselves in mystery. Their motto was: "Swear and swear falsely, but never betray the secret." But we know that they admitted, as the rule of faith, only the Bible; that in matters of dogma, they rejected the baptism of infants and the communion of saints, and that in morals their conduct did not agree with the austerity of their maxims. Bernard easily recognized in these traits an offshoot of the Manichaean heresy. He refuted the Cologne heretics in two of his sermons.<sup>95</sup>

Two years later, the south of France was the place where he had to fight another branch of the same sect. Henry of Lausanne, the fierce disciple of Peter of Bruys, had infested with his heresy the dioceses of Angoulême, Limoges, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Périgueux, Albi, Agen, and Cahors. Whole villages accepted the new doctrine; noblemen gave it their support. Bernard journeyed through all these districts, preaching in the churches and in the open air, and spent himself without regard for his frail health. Several times God confirmed his preaching by miracles.<sup>96</sup> But in some places the missionary found himself in the presence of irreconcilable fanatics. He said: "They are not to be convinced by reasons; they do not understand these; they are not changed by persuasion, but are merely hardened."<sup>97</sup> And these fanatics were not satisfied with spreading their false doctrines; they pillaged the churches and smashed the crosses. Bernard thought that, besides the duty of the Church, which is to preach, the duty of the civil authority was

<sup>95</sup> St. Bernard., *In cantic.*, sermons 65 and 66. Cf. *PL*, CLXXXII, 676.

<sup>96</sup> Vacandard, *op. cit.*, II, 237.

<sup>97</sup> St. Bernard, sermon 66.

forcibly to repress so much audacity.<sup>98</sup> The arrest of the leader of the heresy, the apostate monk Henry of Lausanne, and his perpetual imprisonment were the most telling blows given to the seditious movement, which was threatening to invade all southern France.<sup>99</sup>

Scarcely had Bernard ended his mission in Languedoc, when his zeal was again called upon to unmask and refute a new error. This false teaching was attributed to an important personage of the Church of France, Gilbert de la Porrée, bishop of Poitiers.

Gilbert de la Porrée has often been compared with his contemporary Abelard. He had a less brilliant mind, but one more profound; and from several viewpoints he formed a striking contrast to the famous professor of Mont-Sainte-Genevieve. The one prided himself on his ingenuity, the other on his faithfulness to tradition. The one captivated his pupils by clothing his theories with the most brilliant figures; the other attracted his hearers' minds in the net of a scholarly dialectic. Abelard rejected both realism and nominalism; Gilbert taught the strictest realism. Born at Poitiers about 1076, Gilbert, after studying under the best masters, taught successively at Poitiers, Chartres, and Paris. In 1142 he was promoted to the bishopric of his native city.

We are told that at the Council of Sens, Abelard, while his

<sup>98</sup> St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 363; cf. *PL*, CLXXXII, 293-95, 361-65, 434-36.

<sup>99</sup> At the time when these various Manichaean sects were appearing in the West, a similar heresy appeared in the East. The question has been raised whether any connection existed between these two. Probably we should look for the origin of all the branches of this heresy in Bulgaria. The Eastern branch gave its followers the name of Bogomils, from the name of its first leader, a certain priest by name Bogomil. At the beginning of the twelfth century it was directed by a physician named Basil. Emperor Alexis Comnenus discovered the existence of the sect in 1118. He condemned Basil to death. Most of the heretics abjured through fear of punishment. Missions were organized to convert those who persisted in their heresy. In 1143 two Eastern bishops were deposed for adherence to the heresy. In 1147 the patriarch of Constantinople, Cosmas, was also deposed for favoring the Bogomil monk Niphon.

teaching was being attacked, perceived near him in the assembly his rival Gilbert de la Porrée and, with that presence of mind which was one of the charms of his speech, he ironically murmured this line of verse to him: *Nam tua res agitur, paries quum proximus ardet* ("Have an eye to your house when the neighboring wall is burning").

He was alluding to Gilbert's doctrine of the Trinity. Applying his realist doctrine to the mystery of God in three Persons, Gilbert made a distinction between the Divinity and God. He said that, just as humanity is distinct from man, so the Divinity is logically and really distinct from God. Did he mean, as St. Bernard thought, that the Divinity and God are distinct from each other as the source of two different things, two real entities, *aliud et aliud*?<sup>100</sup> We are not certain. The thought and the expressions of the Bishop of Poitiers are frequently obscure. But the interpretation given by the Abbot of Clairvaux was at least possible in the mind of Gilbert's hearers and readers. So he was condemned in 1148 in a council of Reims, which was presided over by Pope Eugene III. He submitted humbly. As each of his incriminated propositions was stated, he expressed his disavowal, saying to the Pope: "If you believe otherwise, I believe as you do."<sup>101</sup>

Gilbert de la Porrée left behind him a school which recent investigations have made known.<sup>102</sup> Says one historian of theology:

Gilbert remains a great name in Scholastic theology. Albert the Great took so great account of this philosophy that he composed a commentary on his tract *De sex principiis*. St. Thomas, when he mentions his name in connection with an error imputed to him, seems to excuse him by supposing he was guilty merely of inadvertence.<sup>103</sup> This lesson of esteem merits our regard. A submissive and faithful

<sup>100</sup> St. Bernard, *In cantic.*, sermon 80.

<sup>101</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 832-38.

<sup>102</sup> Vernet, art. "Gilbert de la Porrée" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, VI, 1354.

<sup>103</sup> St. Thomas, *Summa*, Ia, q. 38, a. 2.

author is not discredited because the Church, his mother and his teacher, points out to him some of his departures from orthodoxy. Sacred science always profits by correction to avoid a human error, and often profits from the corrected work to draw from it with greater security.<sup>104</sup>

### Hugh of St. Victor

The theories of Abelard and of Gilbert de la Porrée on the Christian mysteries not only inflicted a wound on orthodoxy, they also had the serious defect of giving separate and too much place to rational speculation in the consideration of those mysteries. A writer of that time nicely expressed the uneasiness which such methods inspired in Christian hearts. He says: "It is expedient to abstain from the distinctions proper to logic when we are treating of the articles of faith. Or, at least, if we admit dialectics in these questions, that it may not be completely absent therefrom, let us do so briefly; and, if the syllogism makes too much fuss, let it be put out. . . . The waters of Siloe flow silently, and in the building of the Temple of God no sound of hammer or axe was heard."<sup>105</sup>

From this reaction was born the mystical school of St. Victor. The honor of making the celebrated Parisian abbey an intellectual center rivaling the Notre Dame cloister belongs to William of Champeaux. But the honor of giving a well-defined doctrinal direction to the teaching of St. Victor goes back to the third successor of William in his chair, Hugh of Blankenburg, better known to posterity as Hugh of St. Victor. He was born, about 1096, of Conrad, count of Blankenburg, in the family manor of Hartingam in Saxony.<sup>106</sup> His family intended him for some great post in the Empire. He preferred to put on the humble habit of the canons regular in the Abbey of St.

<sup>104</sup> De Régnon, *Etudes de théologie positive sur la sainte Trinité*, II, 112.

<sup>105</sup> John of Cornwall, *Eulogium*; *PL*, CXCIX, 1065.

<sup>106</sup> Fourier Bonnard, *Hist. de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor*, I, 86.

Victor, founded by Cassian at Marseilles; there he remained a short time. Then, probably attracted by the fame of the teaching of William of Champeaux, he went to the abbey of the same name at Paris. In 1133,<sup>107</sup> the second successor of William, Thomas by name, fell under the sword of some assassins, and Hugh was asked to occupy his professorial chair. He was not yet forty years old.

For eight or nine years, he strove in his daily teaching to acquaint the young monks of the abbey<sup>108</sup> with all the sciences and all the arts known in his time. His knowledge was encyclopedic. The numerous works which he published bear testimony to this fact. Belles-lettres, history, experimental sciences, philosophy, exegesis, positive and rational theology, asceticism and mysticism—Hugh treated all these. But, whatever the subject of his study, his method was unique, and his purpose never varied. This method has often been distorted. Many persons are too much inclined to consider Hugh of St. Victor as sacrificing reason to faith, intelligence to love. But scholarly works have vindicated the celebrated philosopher and theologian from the imputation of this erroneous interpretation. We now know that Hugh of St. Victor kept the true measure; that the distinction of the two orders was established in his mind as clearly as it was later in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas.<sup>109</sup> “Reason,” he said, “aids faith, and faith perfects reason.”<sup>110</sup>

But his method was characterized by the large part he assigned to what he called “meditation.” And he carefully distinguished natural or scientific meditation from supernatural or religious meditation. According to him, no remark or reading is fruitful unless we supplement it by meditation.<sup>111</sup> He de-

<sup>107</sup> *Gallia christiana*, VII, 664.

<sup>108</sup> Evidently the lectures of William of Champeaux’ successors were not attended by such throngs of students as attended those of the master.

<sup>109</sup> Mignon, *Les origines de la scolastique et Hugues de Saint-Victor*, I, 66.

<sup>110</sup> Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis*, Vol. I, Part III, chap. 30.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, *Eruditionis didascalicae libri septem*, Bk. III, chap. 11; *PL*, CLXXVI, 772.



fines meditation as "an assiduous and prudent application of the mind to the investigation of the cause, the origin, the mode, and the usefulness of each thing."<sup>112</sup> This meditation should embrace all: the observation of the soul as well as of the world, or, to use his own words, "what is without as well as what is within." No one has more justly purposed giving a scientific demonstration of the existence of God; this is the way he sums up his thesis: "What is outside us corresponds to what is within us, to demonstrate the same truth; and all nature, by bearing witness to its own dependence, proclaims the existence of its Author."<sup>113</sup> Regarding Hugh's mystical theology, De Wulf says:

According to the *Didascalion*, philosophy is the vestibule which leads to a higher science . . . Hugh's writings on mystical theology deal with the faith in its objective data and especially in the affective sentiment to which it gives rise. Following St. Augustine, Hugh describes the stages in the ascent toward God. . . . Just as the triple eye of the soul is related to a threefold knowable object, so also a triple mode of vision denotes the more or less penetrating way in which we grasp one and the same object: the *cogitatio* is a superficial and extensive regard, the *meditatio* a sustained and deliberate reflection on a given point, *contemplatio* a profound intuition leisurely and comprehensive.<sup>114</sup>

But what are the practical means for following this path, or rather for disposing ourselves to receive the grace which alone leads us in this mystical way? Hugh sums them up in one formula: to make a void in our heart, so as to make room for God there. Hence his insistence on preaching the vanity of transient things. In his dialogue *De vanitate mundi* he presents one of the speakers, Indaletius, as letting himself be captivated by the charms of the works of man. "Very well, they are admir-

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *De sacramentis*, Bk. I, Part III, chap. 1; *PL*, CLXXVI, 219.

<sup>114</sup> De Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, I, 214.

able," Dindymus concedes, "but await the end." And he leads him along the heights where one glance of the eye embraces the spectacle of the world. "What do you see?" "A ship moving under full sail beneath a blue sky. The members of the crew are amusing themselves and are singing joyous songs." And after a moment: "What do you still see?" "Alas, I tremble to say it: rising clouds, a roaring tempest, the sea opening its abysses a little, the shipwreck, a terrible struggle with death. And all is finished." "Well, what do you say now about the might and happiness of men?" "Vanity of vanities; all is but vanity."<sup>115</sup> And thus, described by a man who, leaving the world early in life, was able to observe it, we see pass by a rich caravan, wealthy palace, a wedding procession, a flourishing school. "Indaletius, what do you see?" "I see a well-attended school, where young men and old are studying side by side. There men learn to cover parchment with elegant miniatures, to discover the course of the stars, and to deceive men by learned sophisms." "And afterward? Have men found the truth, and with truth, happiness? Not at all. Without God, we have no truth. Without God, no happiness."<sup>116</sup>

This doctor, who spoke in so convinced a tone about the vanity of the world, died like a saint. We have the account of his last moments, written by an eyewitness. "The day before his death," he says, "I came to see him early in the morning. He said to me: 'Are we alone?' When I told him we were, he said: 'Have you celebrated mass today?' 'Certainly.' 'Come near, then, and breathe upon my face in the form of a cross, that I may receive the Holy Ghost.' Already in his last agony, he murmured in a barely intelligible voice: 'I have obtained it. . . . He will receive my soul.' Then, striking his breast, he said: 'Holy Mary, pray for me. St. Peter, pray for me. St. Vic-

<sup>115</sup> *De vanitate mundi*, Bk. I; *PL*, CLXXVI, 705. Modern scholarship is inclined to attribute this treatise, not to Hugh of St. Victor, but to Hugh of Fouilloi, an Augustinian.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 709.

tor, pray for me.' These were his last words. The lips of this just man, the organ of wisdom, became forever silent."<sup>117</sup> Hugh of St. Victor had accomplished his mission in this world, but his work, the mystical school of St. Victor, would survive him. Richard would be its great theologian, and Adam would be its inspired poet.

### Peter Lombard

Among the many works produced by the intellectual activity of Hugh of St. Victor, are two remarkable attempts at dogmatic synthesis: the treatise *De sacramentis* and the *Summa sententiarum*. Along this road he had been preceded by Abelard, whose *Sic et Non* was a collection of patristic texts relating to the principal philosophical and theological problems. He was followed by several other writers of his period: Robert Pulleyn, Robert of Melun, Hugh of Rouen, and especially by him who would receive the title of "Master of the Sentences," Peter Lombard.

In the movement which carried men's minds to philosophical and theological studies and in the presence of the vast amount of material to be investigated and utilized for these works, an urgent need was felt for classification and organization. Hence various works entitled "Summa of Sentences" or "Book of Sentences" had an immense success. Finally one of these collections supplanted the others and was accepted in the schools of the Middle Ages as the classical text offered to the commentaries of the professors. This was Peter Lombard's *Liber sententiarum*.

About 1136<sup>118</sup> the Abbot of Clairvaux received from the Bishop of Lucca a letter in which the prelate recommended to his charity a young cleric of Novara, who intended to go to

<sup>117</sup> *Epistola Osberti de morbo et obitu Hugonis*; PL, CLXXV, 162.

<sup>118</sup> Vacandard, *op. cit.*, II, 115 note 4.

France to improve his knowledge of the sacred sciences. Encouraged by a favorable answer, the young student set out first for Reims, where Bernard supplied his needs, then to Paris, where Abbot Gilduin of St. Victor's, on Bernard's recommendation,<sup>119</sup> rendered him the same service. The Bishop of Lucca's studious protégé, Peter, was a Lombard by birth; his school-mates were accustomed to call him the Lombard, or Peter Lombard. He had no intention of making a long stay in Paris; but the intellectual activity that he encountered and the priceless resources he found in that city for his studies kept him there. His passion for work was indefatigable. The writings of the fathers became familiar to him. From student, he became teacher. Some have surmised that he taught at St. Genevieve and at St. Victor.<sup>120</sup> His classes were unlike those of Abelard and Hugh. He had neither the reckless audacity of the former nor the mystical transports of the latter. But his erudition was so vast and so sure, and he had such ease in directing his hearers through the labyrinth of patrology, that his success was not less. Peter Lombard's laborious career was crowned by his appointment to the high office of bishop of Paris. He occupied the see for only a few months, until August, 1160.<sup>121</sup>

The most famous of his works is the *Book of the Sentences*. In it he classifies a large number of texts from Scripture and from the fathers in systematic order which itself reveals the state of mind of that period. Distinguishing in the world realities from symbols, he considers both of them from the standpoint of the eternal beatitude.

The realities include the following: 1. God, the supreme object of beatitude; 2. creatures, providential means of beatitude; 3. the angels and men, subjects of beatitude. These three reali-

<sup>119</sup> St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 410.

<sup>120</sup> Féret, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>121</sup> *Gallia christiana*, VII, 67 f.

ties are the subject of the first three books of the work. The fourth book is devoted to the symbols. By this expression Peter Lombard means the sacraments and all the religious rites that symbolize the supernatural realities which they confer.

Such is the work which Albert the Great, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventure commented on in the great universities of the Middle Ages. Nothing less than St. Thomas' *Summa* dethroned it, after long hesitation, from the exceptional place it occupied in the Schools. Some scholars have found in it errors of detail, instances of vagueness, and certain lacunae. It has been criticized for often giving contradictory explanations, without settling the difficulties by clear solutions. But in the twelfth century it formed the most complete body of theology then known, since St. John Damascene's *Exposition of the Faith*.<sup>122</sup> In spite of the imperfections of his work, the Master of the Sentences, the scholar who was able to remain industrious and humble in the chair of Abelard and in the see of St. Dionysius,<sup>123</sup> has a right to a place of honor in the history of Catholic education.<sup>124</sup>

### St. Bernard

Should we connect St. Bernard with the mystical school of Hugh of St. Victor or with the positive school of Peter Lombard? By the transports of his piety, the Abbot of Clairvaux belongs rather to the former of these schools; but, intentionally and by the very complexity of his work, he escapes any classification. "What significance has philosophy for me?" he declared. "My teachers are the Apostles. They have not taught me to read Plato or to unravel the subtleties of Aristotle. But they

<sup>122</sup> A critical study of the *Book of the Sentences* shows its dependence on St. John Damascene as also on the work of Hugh of St. Victor.

<sup>123</sup> On Peter Lombard's humility, see the anecdote related in *Histoire littéraire*, XII, 586.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Protois, *Pierre Lombard, son époque, sa vie, ses écrits*.

have taught me to live. And, believe me, this is no small science.”<sup>125</sup> A recent biographer says: “Despite Bernard’s professed disdain for lofty theological speculations, he is a very well-informed and profound theologian. Although the vain disputes of the School escape his notice, true metaphysics has no secrets hidden from him. He illumines the questions.”<sup>126</sup> His knowledge of Scripture and of the fathers was remarkable. The Bible is familiar to him; St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory the Great are his bedside authors. Although a philosopher like Hugh of St. Victor and a scholar like Peter Lombard, he took no pains to organize his ideas or the contents of his knowledge into a system. But the duty of his office and the care of the direction of a large monastery led him to set forth in didactic manner his principles of the spiritual life. He was a forerunner of ascetical and of mystical theology.

Asceticism had already had its doctors. In the beginning of the fifth century Cassian, by gathering the maxims and examples of the Eastern monks, had formulated definite rules from them. Bernard sets forth their complete doctrine in his two treatises: *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*<sup>127</sup> and *De diligendo Deo*.<sup>128</sup> In the former he defines humility, the basis of all perfection: “the virtue that makes man vile in his own eyes through the very true knowledge he has of his state”; then he gives an explanation of twelve degrees of pride, in a series of pictures “some of which bear comparison with la Bruyère’s *Caractères*.”<sup>129</sup> In the treatise *De diligendo Deo*, Bernard analyzes the degrees of love, which are: love of self, love of God for self, love of God for Himself, and pure love: in other words: self-love, mercenary love, filial love, and beatific love. As to the rule which should guide us in the practice of love, he formulates

<sup>125</sup> St. Bernard, *In festo sancti Petri*, no. 1. Cf. sermon 3, in *Pentecosten*, no. 5.

<sup>126</sup> Vacandard, art. “Bernard” in Vacant’s *Dict. de théol.*, II, 582.

<sup>127</sup> *PL*, CLXXXII, 941.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 973.

<sup>129</sup> Vacandard, *op. cit.*, col. 752.

it in a maxim which St. Francis de Sales adopted: "The measure of loving, is to love without measure," *modus, sine modo diligere*. For the questions of detail and the practical applications connected with his spiritual doctrine, they are treated in his sermons and in his letters, where we find abundance of happy formulas and striking features. He says: "Suppress free will, and there will be no hell."<sup>130</sup> To his disciple whom he wishes to lead to the practice of meditation, he writes: "Take it from my experience, you will find something more in the forests than in books" (*amplius in sylvis quam in libris*).<sup>131</sup> "On the path of holiness," he says, "whoever does not advance, goes backward";<sup>132</sup> "whatever is added to our vanities is a theft from our needs."<sup>133</sup> To Pope Eugene III he wrote: "On the pretext that nobody may appeal from you to anyone else, do not think you have no other law but your own will, and do not exercise your power without regard for reason."<sup>134</sup> "Do not expend yourself entirely in action; always reserve something of your soul for meditation."<sup>135</sup> "We give only from our surplus," he writes; "if you would be wise, make yourself a reservoir before becoming a channel."<sup>136</sup> "You may say that the habit does not make the monk. True, but the vain heart places on the body the mark of its vanity."<sup>137</sup> "A fool on a throne is like a monkey on a roof."<sup>138</sup>

At bottom, this keen observer of men and things is a contemplative; this monk, who sees so well the defects and the oddities of mankind, when his ministry commands him to observe them so as to combat them, aspires only to silence and to solitary

<sup>130</sup> Sermon 3, no. 3.

<sup>131</sup> *Epist.*, 106.

<sup>132</sup> *Epist.*, 91.

<sup>133</sup> *De officio episcoporum*, chap. 2, no. 6.

<sup>134</sup> *De consideratione*, Bk. III, chap. 4.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. I, chap. 7.

<sup>136</sup> *In cantic.*, 18.

<sup>137</sup> *Apologia*, 10.

<sup>138</sup> *De consideratione*, Bk. II, chap. 7.

communion with God; and the most original part of St. Bernard's work is his mystical theology. We find the exposition of it in the eighty-six sermons which he preached on the *Cantic of Canticles*.

Until the twelfth century the Church possessed no treatises on mysticism except the writings of pseudo-Dionysius and their commentaries. But those profound works have in mind only the contemplation of the most mysterious attributes of the Divinity. St. Bernard is the first to describe the stages of the soul rising to the divine union. Although he does not attain the wonderful precision of St. Teresa in the description of the various states of the soul drawn toward the highest summits of love, at least he marks out the essential traits. In the pictures which he sketches, we can recognize what the moderns call the prayer of quiet, the night of the soul, the mystical union, the perfect union, rapture, and ecstasy. He speaks of that tranquil state in which everything is at rest, in which "the tranquillity of God tranquilizes everything" (*tranquillus Deus tranquillat omnia*).<sup>139</sup> He was acquainted with the "great and sweet wound of love" (*grande et suave vulnus amoris*).<sup>140</sup> In terms never surpassed in daring and in delicate purity, he celebrates that intimate union between the soul and God, where everything becomes common, as between husband and wife, *una domus, una mensa*.<sup>141</sup> He speaks of those moments when, as in a lightning flash, we glimpse the Divinity: *Divinitus aliquid raptim et veluti in velocitate corusci luminis interlucet*.<sup>142</sup> And he is really describing ecstasy when he recalls that state where, after all sensible images have vanished and every natural feeling has disappeared, the soul is no longer subject to temptation and sin. There everything is pure, in its life as in its love. In reference

<sup>139</sup> *In cantic.*, sermon 23.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, sermon 20.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, sermon 7.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, sermon 41.



to this, he says: "It is vain to cast a net before the feet of those who have wings." <sup>143</sup>

### St. Hildegard

In the description of these different states, Bernard did not conceal that, for the most part, he was speaking from his personal experience. But the teachings of that experience were supplemented by the communications of a soul with which he was in relation, St. Hildegard. Born in 1098 of a noble Christian family in the vicinity of Mainz, Hildegard at the age of five was favored with visions the meaning of which at first she did not grasp, but which gradually became clear afterward. At first a simple nun, then superior of the Benedictine nuns of Disibodenberg, she experienced, beginning in 1141, an irresistible need of writing her revelations. The subject of these revelations is God, His nature, the Trinity, creation, the redemption, the angels, and man. In 1147 Pope Eugene III instituted, for the judging of her visions, a tribunal of which Bernard was a member. The Abbot of Clairvaux, after mature investigation, declared "that such a light ought not be allowed to remain under a bushel." <sup>144</sup> The entire tribunal and the Supreme Pontiff took this same view and merely admonished the seer "to use the utmost circumspection in revealing the things which the Spirit urged her to reveal." <sup>145</sup> Hildegard's fame spread throughout the Christian world. In correspondence with bishops, popes, and emperors, the pious nun remained humble and circumspect, as the Pope had advised her. She died in the odor of sanctity in 1179 at the age of eighty-one years, leaving to posterity three books of revelations, obscure in many passages, but filled with

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, sermon 52.

<sup>144</sup> *Vita Hildegardis*, Bk. I, chap. 1; *PL*, CXC VII, 95.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

views of a marvelous splendor : the *Scivias*, the *Liber vitae meritorum*, and the *Liber divinatorum operum*.<sup>146</sup>

While dogmatic theology was being organized with Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard, and mystical theology with St. Bernard, an Italian monk, Gratian by name, was patiently composing a collection of legal texts. This collection filled, in the study of canon law, the same place as Peter Lombard's *Sentences* filled in the study of theology.

### Gratian

We know little of Gratian's personal history. "He was Italian, and a Camaldolese monk in the monastery of SS. Nabor and Felix at Bologna, where he taught law. What his life had been before that, we do not know. Nor do we know the date of his death, which must have occurred before the Third Lateran Council, held in 1179.<sup>147</sup> His collection appeared about 1140,<sup>148</sup> with the title *Concordantia discordantium canonum*. It is better known under the title of *Decretum*. Immediately it supplanted all other similar works. This success was owing to two chief causes : 1. Gratian introduced into his compilation a more rigorous and logical order, the chief divisions of which he took from the Roman law ; 2. he gave his work a character of dogmatic exposition and discussion, purposing, as the title indicates, to reconcile apparently contrary texts. The work is divided into three parts. The first part treats of law in general and of ecclesiastical persons ; the second part treats of ecclesiastical causes ; the third part, of rites. Gratian's *Decretum* soon became the

<sup>146</sup> In *PL*, Vol. CXC VII. From the pen of St. Hildegard we have some short works, like little tragedies, put to music which was also composed by her. Dom Pothier has published several of her musical compositions in the *Revue du chant grégorien*.

<sup>147</sup> Villien, art. "Gratien" in Vacant's *Dict. de théol*, VI, 1728.

<sup>148</sup> This is the conclusion of a scholarly study by Paul Fournier, "Deux controverses sur les origines du décret de Gratien" in the *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, March-June, 1898.

basis of canonical teaching, the text which the professors of ecclesiastical law commented on, as the professors of theology commented on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. But this *Decretum* never possessed official authority as a collection. Even the approval which Pope Gregory XIII gave to the edition corrected by his care, did not confer an official character on it. Its texts never had any authoritative value beyond that of the various documents from which they were taken.<sup>149</sup>

Gratian's *Decretum* exercised a twofold influence in the Church. At first it brought about a division in theological science. "Till then the discipline of the Church was not separated from theology strictly so called; the two were studied together, and the same professor taught them both. But this vast collection gave rise to a feeling that special courses were needed. Naturally they were inaugurated at Bologna, where Roman law was taught. In France, first at Orleans, later at Paris, chairs of canon law were established; in the beginning these were at the same time chairs of civil law. The French capital prided itself, in this new professorship, before the end of the twelfth century, on Gerard la Pucelle, Matthew of Angers, and Anselm of Paris."<sup>150</sup> The second result, a consequence of the first, was to give to the government of the Church a more juridical character, to consolidate, by a firmer and more rational jurisprudence, the progress made in the direction of the centralization of authority about the Holy See, and toward uniformity of legislation and of customs in the Church and uniformity in the organization of the hierarchy.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Such is the doctrine set forth with great exactness by Benedict XIV, *De synodo*, Bk. VIII, chap. 15.

<sup>150</sup> Féret, *La faculté de Paris, le Moyen Age*, I, xv. However, theology and canon law continued to influence each other.

<sup>151</sup> These results seem undeniable. But to say, as Harnack does (*History of Dogma*), that the twelfth century was marked by the perfect amalgamation of dogma and law, and that the dogmatic form was completely obscured by the legal form, is utterly to misunderstand the distinctions which history admits.

### Monasticism

St. Bernard, in his *De consideratione*, recognized a providential necessity<sup>152</sup> in the immense power which the papacy had acquired, and he asked it merely to remain perfectly worthy of it. In taking this attitude, "he was the incarnation of the Christian mind of the time."<sup>153</sup> "Men's souls, assured as to the reorganization of the Church and the power of the papacy, revived."<sup>154</sup> The great monastic institutions formed the centers of this life. Cluny and Clairvaux were still its chief seats. No doubt many disorders were still evident there. The Clairvaux monks criticized those of Cluny for the luxury of their churches; and in these reproaches they injected a tone of acrimony, which was blameworthy. St. Bernard had to repress the excesses of the one and the pharisaism of the other.<sup>155</sup> He stimulated the zeal of almost all the Benedictine houses of northern France. His relations with the Grande Chartreuse, with the Abbey of St. Victor of Paris, and with that of Prémontré were an occasion of regeneration for those monasteries. He exercised a decisive influence on the reform of the Templars, among whom several abuses had slipped in.<sup>156</sup>

### The Clergy

Abuses were to be found not only in the monasteries. They existed also among the bishops, and the Abbot of Clairvaux denounced these abuses in his *De moribus et officio episcoporum*. They were found also among the lower clergy, to whom Bernard addressed his vehement discourse *De conversione*. If we take literally the *De laude novae militiae*, they were notoriously

<sup>152</sup> *De consideratione*, Bk. III, chap. 2.

<sup>153</sup> Dufourcq, *L'avenir du christianisme*, VI, 108.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Apologia*, chaps. 5 f.

<sup>156</sup> Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, I, 230 f.

prominent in the secular knighthood. We have seen that the royal court was often the scene of all this. Only a powerful papacy, either by itself or through instruments docile in its hands, could exercise an effective influence against such abuses and at such a period. Besides the name of St. Bernard, who was the most illustrious of these instruments, history cannot forget two other names: St. Malachy, bishop of Down, and Suger, abbot of St. Denis.

### St. Malachy

Malachy was born in Armagh in Ireland about 1095. At first he was a hermit, then a priest and collaborator of the primate of Ireland in the reform of the Churches of that country, archbishop of Armagh, and finally bishop of Down. In the mind of St. Bernard, Malachy was the ideal bishop. St. Bernard wrote: "I was privileged to see this man, and I rejoiced at seeing and hearing him. Sinner though I am, I found favor in his eyes."<sup>157</sup> Malachy's work is summed up in two phrases: he restored ecclesiastical discipline in Ireland and he connected, by close bonds, the Churches of his country with the Apostolic See.

St. Patrick, when introducing Christianity in Ireland, had no idea of injuring the ancient laws and customs of that land. But some of those laws and customs were harmful to ecclesiastical discipline. Thus the Churches were organized in imitation of the national clans; the bishop was surrounded with collaborators who, under the name of chorepiscopi, contested his authority. Furthermore, the custom of heredity resulted, not only in assuring to a single family such or such an episcopal see or abbey, but also, when clerics were lacking, placing it in lay hands. Malachy, by long efforts and by surrounding himself with monks, succeeded in extirpating these abuses. Then, by submitting the foundation of the metropolitan see of Cashel

<sup>157</sup> *Vita Malachiae*, chap. 16.

to the approval of the pope and by asking the pope to send the pallium for the first two sees of the kingdom, he rendered permanent and stable the bond which was beginning to unite his country with the papacy. Ireland rightly venerates St. Malachy as its greatest apostle after St. Patrick.<sup>158</sup>

### Suger

At this same period, Suger, abbot of St. Denis, was the glory of France. Historians are not agreed as to Suger's native land

<sup>158</sup> Vacandard, "Saint Malachie" in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LII (1892), 1-57. St. Malachy seems to have received the gift of prophecy. Probably because of his fame as a prophet, an anonymous writer at the close of the sixteenth century attributed to him a prophecy about the succession of the popes. This so-called prophecy of Malachy, first published in 1595, "was composed in 1590 to support the candidacy of Cardinal Simoncelli, who was aspiring to the tiara. A remarkable fact is that, up to Gregory XIV, the mottos fit rather well the coats of arms, the place of birth, or the kind of life of his predecessors. The device for the successor of Urban VII was, *De antiquitate urbis*. In the spirit of the forger, it fitted perfectly Cardinal Simoncelli, who was a native of Orvieto (*urbs vetus*). But the election of Cardinal Sfondrate, a native of Milan, who took the name of Gregory XIV, made the prophecy an inexplicable riddle" (Vacandard, *Rev. des quest. hist.*, July, 1892, LII, 51). The following are the chief arguments adduced against the authenticity of this so-called prophecy: 1. No writer speaks of it before the end of the sixteenth century; St. Bernard, in his *Vita Malachiae*, written at the time when the prophecy would have had its partial fulfilment in the election of Celestine II, Lucius II, and Eugene III, makes not the least allusion to it; 2. We cannot attribute a supernatural origin to a prophecy which places in the same rank the popes and the antipopes and which, in spite of the words of the Savior, fixes at a few decades later the date of the end of the world; 3. Manifest errors have been pointed out in the so-called prophecy. See Ménétrier, *Réputation des prophéties faussement attribuées à saint Malachie*; 4. The hypothesis of the composition of the document in 1590 on the occasion of the candidacy of Simoncelli for the tiara, explains all the difficulties: *Peregrinus apostolicus* (Pius VI?), *Aquila rapax* (Pius VII?), *Canis et coluber* (Leo XII?), *Vir religiosus* (Pius VIII?), *De balneis Etruriae* (Gregory XVI?), *Crux de cruce* (Pius IX?), *Lumen in coelo* (Leo XIII?), *Ignis ardens* (Pius X?), *Religio depopulata* (Benedict XV?), *Fides intrepida*, *Pastor angelicus*, *Pastor et nauta*, *Flos florum*, *De medietate lunae*, *De labore solis*, *De gloria olivae*. The prophecy ends with the following words: *In persecutione extrema sacrae romanae Ecclesiae, sedebit Petrus Romanus, qui pascet oves in multis tribulationibus. Quibus transactis, civitas septicollis diruetur, et Iudex tremendus judicabit populum.*

or the exact date of his birth, which some place in 1080 and others in 1083. All are in accord that he sprang from the common people and that he was born in poverty.<sup>159</sup> Probably he was of servile condition. In childhood he was offered as an oblate to the Abbey of St. Denis. There he was brought up with the eldest son of King Philip I. The great-grandson of Hugh Capet and the descendant of serfs grew up side by side, studied the same lessons, and, amid the political and religious disturbances that were heard about even in the monastery, they exchanged with each other their anxieties and their ideas. We must suppose that the ideas which came from the poor scholar seemed wise to the young prince, because, when he became King Louis VI, he several times confided certain delicate missions to Suger. Suger was then a monk. About 1122 he was chosen by his brethren in religion to be abbot of the monastery of St. Denis. But St. Denis at that period was, according to a certain historian's just remark, less a monastic establishment than an institution of the monarchy.<sup>160</sup> Suger devoted himself entirely to politics; the discipline of the monastery, already much injured by his predecessor, was the least of his cares. The ancient monastery was more than ever like a princely court, not merely by the sumptuous retinue kept there, but also by the nature of the matters there discussed.<sup>161</sup>

The reading of St. Bernard's *Apologia* opened Suger's eyes. He broke with his frivolous habits, subjected himself to the rigors of monastic discipline, and in a few years re-established in his house the austerity of the Benedictine rule. As St. Bernard wrote: "Now the house of God ceases to open to people of the world, there is no access to sacred precincts for the curious. The holy place is open and accessible only to the children of Christ."<sup>162</sup> However, the Abbot of St. Denis did not abandon

<sup>159</sup> Louis de Carné, *Les fondateurs de l'unité française*, I, 76.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>161</sup> Vétault, *Suger*, p. 166.

<sup>162</sup> St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 78.

the care of public affairs. Under Louis VII, as under Louis VI, he was the chief adviser of royalty. During the Second Crusade he had the regency of the kingdom. The basilica of St. Denis, rebuilt by him, remains a monument of his piety: and the collective emancipation of an entire locality, of which his example is one of the oldest, is a testimony to his consideration for the lowly.

He wrote the biographies of the two kings whom he served, and his accounts reveal that he possessed so strict a conscience as an historian, that we can say of these accounts that "the twelfth century produced none more authentic or more interesting." <sup>163</sup> Louis VII gave him the name "Father of Our Country," and St. Bernard wrote to Pope Eugene III about him, saying: "If our Church of France possesses a vessel of honor and if the prince's court possesses a faithful servant like David, in my judgment it is the Abbot of St. Denis." <sup>164</sup> History says that, "by inspiring Louis the Fat in his mission of lofty justice and by founding, under Louis the Younger, the close alliance between the royalty and the Church, Suger saved France, anticipated the thought of St. Louis, and prepared for his great reign." <sup>165</sup>

### Death of the Pope Eugene III

When (January 13, 1151) the Abbot of St. Denis was called to God, Bernard was already afflicted by the illness that brought on his death two years later. Eugene III preceded his former teacher to the grave by a month: he died July 8, 1153, at Tivoli. A strengthening of the Holy See's authority, a revived enthusiasm in the Crusades, a return of monastic and clerical life to its true spirit, the vigorous repression of schism and heresy, the encouragement of ecclesiastical studies in their new prog-

<sup>163</sup> Luchaire in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 23.

<sup>164</sup> St. Bernard, *Epist.*, 39.

<sup>165</sup> De Carné, *op. cit.*, p. 154.



ress, all these were the fruits of his glorious pontificate. But a few months before the Pope's death a great political event occurred in Germany. This event threatened the permanence of those happy results. On May 4, 1152, the princes of the Empire elected, to replace Conrad III, his nephew Frederick, duke of Swabia, destined to become celebrated in history as Frederick Barbarossa. The new monarch at his coming into power wrote to Pope Eugene, assuring him of the cooperation of his arm in the defense of the Church.<sup>166</sup> But the insistence with which at the same time he proclaimed his desire to restore the ancient splendor of the imperial power, his claim, manifested in the very first year of his reign, to place his candidate in the vacant see of Magdeburg without regard to the Concordat of Worms and to make a judgment of the civil authority precede any papal excommunication issued for injurious attacks upon the possessions of the Church, his cleverness in having his personal ambitions accepted by his people as national traditions, all these were grounds for fearing, in the person of the new King of Germany, a formidable adversary, a new Henry IV, firmer in character and more sustained by his nation. The future justified those fears. With Frederick Barbarossa the Church enters upon a new period of strife against the imperial power.

<sup>166</sup> Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum*, I, 373, 499 f.; Watterich, II, 315.

## CHAPTER IX

### *From Frederick Barbarossa to Innocent III (1152-98)*

THE chronicler Otto of Freising, uncle of the new German King, declares that the desire for Germany's greatness guided the electors in their choice of a successor for Conrad III. He says: "Among all the families, two were then illustrious in the Empire, that of the Weiblingen (Ghibellines) and that of the Welfs (Guelphs): one of them accustomed to supply emperors, the other to supply powerful dukes. Their rivalry had often troubled the state. But, by a design of Providence, under the reign of Henry V, Frederick's father (of the Weiblingen family) had married the daughter of the Guelph Duke of Bavaria. The princes then chose Frederick, not merely because of his activity and worth, but because in himself he could reconcile the two hostile families." <sup>1</sup>

### Frederick Barbarossa

The newly elected ruler partially fulfilled these hopes. Frederick I, better known as Frederick Barbarossa, was par excellence the sovereign of Germany in the Middle Ages. Perhaps in no other man did the German people better embody its legitimate ambitions and its chimerical dreams. As king of Germany, Frederick assured the almost absolute triumph of those ambitions; but as emperor, he witnessed the complete failure of those dreams. In his reign his country saw the unity of government strengthened, order re-established in the provinces, commerce flourish in the great cities, the court shine with unprecedented

<sup>1</sup> Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, Bk. II, chap. 2, in Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, VI, 699.

brilliance, national poetry blossom in noble and gracious works. But as emperor he aimed too high. Obsessed by the idea of a restoration of the Roman Empire in his person, regarding himself as one who had received from God the heritage of the Caesars, Frederick Barbarossa attempted to subject to his domination whatever had any connection, near or remote, with the ancient world. The scope of this ambition included the ecclesiastical hierarchy and even the pope, whom he wished to make an instrument of his power in Rome, his capital. To attain this end, he neglected nothing. Five different times he came himself down into Italy, raised up three antipopes for his cause, placed at his service the learning of the most famous jurists, and, when he judged necessary, erected the most detestable methods of barbarism into a system of war.

But his efforts encountered two insuperable obstacles. The municipal liberties, developed in Italy to such a degree as in some instances to constitute real republics, turned against him; and the papacy, long distrustful of this movement, in the hour of danger became its natural and powerful protector. Thus the quarrel of Guelphs and Ghibellines, which, it had been thought, ought to be quelled, flared up more ardent and more formidable in its proportions: whatever inclined to the cause of the pope and of the liberty of Italy, was called Guelph; and whatever was connected with the cause of the emperor, was called Ghibelline. At last Frederick Barbarossa's imprudent aggression had as its effect the revival of the feeling of Italian independence and the popularizing of the cause of the papacy. A similar attempt in England by King Henry II eventuated in like results.

Born about 1123, the new King of Germany was, at the time of his election, barely thirty years old. A man of fine presence, thin and tall, with a quick and cultivated mind, of simple manners in his private life, of great dignity in ceremonies of state, of extreme valor in battle, he squandered so many fine qualities by a boundless ambition and by an inflexible obstinacy. On the

day of his coronation at Aachen, one of his trusted followers, who had been condemned by him, knelt at the King's feet imploring pardon, and all present joined in his petition. "My sentence was just," replied the King. He was inexorable and refused to revoke the condemnation.

### Pope Anastasius IV

The first of his desires was to go to Rome, there to affirm his authority in person. But, as the situation in Germany was far from assuring, he was obliged to postpone carrying out this project. The death of Eugene III, however, and the election of a new pope a few days later (July 12, 1153) seemed to him a favorable circumstance to hasten the accomplishment of his plan. The design was nothing less than to subject Italy to the imperial supremacy, and to render effective that nominal title of king of the Romans which had been bestowed upon his predecessors ever since Charlemagne. The new head of the Church, Conrad of Suburra, cardinal-bishop of Sabina, elected under the name of Anastasius IV, was an old man, renowned for his mercy and kindness. In the first days of his pontificate, he had, in a spirit of conciliation, granted the pallium to the Bishop of Magdeburg, appointed not long before by the King of Germany contrary to the wishes of Eugene III. Frederick counted on the new Pope's complacency. Furthermore, he overlooked nothing that would aid the success of his expedition in Italy. First he conciliated Henry of Saxony by granting him the duchy of Bavaria; then, the more effectively to curb the Normans of the Two Sicilies, he negotiated an agreement with their inveterate enemy, the Emperor of Constantinople.

### Pope Adrian IV

But the expedition was scarcely on the march, when word was received of the death of Anastasius IV (December 3,

1154), and of the unanimous election, which took place the next day, of his successor, Adrian IV. The one that Frederick would now have to face was an active pope of mature years, well known for the keenness of his mind, the extent of his knowledge, and the generosity of his character, a man who, in the various offices he previously filled, had given evidence of initiative and firmness.

He was a native of England and before his elevation was called Nicholas Breakspear. In boyhood, as a consequence of events about which history cannot supply sufficient light, he was obliged to live on alms. At an early age he came to France and there stage by stage he reached the city of Avignon. Near this city the Canons Regular of St. Rufus received him, had him educated, and then admitted him into their community.<sup>2</sup> There he experienced all the vicissitudes that usually are the lot of superior men. His eminent qualities soon brought about his election as prior and, shortly after, as abbot of the monastery. But his zeal for reform made him the target of accusations on the part of some of the monks, who haled him before the papal tribunal. As a result of these events, he was brought into the presence of Eugene III. The Pope, struck by his capacities and virtues, kept him near him, appointed him cardinal-bishop of Albano, and subsequently confided to him an important legation in the Scandinavian countries. Nicholas Breakspear erected the archbishopric of Trondheim (Drontheim) for Norway and endeavored to make Upsala the metropolitan see of Sweden.

Elected supreme pontiff, Adrian IV was under no illusion regarding the heavy burden that fell on his shoulders and the obstacles he would encounter on his path. He said: "I know that my path is strewn with thorns; and this papal mantle, which is placed upon me, although much tattered, is still heavy enough to weigh down even the strongest."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Liber pontif.*, II, 388.

<sup>3</sup> John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, Bk. VIII; *M. G.*, SS., XXVII, 50.

No sooner was he consecrated than he received news of the arrival of the imperial army in Italy. To complicate the difficulties, the Roman municipality, stirred up by Arnold of Brescia, declared itself independent and ordered Adrian to abdicate from the government of Rome. In these circumstances, Adrian prudently withdrew to the citadel of St. Peter. He wished to do everything possible to calm the excited passions and especially to avoid at any price the shedding of blood. His efforts were vain. A cardinal, on the way to visit him, was grievously wounded by Arnold's followers. Adrian at once put the city under interdict. The divine offices were suppressed in all the churches of Rome. This measure was effective. The Roman population, impatient to see the religious ceremonies resumed, forced the senators to submit to the Pope and compelled Arnold of Brescia to leave the city.

### Barbarossa in Italy

However, Barbarossa had reached Upper Italy. According as he advanced, his intentions appeared more and more manifest, and his tactics were revealed. Some Italian cities resisted him. Milan, Chieri, Asti, Rosate, Treccate, Brescia, and Tortona refused to open their gates to him. Frederick, not feeling that he was strong enough to overcome Milan, passed on without taking it. But the other cities were razed to the ground, pillaged, destroyed in whole or in part. At Sutri he met Adrian IV. What would be the attitude of the King of Germany? Custom required that, in such event, the sovereign should hold the bridle of the pope's horse and present the stirrup to the pope. Frederick thought he could properly omit this ceremony. Thereupon Adrian declined to give him the kiss of peace. However, after reflection, the fear of having a quarrel with the Pope and of not receiving from him the imperial crown, on which he was counting, made the monarch alter his decision: the usual

ceremonies were performed. Almost immediately a deputation of the Roman Senate appeared. The purpose of this move was not hard to surmise. Overcome by the spiritual arms of the Pope, the senators came to seek support from the Emperor. But the spokesman of the Roman commune had not finished setting forth its desires, when Barbarossa abruptly stopped him. "I am the successor of Charlemagne and of Otto the Great," he said, "and, as such, the lawful possessor of Rome. Do you think anyone can possibly snatch the club from the hand of Hercules?"<sup>4</sup>

These words left no illusion as to Frederick's dispositions. In vain he repeated to the Pope his promise to restore the power of the Holy See over the city of Rome. He entered the city at the head of his army, drove out the partisans of the Senate from the positions they were holding there, and, while the Pope placed the imperial crown on his head (June 18, 1156), pronounced the traditional oath of the emperors. Evidently as master, not as a mere defender, Frederick Barbarossa intended to interfere in the affairs of Rome and of Italy. Now appeared the new character of the strife that was about to begin between the priesthood and the Empire. The question of investiture was no longer in the foreground, as in the time of Gregory VII; the question now was the pope's temporal independence, his free government of Rome and of the Papal States, which he would have to defend against the imperial claims. Events that presently occurred showed this to be the character of the strife.

In that same year (1156), another conflict arose between the two powers. While the King, on returning to Germany, was there engaged in restraining the excessive claims of his vassals, the Pope concluded at Benevento, with King William of Sicily, a treaty<sup>5</sup> by which he acknowledged his titles of king of Sicily and duke of Apulia and prince of Capua; in return the Pope

<sup>4</sup> Otto of Freising, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, chap. 22, in Muratori, *op. cit.*, VI, 722.

<sup>5</sup> Chalandon, *Hist. de la dom. normande en Italie*, II, 232-34.

received from William an oath of vassalage. This move was opportune to prevent the Empire from encompassing the Roman state both on the north and on the south, as was reasonably feared. The Emperor's plan was, in fact, to join the Two Sicilies to the domains of his crown. Frederick protested vigorously, saying that the Pope was breaking the promises of the Holy See. The complaint was ill founded, because the promises alluded to by the King could be none other than the promise made at Constance by Eugene III, which had for its purpose simply the maintenance and development of the honor of the Empire.<sup>6</sup>

### Chancellor Rainaldi

In these recriminations could be easily seen the influence of an evil counselor, whom Frederick in 1156 had elevated to the high office of chancellor of the Empire, Rainaldi of Dassel.<sup>7</sup> This was merely his first step in the path of intrigue and deceit against the authority of the Holy See. Frederick, unmindful of his duty as emperor, neglected to take in hand the cause of the Archbishop of Lund, who had been plundered and imprisoned by malefactors while he was on the way to Rome. Adrian thereupon (1157) wrote to Frederick as follows:

I cannot find an explanation of your indifference. You know what superabundance of dignity and glory your holy mother the Church has procured (*contulerit*) for you. We ourselves would have been pleased to confer on you still more precious favors (*beneficia*), if that had been necessary. But, since you pay no attention to such a heinous crime, subjecting yourself to the influence of the wicked man who sows tares, I am sending you two of my most beloved sons, Cardinal Bernard and Cardinal Roland.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 886.

<sup>7</sup> Rainaldi was highly educated, tireless, and ambitious. He was chancellor of the Empire from May 10, 1156, to June 30, 1159. At the time of his death in 1167, he was archbishop of Cologne. See J. Ficker, *Reinold von Dassel*.

<sup>8</sup> Mansi, XXI, 789 f.



Chancellor Rainaldi of Dassel immediately translated the Pope's letter into German. But, taking advantage of the ambiguous significance that might be given to the words *contulerit* and *beneficia*, he falsified their meaning, representing the Pope as saying that the Emperor held the imperial dignity from the Holy See and that he could not aspire to possess Rome and Italy except as fiefs,<sup>9</sup> in the capacity of vassal of the Pope. Rainaldi also profited by the occasion mischievously to remind his sovereign of a picture which had greatly offended the monarch when he was visiting the Lateran Palace at Rome. Emperor Lothair was represented in the picture as receiving the imperial crown from the pope, and a Latin distich over the picture explained its meaning thus:

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores.*

*Post, homo fit papae, sumit quo dante coronam.*

That is, "The king presents himself at the gate and does homage to the city of Rome. Thus he becomes the pope's man, from the pope receiving his crown."

When the papal legates joined the Emperor, about the middle of October, 1157, in a diet held at Besançon, the Emperor's wrath was violent. It rose to the highest degree of fury when one of the legates, Roland Bandinelli, the future Alexander III, either because he was unaware of the reason for the Emperor's exasperation or because he could not refrain from a sharp retort, replied: "From whom, then, does the Emperor hold his imperial dignity, if not from the Pope?" Count Otto of Bavaria at these words raised his sword in the air to split the legate's head. The Emperor, restraining the Count, turned to the papal envoy and said: "If we were not in church, you would learn how heavy the German swords are." The legates were ordered to quit the territory of the Empire immediately by the most direct route, without visiting any bishop or abbot.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The word *beneficium* might, according to the circumstances, mean either favor or fief.

<sup>10</sup> *Mansi*, XXI, 709 f.

A short time after this, the Pope, in a dignified letter, wrote to the Emperor as follows: "You have treated our two excellent brethren, Cardinal Bernard and Cardinal Roland, in a manner unworthy of your imperial majesty. Apparently you were displeased because of the word *beneficium*. We used it in its primitive and natural sense; it means 'favor,' not 'fief.' Only those who wish to disturb the peace between the state and the Church could explain it in any other sense. Likewise, by the word *conferre*, we meant merely *imponere*." <sup>11</sup> This declaration, read and translated by Otto of Freising, calmed Frederick, who declared that he was satisfied. "The reconciliation was regarded as concluded between the Pope and the Emperor; but thereafter the friendly feeling between them was at an end, and we may say that the fire, ever ready to break out, continued to smolder under the ashes." <sup>12</sup>

At bottom a real and important divergence continued between the two sovereigns with regard to the respective rights of the papacy and the Empire. Although the pope did not consider the emperor a vassal or the Empire a fief, he could not grant that the imperial dignity was conferred immediately by God or that the crowning of the emperor at Rome was a duty on his part. Neither the pact between Leo III and Charlemagne nor any of the subsequent agreements supported such an interpretation. The office of protector of the papacy could not be conceived as an absolute right, independent of the consent of the Holy See.

### The Legists

Such, however, was Frederick Barbarossa's idea.<sup>13</sup> Soon no doubt was possible on this point. In the course of the year 1158, not satisfied with terrorizing Italy by his incursions and with subjecting Milan and Genoa to his sway, he appealed to the

<sup>11</sup> Jaffé, no. 10,386; Mansi, XXI, 793.

<sup>12</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 901.

<sup>13</sup> *M. G.*, XX, 422.

learning of the most famous legists to sustain his claims. This intervention of the legists in the quarrel of the priesthood and the Empire is an event of so great importance that it calls for more than passing mention.

The Roman law had never ceased to be known, cited, and practiced in the early Middle Ages.<sup>14</sup> It holds a notable place in the correspondence of St. Gregory the Great. St. Isidore of Seville several times cites the Digest.<sup>15</sup> As we have already seen, the principal juridical collections of the Romans were utilized in the collections of canon law. But in the twelfth century the political movement produced in Lombardy by the development of the municipal liberties was there the occasion of an enthusiastic study of the ancient law.<sup>16</sup>

The center of these studies was Bologna, where, from 1088 to 1125, the celebrated Irnerius taught. He was looked upon as the real founder of the Bologna school. The outward circumstances, the accessibility of the place, and the mildness of the climate probably contributed to make Bologna a great university city. But the fame of its school of Roman law came to it especially from the remarkable scientific labors of its professors. In their minds, to revive the laws of ancient Rome was to labor for that resurrection of the old municipal liberties which haunted the minds of that epoch. The legists were so esteemed in the city that they occupied a preponderant place in the political direction of affairs.<sup>17</sup> The great merit of the disciples of Irnerius was the direct interpretation of the Roman laws by the minute study of the texts and their critical comparison; so successful were they that, in the case of some texts, they established their meaning with finality.

But history must point out their many grave defects. At first,

<sup>14</sup> See Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Brandileone, *Il diritto romano nelle leggi romane e sueve*, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> In 1123 the jurists composed one of the three higher assemblies of the city. Cf. Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, II, 64.

as they were not well enough acquainted with Roman history and Latin literature, the meaning and import of several institutions escaped them. A more serious defect was that, in the explanation of the laws which they set forth to the society of their time, they utterly neglected the consideration of the conditions affected by economic and social progress and by the Christian spirit. Hence the system of legislation which they elaborated appeared not only lacking immediate contact with practical life, but marked with a character of rigidity and absolutism, often in contradiction to the moral ideas brought to the world by Christianity.

And precisely this character of absolutism given to the law by the Bologna school was what won the sympathy of Emperor Frederick. He, too, hoped for the revival of the traditions of the Roman Empire. A system of laws which legists had striven to revive and to comment on in the original form which it had in the time of Emperor Justinian, seemed to him a wonderfully suitable instrument for the realization of his designs. He heaped favors upon the Bologna legists, who in return passionately sustained his political ideas. The Roman law, as taught at Bologna,<sup>18</sup> henceforth became sometimes the garb in which the imperial claims were clothed, sometimes the principle from which the Emperor deduced fresh claims.

### The Code of Roncaglia

When a great struggle was evident between the Empire and the papacy, Frederick Barbarossa, who was a cautious statesman, could not neglect to make use of the new power offered to him.<sup>19</sup> He convoked, for November 11, 1158, to a diet that would

<sup>18</sup> In other schools, notably at Paris, they engaged rather in commentary on the Roman law by consideration of the advancement of social life.

<sup>19</sup> Thus an institution that was at first inspired by the claims of communal liberties, became the instrument of imperial despotism, the avowed enemy of those liberties.

be held in the plain of Roncaglia between Piacenza and Cremona, the principal legists of his Empire. As he was unable, he said, to govern the Roman Empire with justice and honor unless he knew precisely what were the imperial prerogatives, he was assembling the diet to examine this grave question. The Bologna professors, all of them devoted to the Emperor and more or less in his pay, were preponderant in the assembly. They found in the *Pandects* a text that called the emperor "the ruler of the entire world." And he met a bishop who even commented on this text by saying: "The power of lawmaking belongs to you alone. Your will makes the law, because what is pleasing to the prince has the force of law (*Tua voluntas jus est; quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*)."<sup>20</sup>

On the basis of these principles, the Roncaglia legists established a code of laws in which the Emperor's most arbitrary claims were transformed into indisputable rights. His prerogatives were enormously enlarged. The jurisdiction of local authorities was suspended and was replaced by that of imperial officers. Bishops and laymen must restore all the *regalia* which they possessed, that is, the fiefs and possessions of whatever sort which were regarded as coming to them directly or indirectly from the liberality of the emperors or which had been placed, freely or by force, under their special protection. Furthermore, the legists held that the following rights belonged to the emperor: 1. territorial sovereignty, that is, the right to appoint the dukes, margraves, counts, and city consuls; 2. sovereignty over roads and navigable rivers, and the right to receive all the tolls and taxes of any sort on these routes of communication; 3. the exclusive and unlimited right to coin money; 4. the right to collect the products of mines, salt works, legal fines, confiscated goods, etc.; 5. the right to make whatever requisitions he judged proper in men, horses, and forage; 6. the exclusive right to construct and possess

<sup>20</sup> *M. G.*, SS., XX, 449.

fortresses; 7. the half of the treasury. This was equivalent to saying that the whole Empire, with all its resources in goods and men, with its cities, its provinces, and its institutions, was placed at the Emperor's discretion. The popular liberties were sacrificed no less than was the liberty of the Church. "No Italian diet," says Sismondi, "so shamefully abandoned the rights of the people." <sup>21</sup>

### Pope Adrian's Protests

Let us confine ourselves to the Emperor's encroachments on the ecclesiastical domain. Frederick Barbarossa, alleging his right as authorized by the Roncaglia constitution, invested Duke Welf of Bavaria with the entire heritage of Countess Matilda. Utterly disregarding the Concordat of Worms, by his own authority he conferred on Rainaldi of Dassel the archbishopric of Cologne, and on another of his favorites, Guido of Brandate, the archbishopric of Ravenna. The Supreme Pontiff vigorously protested. At Easter, 1159, he sent to the Emperor's headquarters, then in the vicinity of Bologna, four legates who presented the following explicit demands to the Emperor: 1. that he no longer send to Rome, without the pope's knowledge, any representative of the Empire, because "all authority in Rome comes from St. Peter"; 2. that he no longer levy any *fodrum* on the domains of the pope. By this word *fodrum*, the German sovereigns meant a rather vague right permitting every soldier in warfare, on the pretext that "the war must nourish the war," to make any requisitions, exactions, pillage, and other vexatious demands which the military commander judged proper; <sup>22</sup> 3. that he no longer require of the bishops of Italy an oath of vassalage, but merely an oath of fidelity; 4. that he restore to the Church the possessions of Countess Matilda, the

<sup>21</sup> Sismondi, *Hist. des républiques italiennes*, II, 97.

<sup>22</sup> See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under the word *Fodrum*.

islands of Sardinia and Corsica, and the duchy of Spoleto.<sup>23</sup> Barbarossa replied: "Since a divine disposition has conferred on me the title and functions of Roman Emperor, I would be representing a mere shadow of sovereignty, I would bear a useless title devoid of meaning, if I did not hold in my hands the supreme government of the city of Rome."<sup>24</sup>

In reality Frederick, by agents whom he cleverly maintained in Rome through a secret understanding with the Senate, endeavored to dominate and constantly thwart the authority of the pope. He succeeded so well that in May, 1159, Adrian IV was obliged to leave the city and, accompanied by twelve cardinals, go to Anagni, where he conferred with William of Sicily and representatives of several Lombard cities. Many of his advisers, including Roland Bandinelli, the former legate to the diet of Besançon, thought the hour had come to issue the excommunication against the German ruler. Adrian wrote to Frederick: "Reflect, reflect. You have received from us the anointing and the crown. By aiming to seize what is not yours, you may lose what is yours." To this the Emperor replied: "All the regalian rights which the papacy possesses, it holds from the liberality of the princes."<sup>25</sup> The Pope was seriously ill when he received this insolent letter. We are told that he was about to answer the Emperor by a sentence of excommunication, when death overtook him at Anagni, September 1, 1159.

### Pope Alexander III

Adrian IV died at a critical juncture of affairs. The election of his successor was a matter of grave importance. The cardinals deliberated for three days.<sup>26</sup> The discussion was earnest

<sup>23</sup> Watterich, II, 378.

<sup>24</sup> Ragewin, *Gesta Friderici*, Bk. IV, chap. 4; *M. G.*, SS., XX, 466.

<sup>25</sup> Watterich, II, 373.

<sup>26</sup> The three days following Adrian's burial, which took place on September 4. The date of the election was September 7, 1159. See Jaffé, no. 10,583.

and searching. Finally they agreed on the name of Roland Bandinelli. On the morrow of a brutal aggression, they chose him who had most ardently advised Pope Adrian to adopt decisive measures against the Emperor. On the eve of a war that would evidently be a campaign of scholarship as well as a military expedition, they elected the man who was most able to answer the sophisms of the legists. Equally well known for his vigorous character and for his profound legal learning, Roland Bandinelli had been one of the most illustrious professors of the Bologna schools. At a time when the various branches of theology had not yet become the subjects of distinct teaching there, he had taught, as "lector of Sacred Scripture," dogma, moral, and ecclesiastical law.

We have few details about his origin. He was born at Siena, but the date of his birth is unknown. We possess two of his works; their value justifies the great renown which he enjoyed with his contemporaries and the high honors conferred on him. His *Sententiae* are a theological *Summa* in which he corrects the errors of Abelard, whose method, however, he adopts; and his *Stroma* is a summary of Gratian's *Decretum*, remarkable for order and clearness. According to the *Liber pontificalis*,<sup>27</sup> Roland Bandinelli was at first honored with a canonry at Pisa. Eugene III appointed him successively canon of the Lateran, cardinal-deacon of the title of SS. Cosmas and Damian, cardinal-priest of St. Mark, and chancellor of the Apostolic See.

He was holding this last office when he was elected supreme pontiff. His personal worth, his political sympathies, which were recognized by the King of Sicily and the Lombard cities, the memory of his attitude at the diet of Besançon, all these gave reason for the hope that he would be a formidable adversary of the imperial power. And so Frederick Barbarossa, after doing everything possible to prevent his election and to elevate one of his own followers (Cardinal Octavian Male-

<sup>27</sup> Ed. Duchesne, II, 397.



detti), neglected no means to bring about his replacement by Octavian. Scarcely was Roland clothed in the red papal mantle, when Octavian, jumping upon him, snatched the garment from him and put it on himself. At the same time an armed force rushed in, led Octavian to the chair of St. Peter, proclaimed him pope under the name of Victor IV, and had him acclaimed by the people. Roland had merely time to take refuge in a fortified house, where he was guarded as a prisoner by the soldiers of the Roman commune. However, the crowd, after recovering from its surprise and learning of what had happened, turned against the intruder. He was hooted when he appeared in public. The children, alluding to his family name Maledetti, shouted at him as he passed: "Away with you, cursed one, son of malediction."

On September 17, the people, under the leadership of a member of the Frangipani family, freed Roland, who, on Sunday, September 20, in the presence of a large number of cardinals, clerics, and laity, was consecrated *ad Nymphas* by the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, under the name of Alexander III. The anti-pope Victor had himself consecrated at Farfa, October 4. The kings of France and England, soon followed by those of Spain, Hungary, Scotland, and by Ireland, rallied to Pope Alexander, whose valid election was beyond doubt. Germany alone took a stand under the obedience of Victor. A seventeen-year war was about to be the consequence of these tragic events.

In its various episodes no less dramatic than the war which a half-century earlier had brought Emperor Henry IV into conflict with Pope Gregory VII, this war which broke out in 1160 between Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III would embrace two distinct phases. From 1160 to 1166 an almost uninterrupted series of military and diplomatic successes for the Emperor resulted in the exile of the Pope, the crushing of his allies, and the solemn coronation of an anti-pope in the basilica of St. Peter. But, starting from that point,

a series of striking reverses brought the proud sovereign to the feet of the Pope.

From the political and social points of view, the present struggle has a greater scope and result than the investiture quarrel. On one side is a German ruler, relying on the legists, who claim to revive for his advantage and, if possible, to impose on the whole world, the imperial absolutism of ancient Rome; on the other side is a pope, whose allies are the cities that have risen up to maintain their municipal liberties, the localities that are resolved to defend their autonomy against the Germanic despotism. Before dying, Adrian IV, not satisfied with drawing closer the bonds of his alliance with the king of Sicily, obtained from the cities of Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, and Crema a promise not to treat with Frederick without his authorization. Alexander III protested his desire to make common cause with municipal Italy; the latter, which drove out the podestas sent by the Emperor, relied on the papacy to defend it against the "law professors."

For Emperor Frederick I, for his perfidious counselor Rainaldi of Dassel, for the men intoxicated with learning who suggested his maxims to him, any means were good so long as the aim was to bring about the hegemony of the Empire. To accomplish their purpose, they did not hesitate to employ any means of terrorism, any knavery, any atrocity.

### Pseudo-council of Pavia (1160)

About the end of October, 1159, the Emperor convoked the prelates of the Empire to a synod that was to meet at Pavia on January 13, 1160. The letter of convocation contains threats against Alexander, who is called merely Cardinal Roland, if he does not appear at the synod.<sup>28</sup> Neither the Pope nor the

<sup>28</sup> For the imperial letter summoning Pope Alexander, see *M. G., Leges*, sec. IV, Vol. I, pp. 255 f., no. 184; Watterich, II, 459 f.

greater part of the Italian bishops answered Frederick's summons. But present were the antipope Victor and all the German prelates holding their fiefs from the Emperor and anxious not to lose them. They were informed that the recognition of Alexander as pope would be a perpetual source of discord between the priesthood and the Empire and consequently the occasion of countless evils, whereas adherence to Victor would be a guaranty of peace and prosperity. The better to win the votes, Victor's followers resorted to an arrant piece of knavery: they produced alleged letters of Alexander to prove that he had concluded with the Lombards and the King of Sicily an offensive league against the Emperor. This trickery disheartened even those who had the best intentions.<sup>29</sup> With all opposition thus crushed, they pronounced, "under the influence of a violent terrorism,"<sup>30</sup> a sentence of anathema against Roland Bandinelli, the so-called Pope Alexander III.<sup>31</sup> Contemporaries add that, to make up the number of votes, they had the acts of the council signed by people who had no title to take part in the council: excommunicated bishops and simple laymen. Included in those approving their decree, they placed the names of prelates who had remained silent and those who had declared their vote for Alexander.<sup>32</sup>

### The Italian Cities

All that remained to be done was to overcome the opposition of the Italian cities. These possessed armed militias, ready to resist. To vanquish them, the German Emperor organized a system of barbarism which he applied implacably. In his first expedition into Italy he had ordered pillage, incendiarism, and

<sup>29</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 936.

<sup>30</sup> These are the words used by the German historian Reuter, *Geschichte Papst Alexander's III*, p. 118.

<sup>31</sup> Mansi, XXI, 1111; Suppl., II, 519.

<sup>32</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 941; Reuter, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 513 f.

the poisoning of water sources.<sup>33</sup> The method was generalized and carried to its last degree of ferocity. Two of the Emperor's panegyrists (the chronicler Radevic of Freising and the poet Gunther), without any outburst of indignation, so greatly did admiration for their sovereign obscure their judgment, relate that Frederick, when besieging Crema, ordered that children who had been kept as hostages be fastened in front of his war machines, so as to expose them to the attack that would be made by their own parents.<sup>34</sup> Thus were reduced Crema, Tortona, and Mantua. Milan still resisted. To make himself master of this city, Frederick gave orders to burn the standing grain, to tear up the vines, and to cut down the trees within a radius of fifteen miles around the city. All who were taken captive had their hands and their noses cut off and their eyes plucked out. Troops, posted in the fortresses, were ordered to intercept all communications between the besieged and their allies of Piacenza and Brescia. Whoever were taken carrying food into the starving city, had their right hand cut off. A chronicler, eye-witness of these happenings, relates that in one day twenty-five hands were thus cut off.<sup>35</sup> Nobody dared any longer convey anything to Milan, which was forced by famine to surrender unconditionally. The inhabitants were obliged to leave the city and, under the eyes of imperial officers, to withdraw to designated places in the open country, where they had to construct their own houses.<sup>36</sup> The terror which such scenes inspired hastened the submission of all central Italy. Pope Alexander III, no longer safe in Anagni, left Italy and sought refuge in France.

<sup>33</sup> Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, Bk. II, chaps. 14-17, in Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, VI, 710-20.

<sup>34</sup> *Obsides machinis alligatos Princeps decrevit objiciendos. . . Sicque aliquot ex pueris, lapidibus icti, miserabiliter interierunt* (*Gesta Friderici*, Bk. II, chap. 27, in Muratori, VI, 821).

<sup>35</sup> Radulphus Mediolanensis, *De rebus gestis Friderici primi in Italia*, in Muratori, VI, 1186.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 1187.

## Antipope Victor IV

We have now reached the spring of 1162. Fear lest the Pope would persuade King Louis VII to take arms in his defense, seems to have momentarily haunted the Emperor's mind. A rumor spread that he even contemplated an invasion of France. But, after reflection, he merely set out for imperial Burgundy.<sup>37</sup> From there, though without success, he intrigued with the kings of France and England to win them over to the cause of the antipope. Emperor Manuel Comnenus vainly tried to sell to Popè Alexander his adherence and the complete submission of the Eastern Church in return for the crown of the West. The Supreme Pontiff declined to enter into this bargaining. An understanding with the King of France appeared to him a more practical and more reliable combination. He established his residence at Tours, then at Bourges, and lastly at Sens, where he remained from October, 1163 to April, 1165. There Louis VII provided for the support of his person and of his court.

The protection of the French King enabled the Pope to assemble and to preside over in person, at Tours (May 19, 1163), a great council at which 17 cardinals, 124 bishops and 414 abbots, coming from all the provinces of France, from England, from Ireland, from Scotland, from Spain, from Sardinia, from Sicily, from Italy, and even from the East, renewed the anathema issued against the antipope Octavian, Rainaldi of Dassel, and their followers.<sup>38</sup> The schismatic spirit of Rainaldi, Barbarossa's evil genius, had been manifested shortly before with such insolence that his attitude sufficed definitely to remove the kings of France and England from the Emperor's cause. As those two sovereigns were talking of a meeting of bishops at which an attempt would be made to clarify the question of the

<sup>37</sup> At this period a part of the eastern region of ancient Gaul, known as Burgundy, called also the Kingdom of Arles, was dependent on the Empire. See Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles et de Vienne*.

<sup>38</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 963.

legitimacy of Alexander III or of Victor IV, the chancellor exclaimed: "The Emperor does not recognize anyone's right to interfere in the Roman question; it concerns him alone."<sup>39</sup>

The important manifestation of the Council of Tours, where all the Christian nations except Germany were represented, the honors accorded to Pope Alexander III by the kings of France and England, had their echo beyond the Rhine. The solid nucleus of faithful partisans whom the Pontiff counted in Germany increased from day to day. Alexander took advantage of this movement to make several fatherly proposals to Frederick I with a view to a reconciliation. They were repulsed with disdain. Even the death of the antipope Victor IV (April 20, 1164) did not discourage the Emperor; or if at that time, advised by the Archbishop of Mainz, he had a desire to make peace with Alexander,<sup>40</sup> Rainaldi of Dassel at once turned him from it. The very day of Octavian's burial, without waiting for the imperial instructions, Rainaldi had another elected in his place. The electors were two cardinal-priests, two German bishops, and the prefect of Rome. They chose Cardinal Guido of Crema, who took the name of Paschal III. Then Rainaldi put the Emperor face to face with the *fait accompli*. He also persuaded his sovereign of the possibility of winning to his cause the King of England, Henry II, then at odds with Alexander on account of Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

### Diet of Würzburg (1165)

The Emperor assembled a diet at Würzburg (Pentecost, 1165). "His purpose," he said, "was to deliberate regarding the religious situation of the Empire," in reality, to group all his subjects around the antipope. After "a humble invocation of the Holy Ghost," he made all the great nobles of the Empire

<sup>39</sup> Watterich, II, 529.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 548.

and the bishops swear that they would never recognize Alexander III as pope. He extended this obligation of the oath to all the clergy, then to the whole population of Germany. Many bishops took this tyrannical oath only with more or less vague reservations. Others, yielding to the imperial pressure at the moment, revoked it afterward.<sup>41</sup> But, as Rainaldi well understood, such measures created merely an external bond of a purely disciplinary sort in the Church of Germany. To produce a deeper coherence, the chancellor contrived (December 24, 1165), with the approval of the antipope Paschal III, the canonization of Charlemagne. He hoped that devotion to the great Emperor would be the religious bond that, in the schism, would unite the German nation.

### League of Verona

These measures were only transiently effective. Even in Germany, more than one bishop, such as Conrad of Salzburg, remained firmly loyal to Alexander's cause <sup>42</sup> and, despite persecutions by the Emperor, were followed by all their clergy. In Upper Italy the opposition was organized. A league of cities, called the League of Verona because Verona was its center, had been formed for the purpose of resisting the Emperor and his antipope. Milan arose from its ruins amid popular enthusiasm. Pope Alexander, upon the advice of the kings of France and England and of his cardinals, thought the moment had come to make his return to Rome. He did, in fact, enter Rome (November 23, 1165) amid acclamations. But Barbarossa and Rainaldi then attempted a supreme effort. About the end of July, 1167, the Emperor arrived before the walls of Rome at the head of an army. After eight days of fighting, he entered the city and set fire to St. Peter's Church, which however was

<sup>41</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1016.

<sup>42</sup> *M. G.*, SS., IX, 611-16.

saved from destruction. Alexander III had barely time to flee, disguised as a pilgrim. On August 1, Frederick was crowned at St. Peter's by the antipope, and the Romans were forced to come and swear fidelity to Paschal III. The triumph of the schism seemed complete.

This triumph was of short duration. Barbarossa and his antipope received outward homages, whatever can be gained by force, terrorism, and the prestige of success. But they did not have the souls. Such triumphs are always precarious, and sometimes they are followed by terrible aftermaths.

On August 2, a terrible pestilence suddenly broke out in the imperial army and, we are told, in a few days carried off 25,000 men. On August 6, Frederick had to leave the city with whatever healthy troops he had left. But, says a historian, "the angel of death pursued him in his withdrawal." On August 14, Rainaldi of Dassel was carried off by the plague. Two years earlier he had been elevated to the archbishopric of Cologne; some writers state that God gave him time to repent and to receive the last sacraments. Frederick had to abandon his last troops, the remnants of a magnificent army, and think merely of saving himself from the danger by flight. This sudden and astounding fall from the highest success to the deepest distress appeared to all as a punishment from God, and raised the courage of Alexander's followers as much as it disheartened their foes.

### The Lombard League

The Lombards revolted openly, drove out the Emperor's friends and partisans, and labored to recover their former liberties. The number of those in revolt increased rapidly. On December 1, 1167, the great Lombard League counted thirteen cities. Only with great difficulty did the Emperor, sustained by a few princes and a few cities, remain in the peninsula until the month of March of the following year. He then had to pre-



tend a reconciliation with the Church, resort to disguise, and, with a small escort, succeeded in reaching Germany by way of Piedmont and Burgundy. His departure served to strengthen the League. The Pope had joined it openly to sustain, against the imperial absolutism, the civil liberty as well as the ecclesiastical liberty. On May 1, 1168, he was acknowledged its chief. Then he built the city of Alessandria, the Lombard Rome, the consuls of which had to swear fidelity to the Pope, and which from the start was a homage to Alexander III, a defiance of the Emperor, and the bulwark of Italian liberty.<sup>43</sup>

Frederick had wished to assure to Germany the hegemony of the world. But even there he felt himself abandoned. When, in 1174, he appealed for the help of the great nobles to attempt another expedition into Italy, most of them avoided giving their assent. The most powerful of all, the head of the house of the Guelphs, Henry the Lion, refused his assistance. In 1168, upon the death of the pseudo-Paschal III, at the Emperor's orders another antipope was elected, John of Struma, who took the name of Callistus III. He received but little friendly support. The Emperor's campaign in Italy reckoned nothing but disasters. His attacks on Ancona and Alessandria were failures. Conferences with the Pope also failed. In 1176, the members of the League attacked the imperial army and at Legnano inflicted a terrible defeat on it. Frederick, at the end of expedients, tried in vain to detach the Pope from the League. Alexander nobly refused to betray his allies and their lofty cause. For the Emperor no other course was left but to negotiate the conditions of his submission to the Supreme Pontiff and of the liberty of the Italian states. These conditions were regulated in two separate treaties: one was signed with the Pope at Venice on August 1, 1177; the other was concluded with the Lombards, but not until June, 1183, at Constance.

<sup>43</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1025. On the relations between the pope and the Lombard League, see John of Salisbury, *Epist.*, 288; *PL*, CXCIX, 389; *Liber pontif.*, II, 418.

### Treaty of Venice

By the Treaty of Venice, Emperor Frederick I recognized the legitimate authority of Alexander III and promised to place back in their sees all the bishops who had been removed on account of their loyalty to Pope Alexander. In return, the Pope promised the antipope an abbey, and his so-called cardinals their restoration to the offices which they were holding before the schism. As regards property, the Emperor agreed to restore all he had unlawfully seized, but he was authorized to retain for another fifteen years, as a fief, the heritage of Countess Matilda. In the final session the Emperor made the following public declaration: "I confess that the imperial dignity unfortunately has not kept me from error. I was deceived by evil counselors; and, once deceived, I inflicted serious harm upon the Church, which I purposed to defend. I divided it. I now come back to the bosom of that Church. I recognize Pope Alexander as supreme pontiff and as father. I now conclude peace with the Church, with the King of Sicily, and with the Lombards." <sup>44</sup> The treaty made in 1183 with the Lombards was intended to regulate the details of that peace. The agreement was made on the following basis: the emperor had the right to maintain permanent agents in Lombardy; but he promised to respect the municipal liberties of the cities.

### The Church in England

While Alexander III was fighting against the claims of the German Emperor, a similar conflict agitated the Church and

<sup>44</sup> Mansi, XXII, 122. Coming up to Alexander at the threshold of St. Mark's Church in Venice, the Emperor kissed the Pope's feet, as the traditional ceremonial prescribed. But altogether fabulous is the story that Alexander then placed his foot on the head of Frederick I, saying: *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem.*

the state in England and ended likewise with the humble submission of the King.

Emperor Frederick, in the course of his campaigns against the papacy, had repeatedly turned his eyes toward Great Britain, hoping to receive help from King Henry II.

When, in 1154, the young Henry Plantagenet, only twenty-two years old, ascended the throne of England, the clergy of that country was not without anxiety concerning the religious liberties won by St. Anselm, which it feared would be threatened by the new ruler. These apprehensions were based on the King's entourage, especially on his mother's influence. She was the former Empress Matilda, daughter and niece respectively of two English kings who had persecuted St. Anselm, and widow of Emperor Henry VI who had imprisoned Paschal II. The personal character of the new King, as soon as he had occasion to show it, justified these fears.

Physically Henry Plantagenet was a contrast to Frederick Barbarossa. He was of medium height, robust, with muscular arms like those of a wrestler, callous hands, and always careless about his appearance. All this was far removed from the elegance and majesty of the German Emperor. But both of them showed the same distrust of the ecclesiastical power, the same jealousy of their own supremacy, the same asperity in defending it. However, in Henry's case, the scope of the claims was less vast; his policy was English, not worldwide. A diplomat as well as a fighter, a negotiator as subtle and crafty as he was brutal, the Plantagenet placed at the service of his ambition some remarkable traits of practical intelligence. Though he possessed undeniable qualities, certain other qualities were evidently lacking. Loftiness of view, sagacity and psychological acuteness in the appreciation and employment of men, a grasp of the supernatural point of view which must be taken by the leaders of the Church in the government of souls, were almost totally lacking in him.

## St. Thomas à Becket

One of his first acts was the promotion of the archdeacon of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket, to the high office of chancellor.<sup>45</sup> This appointment was made at the prompting of the primate of Canterbury, Theobald, who exercised a considerable personal influence over the young prince and who had had occasion to appreciate the high worth of his archdeacon in the performance of his duties.<sup>46</sup>

Thomas à Becket was the son of a Norman settled at London. Serious studies, begun in his native city and continued in the schools of Paris, Bologna, and Auxerre, showed that he possessed unusual talent. Administrative functions and delicate missions, performed at Rome in the name of his archbishop, trained him in the handling of affairs and of men. His competency and zeal in performing his high administrative duties made the King at first think that he had met a suitable instrument of his absolutist policy. In fact, the new chancellor devoted himself wholeheartedly to defending the King's interests, leaving to the bishops, as the official representatives of the Church, the care of looking after its cause. A consummate legislator and capable financier, ready to employ forcible measures, he repressed banditry, terrorized the usurers, favored agriculture, brought back security and prosperity to the kingdom. Magnificent, even ostentatious in his way of life, the statesman seemed at times to forget the churchman; the layman seemed to efface the cleric.

However, strangely enough, this man, who in his public life surrounded himself with great luxury, in his private life was

<sup>45</sup> In the beginning the chancellor of the Saxon and Danish kings was merely their archchaplain, who subsequently became their private secretary and thus the depositary of the state secrets. However, this office did not yet have well determined functions. Thomas à Becket increased its importance by the initiative and vigor of his administration.

<sup>46</sup> On the office of archdeacon in the twelfth century, see Thomassin, *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'Eglise*, Part I, Bk. II, chap. 20.

an ascetic. He practiced inexhaustible kindness toward the poor and irreproachable circumspection in his dealings with others.<sup>47</sup> Called by the King to take a hand in the appointment of bishops, he was never influenced by human considerations and never suggested any names except those of excellent men. But his tireless activity in the defense of the rights and prerogatives of the crown misled Henry II, who saw only one aspect of this character. First of all, Thomas à Becket was and remained to his last day a man of duty, perhaps carrying official loyalty to excess. No doubt at that time he permitted himself to be too much involved in that feverish concern with external affairs, against which St. Bernard warned his disciples.<sup>48</sup>

In short, the see of Canterbury and the office of primate of the kingdom having become vacant by the death of Theobald, the King of England thought that by confiding them to his chancellor he would find in him a servant agreeable to his ambitious views. But Thomas, at the first approaches made to him on this matter, decided not to leave the King ignorant of his dispositions. "Sire," he said to the King, "if you do this, I fear that your friendship for me may change into hatred; for, as I know, you wish to do certain things that I will not be able to approve quietly."<sup>49</sup> The King did not grasp the full import of these words. He persisted, and Thomas à Becket finally yielded, as the monarch's insistence was backed by that of the papal legate, Henry of Pisa. At Henry II's proposal, the monks of the cathedral of Christ Church of Canterbury, who had the right of selecting the primate, elected the chancellor Thomas as archbishop of the great Church of England. Their vote was confirmed (June 3, 1162) by a plenary assembly of bishops and higher barons, held at London under the royal presidency.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> On Thomas à Becket's charity, austerity, and chastity while he was chancellor, see Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, II, 6.

<sup>48</sup> St. Bernard, *De consideratione*, Bk. I, chap. 7.

<sup>49</sup> A. du Boys, *L'Eglise et l'Etat en Angleterre depuis la conquête des Normands*, pp. 210 f.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 210-14.

From that moment Thomas à Becket gave free rein to his ascetical inclinations, which until then he kept in the sanctuary of his intimate life. He wore a cowl like that of the monks; later it was known that he then began wearing a haircloth shirt under his other clothes. A more recollected life brought him perhaps deeper reflection upon the grave dangers of that absolutism which Henry II wished to inaugurate. Like that of Frederick Barbarossa, with its sad consequences actually being exhibited before his eyes, the absolutism of the Plantagenet seemed to Thomas to offend against the rights of the Church and the traditional liberties of the English nation. Soon he noted that King Henry, to subject nobles and clergy to a common law, violated the traditions and acted in opposition to the past.<sup>51</sup> Like the Emperor of Germany, he surrounded himself with advisers imbued with the principles of the Roman law,<sup>52</sup> who were thus enemies of the old national customs.

### King Henry II of England

The first conflict occurred in connection with a question of taxes. One day when the King was in his city of Woodstock, in the presence of the primate and the chief men of the district, he declared that he intended thereafter to claim for the royal treasury a contribution which the sheriffs received annually from the generosity of the tenants of the nobles and of the churches as a becoming compensation for their laborious duties. The assembly in amazement kept silent. Thomas à Becket voiced their minds when he said: "Sire, Your Highness should not appropriate to yourself this money, which is offered freely, to officials worthy of consideration, by the people's gratitude." "By God's eyes," the King replied angrily, "this tax will be levied by my treasury." To this the Archbishop calmly replied:

<sup>51</sup> Luchaire in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 49.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

"By the same oath, I swear that none of my people or tenants of my churches will give a single penny to your treasury." The King made no answer. But everybody felt that between the King and the Archbishop war was declared.<sup>53</sup>

Soon this war was waged on a question of jurisdiction. According to a privilege known in canon law as the *privilegium fori*, ecclesiastics could not be prosecuted, even for crimes against the common law, except before the ecclesiastical courts. The application of this privilege had given rise to some abuses. As the ecclesiastical courts never imposed the death penalty and in a general way showed themselves more clement than the secular courts, they gave the impression, unfounded in fact but believed by the people,<sup>54</sup> that they favored criminality among the clergy. A few years later the Church proved that she was disposed to look into the matter seriously and to apply effective remedies. But the King of England resolved to settle the affair in a brutal manner.

Of a sudden, on October 1, 1163, he convoked the parliament at Westminster and had it enact: 1. that in the future a royal officer would sit with the archdeacon whenever a cleric appeared before the latter to be tried; 2. that every convicted cleric would be handed over to the king's tribunal for the imposing of the penalty. At once the primate concerted with the bishops and a few days later, without expressing any view about the first of these enactments, declared to the King, in the name of the episcopate, that the Church of England could not accept the second proposal. But Henry II, in his usual off-hand manner, had already changed his tactics and chose a new position. He merely required the bishops to accept the "old

<sup>53</sup> Robertson, *op. cit.*, II, 373. The nine volumes of Robertson's *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* form a precious collection which dispenses the historian from the need of resorting to any other collection of historical sources for the life of this saint.

<sup>54</sup> Clerics were subject to spiritual penalties and a moral discredit, the very shame of which might well be considered as equivalent to more severe material penalties.

customs" (*consuetudines avitae*) of the kingdom. Under this vague expression he hoped to have accepted all the mischievous dispositions which his legists would claim to dig up from the old national law. Thomas à Becket saw the chicanery and replied with an equally vague phrase. The "old customs" (*consuetudines avitae*) would be accepted; but "with reservation of the rights of the clergy and of the Church" (*salvo ordine nostro et jure Ecclesiae*).

Henry saw that his trick had failed. But he had another resource left: to divide the episcopate. Two prelates devoted to the King, namely, Roger of York and Gilbert of London, exerted themselves actively to this end. Negotiators, sent to Rome, detached several cardinals from the primate's cause, obtained from the Pope a letter requesting Thomas to yield to the King so as not to disturb the peace.<sup>55</sup> The Archbishop agreed to drop the clause *salvo ordine*, but in its place he substituted *bona fide*. In other words, he agreed to conform to the "old customs," but with the understanding that "good faith" be preserved. The King declared that he was satisfied. Then, in a meeting of parliament, which opened January 30, 1164 at the royal castle of Clarendon, he had the "old customs" drawn up in sixteen articles and demanded that they be accepted. These articles declared, among other things, that every legal suit regarding the patronage of churches should be brought before the royal courts; that every accused cleric should appear either before a secular tribunal or before an ecclesiastical court assisted by a lay judge; that, without the king's permission, no bishop could leave the realm and no one of the faithful could appeal from a decision to the court of Rome and that no one holding a royal fief could incur any censure. The vacant benefices of bishoprics should be in the king's hands, and no episcopal election should

<sup>55</sup> Hefele thinks this letter was forged or falsified (*Hist. des conciles*, V, 981). A. du Boys considers it authentic (*op. cit.*, p. 235).



take place without his permission.<sup>56</sup> The Act of Clarendon is the fitting companion to the imperial Code of Roncaglia.

Thomas à Becket, at first considering that his conscience was sufficiently safeguarded by the clause *bona fide*, which the King had accepted, agreed to the observance of the "old customs" drawn up at Clarendon. But presently he blamed himself for this approval as a fault. About March 1, 1164, he pronounced against himself a *suspensio a divinis*, refrained from any ecclesiastical function, imposed fasts on himself, and wrote to the Pope to ask his pardon. In the month of April he received from the Pope a fatherly reply. The Pope absolved him for the past and directed him to resume his ecclesiastical functions.<sup>57</sup>

#### Death of St. Thomas à Becket

Shortly afterward we find him in France. He fled to King Louis VII, who welcomed him with veneration and offered him hospitality in the royal city of Sens. Henry of England wrote about the matter to the King of France, blaming him for receiving "the former Archbishop of Canterbury." "The former Archbishop?" answered Louis VII; "who, then, has deposed him? Assuredly I am a king as much as is the King of England; but I cannot depose the least cleric of my kingdom." Henry II did more than act against Thomas à Becket with the King of France. He threatened Pope Alexander III to enter into the obedience of the antipope Paschal; he approached the Emperor of Germany.

The Pope's position was difficult. He could not consent to surrender the Church of England to the hands of a Plantagenet, but he wished to make every effort to avoid a schism. In 1166 he conferred on Thomas à Becket the powers of papal legate in England, and Thomas was on the point of using these

<sup>56</sup> Mansi, XXI, 1187; Hefele-Leclercq, V, 983-88; A. du Boys, pp. 239-42.

<sup>57</sup> Mansi, XXI, 1193.

powers to excommunicate the King. The Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that he should not carry out his plan, and further, on May 19, 1168, the more completely to reassure the King, he suspended the primate's jurisdiction. Then the Plantagenet triumphed insolently. But the coarseness of his insolence was his undoing. He boasted that "he held the Pope in his hand"; he boasted that he had bought some of the cardinals; he even specified the price which such or such a one had cost him. He required that Thomas submit to the "old customs" purely and simply, without any reservation. Said Thomas: "Our fathers died for not suppressing the name of Christ; I will not suppress the honor of God. I will take the oath *salvo honore Dei et Ecclesiae*."

On Christmas evening, 1170, Henry II, beside himself with rage, exclaimed: "Is there no one to rid me of this priest?" These words, an evident provocation to murder, were interpreted in this sense by four knights, who four days later went to the palace of the archbishop of Canterbury and menacingly demanded that he absolve all those whom he had excommunicated. The prelate refused to do so. But, as he entered his church at the hour of vespers, the four knights of the King approached him. Thomas forbade his people to make use of their arms. "The house of God," he said, "must not be defended like a fortress." He refused to flee, and slowly advanced to the choir. The murderers reached him when he was not far from the altar of St. Benedict. He fell under the sword thrusts, crying out: "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my soul."

At news of this murder, the King was seized with fright. The gravity of the crime, the tragic circumstances of its perpetration in a sacred precinct, made him fear that his kingdom would be placed under interdict. He protested that he had nothing to do with the crime. In expiation for his rash words and in testimony of his horror of the sacrilege, he remained in retirement in his palace for several days. He immediately des-

patched to Rome two chaplains who informed the Pope of the King's attitude and feelings. The Pope merely excommunicated the instigators and actual perpetrators of the crime, and sent new legates to England.

### The King's Penance

But neither the Pope nor public opinion could be satisfied with these vague demonstrations. Miracles were accomplished at the saint's tomb. The King's conscience as well as his interest showed him that he could not limit himself to his first manifestations of repentance. He had first to annul the Constitution of Clarendon and re-establish all the privileges of the primacy of Canterbury. In the eyes of the English people, this did not suffice to appease the anger of God. Henry finally perceived this attitude. In 1174, four years after the murder, he went on pilgrimage as a penitent, and knelt at the martyr's tomb. Without wearing any of the insignia of royalty, he had himself publicly whipped in the presence of several abbots, bishops, and monks. The scene recalled that of Canossa. On the tomb of him whom the Church would soon honor with the title of saint, the King made more exact and more extensive promises in favor of the liberties of the Church. His young son added the guaranty of his own words to those of his father. "Everybody understood that not merely Henry II but also the kingship itself was pledging itself to the Church and was giving the Church her first charter of freedom."<sup>58</sup> The papacy proceeded to prove that it was ready to make to the kingship all the concessions that were compatible with its own independence. It conceded that, in certain clearly specified cases where public security was involved, the civil tribunals would have the right to judge and to intervene at the side of the ecclesiastical courts so as to assure the protection of the clergy.<sup>59</sup> In short, when, in 1177,

<sup>58</sup> Du Boys, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

Emperor Frederick publicly renounced his tyrannical claims over the Church, the cause of the omnipotence of the state was finally overcome in England. Of all the troubles that had desolated Great Britain, no vestiges remained except the homage rendered on all sides to the memory of an archbishop martyr.

### Third Lateran Council

Alexander III took advantage of this peaceful period to assemble a great council, which met at the Lateran from March 5 to 19, 1179. It was the eleventh ecumenical council. Its purpose was to strengthen the peace that had been won by the struggles of the preceding years and to assure its happy results by measures of reform and organization. The assembly, at which the Pope presided in person, counted almost a thousand members, including more than three hundred bishops. The Peace of Venice was ratified. Among the twenty-seven disciplinary canons that were voted, especially noteworthy is the canon regulating the conditions of papal elections. This canon decrees that "he without any exception shall be acknowledged as pontiff of the universal Church who has received two-thirds of the votes." Of course it was understood that these electors were only the cardinals. A certain number of decisions were made with a view to reminding clerics of the virtue of personal unselfishness; such were the canons forbidding them to receive any remuneration in return for installations, burials, marriages, the administration of the sacraments, and even teaching.

Other decisions were prompted by a desire to promote and develop works of charity and education. Churches and priests were specially set apart for the service of lepers. A decree was adopted that at each cathedral a free school should be maintained for the education of the poor. Concern for the social peace and for the protection of poor people inspired decisions about the Truce of God and a prohibition against the lesser

nobles introducing new taxes without the explicit authorization of the sovereigns. Lastly the council took up the question of warning Christendom against the attacks or dangerous infiltrations of the infidels and heretics, who were generally disturbers of the social order. Jews and Mussulmans were forbidden to have Christian slaves. Anathema was pronounced against anyone who should furnish arms, wood, or pilots to the Saracens; and the princes were called upon to repress by force the bands of Cathari who, besides professing harmful doctrines, were troubling society by the disorders of their lives, sometimes by their banditry.

Pope Alexander's reform and organizing activity was not limited to the holding of this great council. He entered into negotiations, though without success, with Emperor Manuel Comnenus for the reunion of the Churches of the East with the Roman Church. With all his power he favored the missions in Asia. He reserved exclusively to the Holy See the right of canonization, and he canonized, outside any general council, St. Thomas à Becket in 1173, and St. Bernard in 1174. As protector of the universities, he granted dispensations from residence to facilitate attendance by clerics.<sup>60</sup> As a distinguished canonist, he enriched the canon law with numerous decretals.<sup>61</sup> He greatly favored the Carthusian Order, whose rule he approved in 1176,<sup>62</sup> and encouraged the beginning of the Carmelite Order. And he showed great zeal for the repression and extinction of heresies.

### Heresies

The measures which the Pope adopted in this matter call for some detailed notice. They are connected with the general history of the beginning of the Inquisition. Until the middle of

<sup>60</sup> Jaffé, no. 13,751.

<sup>61</sup> Jaffé lists more than 500.

<sup>62</sup> Jaffé, nos. 12,733, 12,794, 12,882.

the twelfth century the penalties inflicted on heretics were merely popular reprisals or exceptional measures for the public welfare. As one historian says, "convicted heretics did not undergo a penalty imposed by the law; there was neither crime nor penalty; a political measure of public safety was adopted to cut short what was regarded as a public danger."<sup>63</sup> The Inquisition has sometimes been represented as an institution devised by the Church, imposed by her on the Christian princes, and thus handed on in the public customs of the Middle Ages. The truth is that its establishment followed an altogether opposite development. The first executions of heretics had a popular character and often took place contrary to the will of the princes and of the Church.

Manichaeism, which was the great heresy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, had, by the mysterious nature of its organization, by the boldness of its antisocial doctrines, and by the violence and dubious morals of its members, aroused in the people a distrust that gradually changed into hatred. These Cathari, these Patarines, these Arians, these Poplicani, these Piphles, these Bulgarians—such were the various names given the followers of this heresy in various countries—pillaged the churches, smashed the calvaries erected along the highways by the piety of the faithful, rejected the sacraments of the Church, preached against the family and marriage, had a kind of cult for an evil god, who could have been none other than Satan himself, and a rumor was current that crimes against nature were committed in their secret meetings.<sup>64</sup>

In 1040 at Milan the populace, after seizing a group of heretics, put up a stake in the public square and, in spite of the efforts of the Archbishop of the city, burned to death all those who refused to retract their errors. In 1077 at Cambrai the people seized a Patarine who had just confessed his heresy be-

<sup>63</sup> Julien Havet, *L'hérésie et le bras séculier au Moyen Age*, in his *Œuvres*, II, 134.

<sup>64</sup> On the doctrine of these Manichaean sects, see Vacandard, *The Inquisition*.

fore the Archbishop and, without waiting for the judicial decision, shut him in a hut, which they then set on fire. In 1114 the people of Soissons, taking advantage of the Bishop's absence, went to the episcopal prison, dragged out the heretics, lighted a stake outside the city, and there burned them alive. Guibert de Nogent says that the people were fearful of the clergy's indulgence toward them.

About the middle of the twelfth century, considering the progress which the Manichaean sects were making and the anti-Catholic and antisocial character of their doctrines,<sup>65</sup> the princes resolutely undertook a campaign against them and lighted stakes in France, Germany, Italy, and Flanders.<sup>66</sup> At Vézelay in 1167, the Abbot of the monastery joined this movement, swept into it by the crowd. Some accused persons had been convicted of heresy. A large multitude had followed the various phases of the inquiry. The Abbot addressed the people, saying: "What do you wish to be done with those who persist in their error?" A single cry was shouted by all: "Let them be burned! Let them be burned!" And that is what was done.<sup>67</sup>

### Repression of Heresies

In a general way, "far from encouraging the people and the princes in their attitude, the Church through her bishops, teachers, and councils continued to declare that she had a horror of bloodshed."<sup>68</sup> Some canonists (Anselm of Lucca and the author of the *Panormia*) had, it is true, declared that the death penalty might be applied to heretics.<sup>69</sup> But these texts seem not to have exercised any influence beyond academic circles.<sup>70</sup> In

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>67</sup> *Historiens des Gaules*, XII, 343.

<sup>68</sup> Vacandard, p. 37.

<sup>69</sup> Tanon, *Hist. des trib. de l'Inquisition en France*, p. 453.

<sup>70</sup> Vacandard, *loc. cit.*

1139 the Lateran Council<sup>71</sup> and in 1148 the Council of Reims<sup>72</sup> acknowledged that the civil power had the right and duty to repress the Manichaean heretics by corporal penalties. But this legislation did not suffice for the ardor of the princes who had provoked it. A curious fact is their accusation of the pope and the Church for weakness toward heresy and their repeated demands for new rigors. Among these kings, so fierce against the heretics, we must place in the first rank Louis VII the Younger.<sup>73</sup>

Alexander III at first answered him that "in churchmen indulgence is more fitting than severity" and reminded him of the scriptural counsel: *Noli nimium esse justus*.<sup>74</sup> Later, however, in the Council of Tours in 1162, upon the fresh insistence of the French King, who pointed out to him the Manichaean heresy "spreading like a sore in the provinces of France," the same Pope not only ordered the princes to punish the heretics with prison and confiscation, but enjoined upon the bishops and priests to drive them from the districts where they discovered them.<sup>75</sup> The King of England, Henry II, at the very time when he was in open conflict with the Pope and was himself excommunicated, showed himself a violent persecutor of heretics. "The importance which Henry attached to the matter is shown by his devoting, soon after, in the Assizes of Clarendon, an article on the subject, forbidding anyone to receive them under penalty of having his house torn down."<sup>76</sup> All the heretics he could seize he branded on their forehead and had them publicly flogged.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Mansi, XXI, 532.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 718.

<sup>73</sup> Guiraud, art. "Inquisition" in the *Dict. apol. de la foi cathol.*, II, 830.

<sup>74</sup> Martène, *Ampliss. coll.*, II, 683.

<sup>75</sup> Mansi, XXI, 1178.

<sup>76</sup> Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 113.

<sup>77</sup> Vacandard, p. 40. Some have attempted to explain this severity of Henry II by supposing it was prompted by his desire to pose as a vigorous defender of the



Yet the growth of the heretical sects and their teachings, subversive of all authority, led Pope Alexander III to enter more resolutely on the road of repression. At the Lateran Council of 1179 the Pope, while mindful that the clergy should abhor bloodshed (*cruentas effugiat ultiones*), made the rulers and people promise to take arms against the Cathari of the countship of Toulouse, of Gascony, and of Albigeois. This was the final act preliminary to the Inquisition, which would be realized five years later by Pope Lucius III, and the prelude to the Crusade against the Albigenses, which would be undertaken by Innocent III.

### Richard of St. Victor

Reluctantly, under pressure of the events, Pope Alexander adopted these repressive measures; but he was not unmindful that the best means for bringing back to the truth souls misled by the seductions of a false mysticism and a false doctrine, is the diffusion of true doctrine and true holiness. Both of these were then resplendent in the famous Abbey of St. Victor in Paris, chiefly represented, in the second half of the twelfth century, by a great theologian, Richard, and by a great poet, Adam.

Richard of St. Victor, a native of Scotland, had probably met the Italian Peter Lombard in Paris. The same devotion to the Church and to learning animated these two men; but their methods, corresponding to different needs, were different. Peter Lombard, a positive and discreet mind, by grouping and explaining in the light of common sense, in his book of the *Sentences*, a rich treasury of patristic texts, fortified men's minds against the intellectual troubles that might be aroused by Abelard's *Sic et Non*. Richard of St. Victor, a meditative and mys-

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Church at the time when he was combatting Thomas à Becket. But even when he had been reconciled with the Holy See, he gave the same evidence of his hatred against the heretics.

tical soul, kept from wandering in the direction of the conceptions of a dubious spirituality the souls that were fond of contemplation and love.

Of an ardent nature, Richard of St. Victor reveals himself fully in the preface to his principal work, his treatise on the Trinity. "Let us advance," he says, "toward perfection. . . . Shake off your dust, daughter of Sion, O my soul. Erect the ladder of contemplation. Take wings, like the eagle. Raise yourself above the earth, soar even to heaven." <sup>78</sup> But, as has been said, "although Richard thinks especially with the heart, he knows that reason must guide the outbursts of love. He exercises his intellect on the mystery; he meditates, he reasons, he argues, he discusses." <sup>79</sup> "In faith," he says, "is the beginning of all good, but in knowledge is the consummation of all good. We should, then, hasten to pass, by all possible degrees, from faith to knowledge." <sup>80</sup> Yet Richard does not argue in the manner of most of those who went before him. He has little taste for the discussions of the School. He takes no part in the disputes that agitate the mountain at the foot of which his monastery was built. He knows the Greek and Latin fathers, but he never quotes a single author in his works. This procedure is explained by his mystical nature. We might say that, when he meditates, erudition becomes for him a weight that hinders the soaring of his thought.

These traits are to be seen especially in his *De Trinitate*, "so short to read, so long to meditate." <sup>81</sup> His conception of the dogma of the Trinity is original. It is based on the analysis of love. Love is the best that can be conceived in a being. God is essentially love. But to love oneself, is not truly to love. To love another with an exclusive love, without uniting oneself to him to love a third, without allowing a third to love him at the

<sup>78</sup> *De Trinitate*, Prologus; *PL*, CXCVI, 889.

<sup>79</sup> T. de Régnon, *Etudes de théol. posit. sur la Trinité*, II, 236.

<sup>80</sup> *De Trinitate*, Prologus; *PL*, loc. cit.

<sup>81</sup> T. de Régnon, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

same time that we do, is to mingle the love with selfishness. Pure and unselfish love implies a trinity. But this love, while indicating the personality of the three beings, implies between them a fusion of what is most profound in them, a fusion which, pushed to the infinite, must lead to unity of substance.<sup>82</sup>

This brief summary gives an idea of the method of Richard of St. Victor. His proofs are set forth rather to be meditated on than to be argued. We can more easily feel their force than set forth their logical connection. Unlike those of St. Thomas Aquinas, they did not pass into the classical teaching. But souls fond of silent reflection and psychological analysis will always be pleased to nourish their thought and their spiritual life upon them.

### Adam of St. Victor

Quite different was the fate of the work of another monk of St. Victor, a contemporary of Richard. It was the poet Adam of St. Victor. A short time after his death, his hymns were inserted in the Paris Missal by Odo de Sully. In 1215 Pope Innocent III officially approved his liturgical work, and throughout the Middle Ages his poems had a place of honor in the Churches of Christendom.<sup>83</sup>

Adam of St. Victor, if he is not the author of the dogmatic and liturgical treatises attributed to him, is at least the most illustrious twelfth century representative of a revival of liturgical poetry. His birthplace is unknown. Having entered the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris, his musical and literary tastes led to his being appointed to the office of precentor, or choir director,

<sup>82</sup> *De Trinitate*, Part III. This explanation of the Trinity by love had been attempted by St. Augustine (*De Trinitate*, Bk. VIII, chap. 10). He later abandoned it and explained the mystery by intellect and will (*ibid.*, Bk. IX, chap. 3). For a thorough study of Richard of St. Victor's Trinitarian theory, see De Régnon, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-55.

<sup>83</sup> Guéranger, *Liturgical Year*, Christmas, Vol. I, p. 269.

which he held before 1130. He died after 1173. This is all we know with certainty about his life.

But what we possess of his work, about fifty hymns of undoubted authenticity, reveals the originality of his talent and the importance of the innovations which sacred poetry owes to him. With him the measured and rhymed prosody, which had been only an exception and an experiment with Notker and Abelard, developed and assumed, in the chants of the Church, as brilliant a place as had the ancient poetry based on the meter and quantity of the syllables. With him each piece is divided into stanzas composed of an equal number of verses, and each stanza is divided into symmetrical semi-stanzas. His verses rhyme according to various combinations. "Adam of St. Victor is a fertile inventor of charming rhymes, a 'smith' of strophes, as clever and harmonious as the greatest poets of the nineteenth century."<sup>84</sup> Moreover, to him belongs the honor of the musical composition of his hymns, or at least of their adaptation to gracious melodies, "which mark the close of the liturgical development of Gregorian art. In fact, if the melody still bears the imprint of the grace of the old cantilena, the rhythm and the tonality are almost entirely those of another art."<sup>85</sup>

Is this tantamount to saying that this mystical movement, so opportunely adopted by the school of St. Victor in opposition to the false mysticism of the Manichæan sects, was itself free from all danger? Not at all. Some members of that school exaggerated its tendencies. Achard of St. Victor wrote: "From the imperfection of reason proceeds the perfection of faith." And Abbot Absalom declared, with even greater exaggeration: "We succeed in knowing the cause of causes, not by philosophizing, but by living well. . . . The Spirit of God cannot reign where the spirit of Aristotle dominates."<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Léon Gautier, *Œuvres poétiques d'Adam de Saint-Victor*, I, xx.

<sup>85</sup> Gastoué, *L'art grégorien*, p. 97. See the collection of these melodies in Prévost, *Recueil complet des séquences d'Adam le Breton*.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. De Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, I, 211 ff.

Alexander III, the vanquisher of Barbarossa and of Henry II, could observe, before his death, that the Church was not free from every peril. Even at Rome, in that democracy which for a while rallied to him so as to oppose the Emperor, he found cowardly treason. Shortly after the Lateran Council he was driven out of Rome and died in exile at Civita Castellana on August 30, 1181. His epitaph rightly calls him "the light of the clergy, the ornament of the Church, the father of the city and of the world."

### Pope Lucius III

The five popes who followed one another from 1181 to 1198 (Lucius III, Urban III, Gregory VIII, Clement III, and Celestine III) were venerable pontiffs. But the first and the last were old men, the others had short pontificates. We can in a general way say of them that, having to govern the Church in the midst of difficulties of all sorts, they did not let the heritage of Alexander perish, and enabled Christendom to wait, without serious harm, for the great pontificate of restoration, that of Innocent III. Four events should be particularly noted during this period: the first organization of the Inquisition by Lucius III and Frederick I in 1184; two expeditions to the East under Clement III and Celestine III, and the latter's strife against the unjust claims of Emperor Henry VI.

Ubaldo Allucingoli, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, was elected pope September 1, 1181, under the name of Lucius III. He belonged to an illustrious family of Lucca. His experience in affairs, as he had shown in various important missions in France and Sicily, and at the court of Emperor Frederick I, the conformity of his views with those of his predecessor, quickly united the votes of his colleagues in favor of his election. But his advanced age and his long labors had exhausted his strength. During his brief pontificate, lasting only four years, he was

obliged to face serious difficulties, which came to him from the Roman population, the East, Emperor Barbarossa, and the heretical sects.

The popular tumult which had obliged his predecessor to leave Rome, did not permit him to stay there. He had the grief of seeing several clerics of his suite horribly maltreated by the rioters, who tore out their eyes. He was obliged to fix his residence at Verona and to direct the affairs of the Church from that place. There, shortly afterward, he received an embassy of the Christians of the East, asking for his support against the vexations of the Turks. The Pope turned to King Henry II of England, who, in atonement for the murder of Thomas à Becket, had promised to go on the Crusade; but the move remained fruitless.

The Emperor of Germany, since the Peace of Venice, seemed to abandon any policy of conquest, but his absolutism, limited to the confines of Germany, had scarcely moderated. The Pope was unable to count on him for the protection of the papal authority in Rome and for the defense of the Christians of the East. Furthermore, he had to fight Frederick's unjust claims to certain rights: namely, to appoint the archbishop of Trier, to keep indefinitely the heritage of Countess Matilda, to confirm in their offices the prelates instituted by the antipopes, and, during his own life, to have his son Henry crowned emperor. In a series of conferences between the Pope and the Emperor at Verona in October and November, 1184, the Emperor yielded on the two last points. The solution of the other questions was postponed to a later date.

A document of great significance was drawn up during these negotiations at Verona. Lucius and Frederick, both of them astute statesmen, could not be blind to the great danger with which the Church and society were threatened by the neo-Manichæan sects. A new period seemed to have begun in their

development. Aware of their strength amid the divisions of Christendom, "they now formed a communion to which they audaciously gave the name of Church. Although independent from one another, they had frequent dealings together to spread their beliefs or to strengthen their bond of unity."<sup>87</sup> After mature deliberation with Frederick I, Pope Lucius gathered at Verona a well attended assembly, including the Emperor, patriarchs, archbishops, and a large number of princes who came from all parts of the Empire.

With their approval, and especially with that of Emperor Frederick, Pope Lucius promulgated (November 4, 1184) a constitution against the Cathari, the Patarines, those who falsely called themselves the lowly and the poor of Lyons, the *Passagini*, the *Josephini* and the *Arnaldistae*. This constitution was more precise than the constitutions that had previously been issued by the popes and councils, and it remained in force for a long time, because Gregory IX later included it in the Decretals. It excommunicated, along with the heretics, those who protected them, those who had received the *consolamentum* from them,<sup>88</sup> those who styled themselves believers or perfect. Such of them as were clerics would be degraded, be deprived of their offices and benefices, and be turned over to the secular power for punishment. The laymen would be turned over in the same manner and for the same purpose to the secular arm, especially if they were *lapsi*.

Every archbishop and bishop, either personally or by his archdeacon or trustworthy persons, must carefully once or twice a year examine the suspected parishes, and they must have the inhabitants designate under oath the declared or secret heretics. These latter must under oath clear themselves of the suspicion and thereafter show themselves good Catholics. If

<sup>87</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1124.

<sup>88</sup> This is what the Cathari initiation was called.

they refused to take the oath or if they later again fell into the error, the bishop would punish them. The counts, barons, rectors, city consuls, and consuls of other places must take an oath to aid the Church in this work of repression, under pain of losing their office, of being excommunicated, and of having interdict imposed on their lands. The cities that resist the bishops' orders in these matters should be placed under the ban of all the others; no other place must have dealings with them. Whoever receives heretics into his house should be declared infamous permanently, incapable of suing in court, of testifying, and of exercising any public office. Lastly, the archbishops and bishops should have full jurisdiction in a matter of heresy and should be considered as apostolic legates by those who, enjoying the privilege of exemption, were placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See.

"It has been rightly remarked that this decree was the severest that had yet been fulminated against heresy.<sup>89</sup> In fact, this measure did more than strike the heretics who were caught and those persons who assured them of their freedom; it ordered them to be searched for. Besides, this search was organized and was entrusted to the zeal of the bishops, who were responsible for executing it. Every heretic thus discovered must abjure, under pain of a punishment which the civil authority was to inflict. Obstinacy in heresy, complicity with heresy, were not merely faults of conscience, falling solely under spiritual sanctions; they became crimes repressed by graded temporal penalties. In truth, the Inquisition was established by this constitution of 1184. It was not yet the papal Inquisition which would be carried on, in the name of the Holy See, by inquisitors usually belonging to the religious orders, but the episcopal Inquisition, which each bishop was to conduct in his diocese by virtue of his ordinary prerogatives as defender and guardian of the

<sup>89</sup> Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, Bk. I, chap. 3.



faith.<sup>90</sup> This date (1184) therefore marks an important stage in the history of the repression of heresy.”<sup>91</sup>

### Pope Urban III

The very day of Pope Lucius' death (November 25, 1185) the unanimous vote of the cardinals chose as his successor Uberto Crivelli, archbishop of Milan, whose family had suffered greatly at the hand of the Emperor. The new Pope took the name of Urban III. The promptness and unanimity of this vote were regarded as a demonstration of hostility toward the German sovereign. Possibly the cardinals wished thus to express their desire for a more combative policy toward the Emperor than the policy of the late Pontiff. In any event, the monarch's displeasure soon showed itself. The new Pope replied with vigorous measures, and the two years of his reign were an almost truceless strife between the two powers.

On January 27, 1186, Frederick had the marriage of his young son Henry with Princess Constance of Sicily celebrated at Milan with great pomp. His political purpose was evident.

<sup>90</sup> We may distinguish five different forms of inquisition: 1. the episcopal inquisition, instituted in 1184 by the edict of Lucius III; 2. the legatine inquisition, organized in 1198 by Innocent III, who entrusted it to the Cistercians; 3. the monastic inquisition, regulated by the decree (April 13, 1233) of Gregory IX, who entrusted it to the Dominicans; 4. the Roman inquisition, established in 1542 by Paul III; 5. the Spanish inquisition, which became an instrument of national unification and royal absolutism.

<sup>91</sup> Guiraud, art. "Inquisition" in the *Dict. apol. de la foi cathol.*, II, 833. "After a general survey of the measures that paved the way for this constitution of 1184, in the course of the twelfth century, we can state the following: 1. that, at first averse to any temporal penalties and employing only spiritual ones, the Church did not subject heresy to material penalties until the end of the twelfth century; 2. that the Church was led to this revival of severity by the pressure exerted upon her, not only by pious kings who were submissive to her direction, such as Louis VII, but also by princes who were in frequent revolt against her, such as Henry II of England and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa; 3. that the inquisition was almost universally practiced by the civil authority before being established by an ecclesiastic decision" (Guiraud, *op. cit.*, II, 834).

Constance was ten years older than Henry and was very ugly, but she was the only offspring of the family of Robert Guiscard. Through her the Empire might annex southern Italy and prepare the way for the domination of the Hohenstaufens in the peninsula. The Pope replied by suspending from office the Patriarch of Aquileia, who assisted at the marriage and conferred the Lombard crown on King Henry. On June 1, the Pope suddenly settled the conflict about the archbishopric of Trier by himself consecrating the rival of the imperial candidate.<sup>92</sup> He protested sharply against the usurpation by Frederick, who was using the possessions of Countess Matilda as his own property. On the other hand, the Emperor closed the Alpine passes to prevent any communication of the Holy See with the German bishops, and his son Henry invaded the States of the Church, which he ravaged mercilessly. But so many disturbances and anxieties had ruined the Pontiff's health. Just when he was intending to issue an excommunication against the Emperor, he died suddenly at Ferrara, October 20, 1187.

### Pope Gregory VIII

The election of his successor took place the day after his death. The choice of the cardinals was the chancellor of the Roman Church, the cardinal-priest Alberto di Morra, a native of Benevento, who took the name of Gregory VIII. The excessive tension of the relations between the Church and the Empire prompted the cardinals to choose a peaceful man, qualified for preparing a reconciliation between the two powers. The relations which the new Pope had had with the Emperor rendered him suited for this task, to which he devoted himself wholeheartedly. The taking of Jerusalem by Saladin, the news of which reached Italy the very day before the papal election, prompted the Pope to undertake a second mission: the or-

<sup>92</sup> Watterich, II, 666, 676.

ganization of a new Crusade. But Gregory VIII had scarcely time to put his hand to these two great works. He died December 17, 1187.<sup>93</sup>

### Pope Clement III

His successor, Paolo Scolari, a Roman by birth, elected December 19 under the name of Clement III, continued Gregory's policy and reaped its fruits. He succeeded in ending the principal conflicts that divided the Holy See and the Empire, and he was also successful in terminating the exile of the papacy. More fortunate than his two predecessors, he was able to enter Rome and reside there in peace until his death. This work of pacification was imperative at the time when a new Crusade became necessary and required the union of all the ardent forces of Christendom.

### The Third Crusade

The taking of Jerusalem by Saladin (October 2, 1187) was merely the last disaster of a campaign in which all the Christian states of the East had succumbed. The first half of the twelfth century had been an epoch of prosperity for those states. About the middle of the century, from 1158 to 1167, marriages between several Christian princes and various members of the imperial family of Constantinople seemed to assure the stability of their kingdoms.<sup>94</sup> But "the lack of coherence between the Christian states, the absence of a supreme and undisputed authority, the weakness of the aid sent from the West, enabled

<sup>93</sup> On Gregory VIII, see G. Kleemann, *Papst Gregor VIII.*

<sup>94</sup> In 1158 the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin III, married a cousin of Manuel Comnenus, the Princess Theodora. On December 25, 1165, Manuel Comnenus himself married—this being his second marriage—a daughter of Raymond of Antioch; in 1167 one of the Emperor's sisters was married to the king of Jerusalem, Amalric, the successor of Baldwin III.

the enemies surrounding the Christian colonies to prepare for their destruction.”<sup>95</sup>

Bounded on the north by the Eastern Empire, which had imposed its suzerainty on Antioch, and by the atabeks of Mossul, who held the principality of Edessa, the Christian states had not previously felt themselves seriously threatened from the south and east. The situation changed when the atabek of Mossul, Nour-ed-Din, undertook to extend his domination over Egypt and especially when the domination of Egypt passed into the hands of one of his generals, Shirkuh, and later into the hands of the latter's nephew Salah-ed-Din (Saladin), who, after gradually subduing Syria and Mesopotamia, took the title of sultan. The Christian states now found themselves enclosed by enemies. Then it was that Amalric, king of Jerusalem, made appeals to Louis the Younger, Frederick Barbarossa, to all the sovereigns of Europe. But these appeals received no favorable reply. Unfortunately the internal disagreements between the Christian princes of the East did not abate, rather they increased. After Amalric's death in 1173, two parties, that of the Count of Tripoli and that of Guy of Lusignan, opposed each other in seeking the power. Saladin, an energetic and able general, inspired by a fiery religious fanaticism, took advantage of these divisions. His schemes were gigantic: his hope was to destroy all the Christian centers and settlements of the East and even to attack the West.

In 1187 the realization of this ambition did not seem impossible. Taking occasion of the pillage of a caravan by a Christian nobleman (Renaud de Châtillon), Sultan Saladin proclaimed the holy war in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, and invaded the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Christian army was defeated in a great battle near Tiberias. In a few weeks all the cities of the kingdom surrendered, except Jerusalem and Tyre. Saladin himself directed the siege of Jerusalem, which capitulated at the

<sup>95</sup> Bréhier, art. "Croisades" in the *Dict. apol. de la foi cath.*, I, 822.

first breach. The Sultan entered the city October 2, 1187. He tore down the crosses, smashed the church towers, "purified" the mosques with incense. The work of more than a century seemed lost.

Pope Clement III assumed the mission of saving it. Already his predecessor, Gregory VIII, had taken the first steps. Fasts and public prayers had been ordered throughout Christendom; letters had been sent to all the Christian rulers; the Truce of God was proclaimed for seven years.<sup>96</sup> The hour had come to drop all quarrels pending between the Catholic states. Clement III gave the example by proposing a reconciliation with the Emperor, by offering to make all sacrifices compatible with the essential rights of the Church. The people and kings of Europe followed his lead. On January 21, 1188, Philip Augustus and Henry II Plantagenet, who were at open strife, gave each other the kiss of peace under the elm of Gisors. The King of Sicily and the Byzantine Emperor declared they would forget their old rivalry. Venice made peace with Hungary. Pisa and Genoa promised Pope Clement III to end their perpetual conflicts. The Archbishop of Cologne and the German princes who had opposed the Emperor swore to renounce their grudges.

Never had the Christian princes shown so unanimous an accord; never had the peoples manifested a closer union with their rulers. All persons who were not going to join the Crusade offered, as a subsidy for the expedition to the Holy Land, a tenth of their income and of their chattels.<sup>97</sup> From the name of the enemy against whom the Crusade was directed, this offering was called the "Saladin tithe." On the side of the Turks, the war also assumed a more general character. In the first two Crusades "the Christians had to fight only fragments of states, separated from one another by political and religious jealousies; now they had before them a leader whom the taking of Jeru-

<sup>96</sup> See the letters of Gregory VIII in Mansi, XXII, 419, 527, 531, 619.

<sup>97</sup> Mansi, XXII, 576.

salem had covered with glory in the Mussulman world and who had at his disposal the forces of Egypt and of Asia. Against the Christians he preached the holy war and organized a counter-crusade.”<sup>98</sup> The Turk held the Holy City under his yoke; the infidel had seized the true cross. The war took on the proportions of a duel to the death between Christendom and Islam.

Unfortunately the enmities between the Christian princes, momentarily allayed, broke out again and prevented the complete success of the expedition. The Christian armies marched under the leadership of three sovereigns: Emperor Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, King Richard of England, who had just succeeded his father Henry II, and King Philip Augustus of France. But a tragic death removed the first as soon as he reached Syria; and before long disagreement broke out between Philip Augustus and Richard.

The German army had followed the route of the First Crusade, by way of the Danube and Bulgaria; then, after crossing the Hellespont, it penetrated Asia Minor and, under the command of the Emperor, seized the city of Iconium with the cry of, *Christus regnat! Christus imperat!* But on June 10, 1190, Frederick Barbarossa, who had reached the banks of the Selef, began to cross the stream on horseback. Of a sudden the horse stumbled and the horseman disappeared. When his body was recovered from the water, he was dead. The consequences of this death were disastrous for the German army. Some, in discouragement, embarked for Europe; the others, under the leadership of Frederick of Swabia, painfully advanced toward Antioch, where they were decimated by a frightful epidemic.

The kings of France and England had taken the sea route. Disputes broke out between them as soon as they met at Messina. These disagreements continued throughout the expedition. But the two rulers were brave. Richard more audacious,

<sup>98</sup> Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

Philip more able. The King of England pushed fearlessness to the point of imprudence, energy to the point of brutality. The King of France at times confounded policy, in which he was a master, with craftiness; and diplomacy, in which he was unrivaled, with duplicity. On the way to the East, Richard took by assault the city of Messina and conquered the island of Cyprus. At Messina the bluff intrepidity of his bearing won him the name of *Coeur de Lion*.

Following the directions of Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, who attached great importance to the possession of a port, the two kings went to join, before the walls of St. John of Acre, crusaders of all countries who had already arrived there, and at once began the work of investing the town. The siege was a memorable one, worthy of being celebrated in epic poetry, a siege which for two years detained the most valiant troops of the West and East before the city walls. In this enterprise Richard and Philip displayed their warlike qualities. "Have you seen King Richard?" the Mussulman knights used to say to their horses when they saw the animals rear up in fright. On July 13, 1191, the city capitulated. But the muffled rivalries that persisted between the kings of France and England became complicated by those which started quarreling between two Christian princes of the East, Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat. Philip Augustus took the side of Lusignan; Richard, that of Montferrat.

With the city of Acre conquered, Philip decided suddenly to return to France, after swearing to Richard that he would respect his domains. A short time after this, Richard learned that his brother John Lackland was conspiring with the King of France. On October 9, 1192, he too embarked for Europe. In the East the quarrel between Lusignan and Montferrat became so bitter that Montferrat even allied himself with Saladin. After that, any thought of an attempt against Jerusalem was impossible. Even the death of Saladin in 1193 could not awaken

any hope of success. A new Crusade of Germans in 1197 merely enabled the Christians to retake all the coast cities. Thus at the close of the twelfth century the Christian influence in the East ceased. Of the four Latin states, two had perished: that of Edessa and that of Tripoli; and the Kingdom of Jerusalem had St. John of Acre as its capital. But the Christians had conquered two new states more to the west. These were the island of Cyprus, which Richard gave to Lusignan and which became the Kingdom of Cyprus; and the little Armenian territories of Cilicia, which composed the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia.

### Pope Celestine III

Clement III did not live to see the outcome of the Crusade. Eight months after Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, he died at Rome,<sup>99</sup> and was immediately replaced by an eighty-five-year-old man, Hyacinth Orsini, cardinal-deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin, who occupied the Holy See under the name of Celestine III. One of his first acts was the crowning of Emperor Henry VI, who succeeded his father Frederick. Faithfully adhering to the policy of his predecessor, the new Pope was determined to carry to the utmost limits his condescension toward the Christian princes at a time when the Mussulman danger rendered so necessary the union of all the European powers. This first act was a testimony of that policy. But the Pope showed himself inflexible when a grave law of the Church seemed to be involved. His attitude to Philip Augustus and to Alfonso IX of Leon in questions where the holiness of the marital bond seemed to him to be violated, gave proof of this.

The character of the new Emperor sorely tried the Pope's patience. Henry VI pretended to follow the political ideal of his predecessor, but by giving it even more chimerical propor-

<sup>99</sup> Great uncertainty prevails about the day of Clement III's death. See Jaffé, no. 16,674.



tions and by trying to bring it about through the use of more barbarous methods. Never had the German spirit attempted to realize a more fantastic project by more brutal means. The ambition of Barbarossa's son aimed at nothing less than to subject all the nations of the West and the East to the German Empire, rendered hereditary in the house of the Hohenstaufens. This gigantic plan included first the conquest of Europe by the subjection of Italy and the infeudation of England and France; then the absorption of the East by diplomatic negotiations and cleverly managed matrimonial combinations; lastly, the lowering of the upper German aristocracy by the suppression of its right of election; and, consequently, the transformation of the Empire into a unitary monarchy, hereditary, absolute, ruling the world. To attain his ends, Henry VI counted on terrorism, on deceit, and on the enthusiasm which would be sure to arouse the German people at the sight of such a prospect.

Following his marriage to a descendant of Robert Guiscard, he laid claim in 1189, upon the decease of King William (who died without children), to the Kingdom of Sicily. But the Sicilians had given themselves a national king in the person of a natural son of Duke Roger, the valiant Tancred of Lecce. The Pope's intervention in favor of Tancred and the vigorous resistance of the city of Naples defeated the enterprise of the German sovereign.

The arrest of Richard the Lionhearted by the Duke of Antioch at Henry VI's instigation, and his imprisonment by the Emperor entered into the same scheme. To obtain his freedom, Richard in 1193 at Worms was obliged to declare England a fief of the Empire. The efforts to arouse Richard against France were prompted by the same aim: to crush the Kingdom of France and so make it also a fief of Germany. The marriage of Henry VI's brother Philip of Swabia with Princess Irene, daughter of Isaac Angelus, and the moves made in 1194 to obtain the suzerainty of the kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia

were evident attempts at seizure of the whole East. A prelate of the Empire, Conrad of Querfurt, wrote: "God has permitted that the domination of the most glorious Henry extend to the confines of the universe."<sup>100</sup> And the poet Walther von der Vogelweide, in words addressed to the Emperor, wrote: "Yours is the right to punish and reward. The other rulers are subject to you. You possess the earth, as God possesses heaven. You are His vicar."<sup>101</sup>

These panegyrists were silent as to the means by which the Emperor was working to establish his universal domination. They did not say that in Sicily he had the eyes of the young Prince William gouged out, that he opened and profaned the tomb of Tancred; that he had conspirators sawed in half; that by his orders others had been buried alive or crowned with a crown of hot iron. They dared not honor him for the savage destruction of Tivoli, given over to the fury of the Romans.<sup>102</sup>

By this act, Henry VI perhaps intended to win the favor of the populace in the Eternal City so as to make them a threatening force for himself against the Holy See. At any rate the Pope felt himself menaced by this invading power, which seemed to be endeavoring to crush him as in a vice. Celestine III protested against Henry's claims on Sicily. And he interceded for the liberation of King Richard. But, instead of heeding the counsel and threats of the head of the Church, the proud Emperor refused to take the oath of homage to the Holy See for his possessions in Sicily, and he forbade his subjects to make any appeal or journey to Rome. Probably he was about to engage in fresh outrages, when suddenly death stopped him, at the age of thirty-two. By a strange irony, he who wished to assure the heredity of the Empire left only one child, very young; the question of succession let loose war and anarchy.

<sup>100</sup> Luchaire, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>101</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>102</sup> Hergenröther-Kirsch, *Kirchengeschichte*, Bk. II, Part II, chap. 4.

The grief which the aged Pontiff suffered from the brutal aggressions of Henry VI was not his only one. Celestine III also had to suffer from the conduct of Philip Augustus, king of France, and from that of Alfonso IX, king of Leon.

Philip Augustus, who three years before had lost his first wife, upon returning from the Holy Land asked the hand of the Danish Princess Ingeburg, sister of King Canute III, and married her at Amiens on August 14, 1193. This marriage seems to have been prompted by considerations of political interest. Philip, who was at that time contemplating a landing in England, wished to make sure of the assistance of the King of Denmark. All the contemporary testimonies agree in praising the beauty, virtues, and loftiness of character of the new Queen; she was then eighteen years old. The French King received her with manifestations of sincere joy.

But, soon after the marriage, a strange change took place in the King's sentiments. A feeling of violent repulsion seized him. The causes of this sudden aversion are a problem for history. The King desired to hand over the Queen forthwith to the Danish ambassadors who had brought her. She declared that she would not go with them but would remain in France and there maintain her rights and rank. Philip assembled his barons and bishops at Compiègne and from them obtained a judgment of obliging compliance, declaring Ingeburg's marriage null on the alleged ground that she was related to the King's first wife. When Ingeburg was notified of the decision, as she did not know the French tongue, she replied by exclaiming: *Roma, Roma!* The unjustly repudiated wife appealed to the Pope from the verdict extorted by the King. At the same time King Canute had recourse to Rome. The reply of Celestine III came promptly. The Pope declared as null and void the decision of the Compiègne tribunal and enjoined the King of France to take back his lawful wife Ingeburg. But the papal legates, commissioned with the duty of giving notice of the Pope's bull, were arrested

at their entrance into France and were interned at Clairvaux. Philip Augustus disregarded them and, to make his divorce irrevocable, he married the daughter of a great Bavarian noble, Agnes of Meran. By the King's order, Queen Ingeburg was taken to the convent of Fervaques and from there to a convent in Soissons. The affair of Philip Augustus' divorce continued under Innocent and brought about a rupture between the King of France and the papacy.

A similar conflict arose in Spain, where King Alfonso IX of Leon, in defiance of the prohibitions of the Church, had married his cousin-german, Theresa, daughter of King Sancho of Portugal. For five years the monarch resisted the repeated rebukes of the Holy See. Celestine III had to pronounce excommunication against him and to interdict his states. Alfonso IX finally submitted and married, but again without dispensation, a close relative, Berengaria, the daughter of the King of Castile, and the Holy See had to condemn this union also.<sup>103</sup>

These strifes had not distracted the Pope's solicitude from works of edification. With all his might he favored the foundations of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, the *Fratres Pontifices*, and various communities of Beghards and Beguines.

The rule of the Teutonic Knights had already been approved by Clement III. Pope Celestine, in recognition of the services they were rendering the Church, assured them of all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Templars. The *Fratres Pontifices* did not form a religious order properly so called; they were a body of charitable men, serving the bridges and their hospices, which they had built. The most famous community of *Fratres Pontifices* was that of Avignon, founded by St. Benezet.

The communities of Beguines, who did not receive their final organization until the beginning of the thirteenth century, go back to the last years of the twelfth century, at least so far as the Netherlands are concerned. The name "Beguines" was given

<sup>103</sup> Jaffé, nos. 17,241-43; J. Laurentie, *Saint Ferdinand III*, pp. 20, 22.

to widows and young women who, desiring to escape from the dangers of the world and not wishing to enter into a convent, formed communities, where they lived a life of recollection and asceticism, binding themselves, for the time of their sojourn in the association, to the practice of obedience, chastity, and poverty. They had no strict cloister or vows, and engaged in various works of charity and piety.<sup>104</sup> Some communities of Beghards were later formed upon the model of the communities of the Beguines.

Pope Celestine III died January 8, 1198. He was preceded to the grave by Emperor Henry VI, who died at Messina on September 28 of the previous year. From that hour the Empire was in a state of anarchy. Two powerful parties engaged in strife for the power: the first elected a Hohenstaufen, Philip of Swabia, brother of Henry VI; the other chose a Guelph, Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. The choosing of a new pope at that critical juncture was a matter of exceptional importance.

<sup>104</sup> On the origin of the Beguines and the etymology of this name, which probably is derived from the name of one of their superiors, Lambert le Bègue, see Wetzer and Welte, *Dict. de théologie*, art. "Béguines."

## CHAPTER X

### *The Pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216)*

THE cardinals did not require long deliberation before choosing the successor of Celestine III. The very day of the late Pope's death <sup>1</sup> (January 8, 1198), on the second ballot a majority of the votes were cast for one of the youngest members of the Sacred College, Cardinal Lotario de Segni, of the Conti family, which had already given to Italy some men of the sword and which subsequently gave several popes to the Church. The new Pope was only thirty-seven years old. He took the name of Innocent III. Educated in the schools of Rome, Paris, and Bologna, he there showed an equal aptitude in the study of literature, of theology, and of civil and canon law. In the various affairs entrusted to him by his uncle Pope Clement III, he had given proof of firm and tactful skill. In the pontificate of Celestine III, he employed his leisure in writing two highly regarded treatises: *De contemptu mundi* and *De sacrificio missae*.

Contemporary accounts picture him as being short, with pleasing features, large eyes, straight nose, small mouth, a sonorous voice of such fine quality that he could be heard even when he spoke in a low voice. The vigorous warlike character of his ancestors was tempered in him by the virtues and habits of his clerical calling. The purity of his faith, the strictness of his morals, the perfect correctness of his life, defied envious criticism. The youthfulness of the new Pope and his eminent qualities justified the highest expectations. From the moment of his election he was well aware of the immense task placed on

<sup>1</sup> Potthast, *Regesta*, III, 1. According to certain evidence, cited by Potthast (*ibid.*), Innocent III was elected on the day after Celestine's death; other evidence says simply, the day of the burial.

him. To free the city of Rome and the Papal States from the yoke of the factions, to complete the withdrawal of Italy from German domination, to carry on the Crusade against the infidels, to purify Europe of heresy, to maintain his predecessors' victories over the obstacles set up by the temporal powers: such were the labors that seemed to Pope Innocent III the most urgent. But evidently, in the mind of the young Pontiff, they were merely the indispensable conditions of a loftier mission whose providential hour seemed to have come: namely, to organize Christendom, in its public institutions as well as in each person's private life, among the laity as well as among the clergy, and to realize this organization by the establishment of a powerful hierarchy and also by the inspirations of a deep piety in souls.

Pope Innocent III was able to carry out his program so far as an ideal of perfection could be realized in the conditions in which the world then was. His pontificate was the culminating point of the papal primacy and of civilization in the Middle Ages. More than once he encountered formidable opposition that he had to overcome. Often, like the Israelites mentioned in the Book of Esdras, "with one of his hands he did the work, and with the other he held a sword."<sup>2</sup> But, to fulfil that double mission, no one was better prepared than this warriors' son so thoroughly a priest, than this brilliant student of the universities so filled with the sense of the living realities, than this young Pontiff whose whole ambition was to continue the work of those who had gone before.

### Order and Peace in Rome

All these qualities of Innocent III were manifested in the early acts of his pontificate. The first of his cares was to restore the papal power in the city of Rome and in the Roman state. The

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II Esd. 4: 17.

undertaking was arduous. The Pope's authority encountered three powerful rivals at Rome: the prefect, who was officially dependent on the Emperor and received his orders from Germany; the Senate, which represented the people and sometimes depended on the populace; the great nobles, who labored especially for themselves and who, at the first signs of discontent, barricaded themselves in their houses which were transformed into fortresses.

When these three powers leagued together against the pope, he had no other course but to leave the city; when they fought against one another, the regular conduct of ecclesiastical affairs became extremely difficult. But these three powers were rarely at peace. Through political measures, in which firmness and accommodation were prudently combined, Innocent III succeeded in bringing them into submission. As the people had given him notable marks of friendly feeling on the occasion of his coronation and of the largess which he made on that occasion, the Pope profited by this popular movement to obtain from the senator who was governing the city in the name of the people an oath of vassalage to the Holy See. Representatives of the neighboring cities made homage to the Supreme Pontiff. The prefect of Rome, not wishing to be behind the others, took the oath the more readily since the Empire was vacant and since he did not know to which of the two claimants he should make a report of his administration.<sup>3</sup>

True, a recurrence of disturbances at critical hours could not be altogether prevented; they happened in 1203 and 1204, and were so serious as to oblige Innocent to withdraw momentarily from the city. But he was not discouraged. Even during his exile he came to the relief of the Roman middle classes by advances of money given to the merchants<sup>4</sup> and, upon his re-

<sup>3</sup> Innocent III, *Epist.*, Vol. VIII, no. 228; *PL*, Vol. CCXV.

<sup>4</sup> Potthast, *Regesta*, I, 2149.



turn, he founded a large hospital for the poor, confiding its direction to the Brothers Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost, recently founded at Montpellier by Count Guy. This hospital has since been known as *Santo Spirito*. Collections, taken up by the Pope's order in Italy, Sicily, and Hungary for the assistance of the poor of Rome who were menaced with famine, institutions for the aged and for children, a refuge for fallen women, all these works of charity won the people's affection for Innocent III. The Pope's subsequent journeys in the Patrimony of St. Peter, his generous favors and economic reforms there, completed the strengthening of his popularity and his power.

He showed himself as terrible to the unsubmissive mighty ones as he was charitable and kind to the weak. A former favorite of Henry VI, Markwald by name, seneschal of the Empire, was compelled by excommunication to abandon the property which he unjustly held in central Italy.<sup>5</sup> And Conrad of Urslingen, a Swabian knight, had to give up the Duchy of Spoleto, which the Emperor had bestowed upon him.<sup>6</sup> He who showed himself so formidable a lover of justice with regard to the lay lords, was no less strict with regard to the abuses of his own court. He dismissed the noble pages. He suppressed the secret offices where false bulls were fabricated.<sup>7</sup> All members of the Curia were forbidden to exact or solicit any fee, except the writers or expeditors of the bulls; and these were paid at a fixed rate.<sup>8</sup> The Pope himself gave an example of strict simplicity at his table, in his personal household, in his whole life, and, that his orders should not remain a dead letter, three times a week he gave a public audience, that he might hear the complaints of his people or of his officials.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Mayr, *Markwald von Anweiler*; cf. *PL*, CCXV, 541.

<sup>6</sup> Innocent III, *Epist.*, I, 356; *PL*, CCXIV, 331.

<sup>7</sup> Potthast, I, 235; *PL*, CCXIV, 202, 221, 322, 430.

<sup>8</sup> *PL*, CCXIV, 80.

<sup>9</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1192.

## German Domination in Italy

The complete withdrawal of Italy from German domination was Innocent's second preoccupation. In this undertaking he was sustained by Empress Constance, the widow of Henry VI. She was a Sicilian by birth and, after her husband's death, she retired to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and associated her son Frederick in her government. To strengthen her situation, she renewed the oath of vassalage which bound that kingdom to the Holy See, renouncing the privileges which King William in June, 1156, had extorted from Adrian IV by the Treaty of Benevento. Then, in accord with the Pope, she labored to remove the detested Germans from the kingdom. But soon both she and the Pope encountered a terrible adversary in that Markwald who, driven from Central Italy, claimed that, by a will of Henry VI, he was authorized to assume the guardianship of Prince Frederick and the regency of the Kingdom of Sicily. The danger was increased by a conspiracy between Walther, the chancellor of the kingdom, and Markwald. A second excommunication, pronounced by Innocent III against the impostor, an urgent appeal to the Italian people, recalling the atrocities committed by the German troops in the time of Henry VI, the raising of an armed force at the expense of the Holy See, the aid brought by a French knight related to the Guiscard family, Gautier de Brienne,<sup>10</sup> and the death of Markwald, all these events gave Sicily peace once more, which was confirmed in 1208 by the Diet of San Germano.<sup>11</sup>

The destruction of the imperial power in northern Italy was the more easily realized, owing to the reconstitution of the

<sup>10</sup> On the enthusiasm aroused in Italy by the arrival of Gautier de Brienne and on the resolve taken by Francis of Assisi to enroll under the orders of the French knighthood, see Jorgensen, *Der heilige Franz von Assisi*.

<sup>11</sup> On these events in Sicily, see *PL*, CCXIV, 43, 46, 62, 67 f., 781-86.

Lombard League and the formation of a league of the Tuscan cities under the protection of the Pope.<sup>12</sup>

The rivalries of the two claimants who were at strife for the power in Germany favored the success of the work of independence undertaken by the Pope in Italy. Those rivalries also contributed to the exaltation of the papacy's power of supreme jurisdiction in political conflicts. This power had already been exercised by the head of the Church and would be exercised again to the great profit of the civilized world because, of all the social powers that were in a position to intervene for the peace of the world, the papacy was the only one that offered the guaranties indispensable for that mission.

The two candidates for the imperial power instinctively understood this fact. Each of them wrote to the Pope, asking for a confirmation of his election.<sup>13</sup> Innocent replied that the German nobles should agree upon a single candidate; that he offered them his cooperation to this end; but that, if they did not come to an agreement, he himself would take the matter in hand.<sup>14</sup> To the same effect he wrote a circular letter to all the princes of the Empire.<sup>15</sup> Innocent based his right of intervention in the imperial election on two grounds, one historical, the other logical: 1. the Apostolic See was the authority that transferred the Empire from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne: rightly therefore it intervenes in the functioning of an institution which owes its origin to that see; 2. to the pope belongs the privilege of crowning the emperor: logically he has the right to examine the person whom he is to consecrate.<sup>16</sup> An assembly of the German nobility, held at Bamberg, tried to answer these arguments, or rather to elude their force, by

<sup>12</sup> Innocent III, *Epist.*, I, 555; *PL*, CCXIV, 507.

<sup>13</sup> *M. G.*, *Leges*, II, 20, 201, 203 f.; *Gesta Innocentii*, no. 22; *PL*, CCXIV, 36.

<sup>14</sup> *M. G.*, *Leges*, Sec. IV, Vol. II, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Potthast, p. 66.

<sup>16</sup> *Registr. rom. imper.*; *PL*, CCXVI, 1025-33.

taking their stand on the ground of the pure Roman law and of the national independence. The Pope replied to the Bamberg manifesto by a letter which he sent in March, 1202, to the Duke of Zahringen, and in which he clearly and precisely set forth the limits of the right of intervention which he claimed for the Holy See. He did not lay claim to the right to be judge of the circumstances and the validity of the imperial election; that is a matter of state which concerns only the nation; but he maintained his right to pass judgment on the capacity of the person elected. The emperor is the born defender of the Holy See; the Holy See has the right to reject a defender incapable or unworthy.

Applying this principle, Innocent III, in his famous *Deliberatio*,<sup>17</sup> examined the titles of the claimants and, considering their respective qualities, decided in favor of Otto IV. But the party of Philip of Swabia did not submit, and Otto did not reign without contest until after the death of Philip, who was assassinated (June 21, 1208) by Otto von Wittelsbach. On October 4, 1209, the Pope, after receiving from him the oath to respect the rights and liberty of the Church, crowned him emperor. But Otto did not fulfil the hopes which the Pope had founded on him. By perjury and ingratitude, the like of which is seldom to be found in history, he insolently turned against his benefactor, seized the possessions of Countess Matilda, of the counts of Ancona and Spoleto, utterly disregarded the Concordat of Worms, and attempted to seize Sicily. In November, 1210, the Pope excommunicated him. The nobles, who also had occasion to complain of his tyranny, elected in his place, in 1212, the ward of Innocent III, that is, Frederick II. Otto continued his struggle for the power until his death in 1218. In fact, Innocent's candidate had betrayed the Pope's confidence as he had betrayed the confidence of his subjects; but the principle of papal intervention, within the limits in which Innocent had

<sup>17</sup> *PL*, CCXVI, 10.

just defended it, triumphed in the minds of all impartial judges.

### Repression of Heresy

Independent in his domain, freed from the Germanic pressure in Italy, the acknowledged arbiter of Christian princes, Innocent III was now able to exercise a more decisive action against heresy; to attempt a more vigorous offensive against Islam; to speak to sovereigns with greater authority, reminding them of their duties to the Church and to the people; to take up again, on a vaster scale, the traditional work of the papacy for the reform of morals in the Church and the Christian organization of the world; in a word, to carry out, on its positive side, the program which he had outlined, or rather which circumstances had imposed on him, at the beginning of his pontificate.

In the very first year of his reign, on the very soil of the domain of St. Peter, the Pope found himself face to face with the Manichaean heresy. The consuls of Viterbo had favored its establishment in that city. Pope Innocent, in this connection, wrote the forcible letter that issued from his chancery. "You fear neither God nor men," he says. "Wallowing in your sin, like a beast of burden in its filth, you are more treacherous than the Jews, more cruel than the pagans. The Jews crucified the Son of God only once; you crucify Him daily in His members."<sup>18</sup> The biographer of Innocent III explains the Pope's indignation thus:

He was unwilling that anyone should be able to reproach the Roman Church with tolerating heresy in its own domain; that anyone should be able to say to her: "Physician, begin by curing thyself," or "First take the beam out of thy own eye." And so he adopted severe measures. Every heretic who was found was arrested and

<sup>18</sup> Potthast, I, 981 f.; Theiner, *Vet. monum. Slav. merid.*, I, 48.

brought before the secular tribunals, there to be judged. Those who were convicted had their property confiscated. In case of relapse, they were expelled from the city. This rigorous statute, applied to the entire papal Patrimony, effected the disappearance of every trace of heresy.<sup>19</sup> From that hour the States of the Church no longer saw those mysterious Patarines who, condemning marriage, the family, and the most solid bonds of society, had all the appearance of real anarchists.<sup>20</sup>

Scattered in different sections of France and Italy, the neo-Manichaean heresy spread especially in Provence. In that sunny land, where passions are strong and fiery, where the faith is manifested with greater sternness and outward show, and where everything, good as well as bad, easily is deified, this doctrine of the "double God," so daring in its claims and so licentious in its practice, which, eight centuries earlier, had seduced the restless youth of St. Augustine, found easy access. The poetry of the troubadours, which in Provence was then a sort of prelude to the literary awakening of Europe, became its harmonious mouthpiece. The sons of knights who, at the time of the First Crusade, following Raymond IV of Toulouse, would not yield to anyone the honor of being the first to go up to the assault on Jerusalem, followed the new movement.

Raymond VI of Toulouse, a descendant of that austere knight of Christ, declared himself on the side of the heresy. Not that he sought to deny the faith of his fathers. On the contrary, he heaped favors on religious congregations, piously assisted at the offices in church, and, when he met a priest bringing communion to a sick person, he dismounted from his horse to adore God present in the host. But he allowed the preachers of the sect to deliver sermons at night in his palace, showered his money and his favors on them, and had his son brought up in

<sup>19</sup> Potthast, I, 3187.

<sup>20</sup> Lea, in his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (Bk. I, chap. 3) considers the Manichaean doctrines of the twelfth century a return to barbarism.

the new doctrines. Besides, this great noble led a most dissolute life; his court was filled with the companions of his debauchery and the effects of his vicious conduct. His attitude of mind may perhaps be seen in a reply he once made to Arnold Amalricus, abbot of Grandselve. The Abbot was speaking to him in denunciation of a heretic guilty of defiling an altar and of blaspheming in public. "God forbid," said Raymond, "that, for a deed of this sort, I should ever be severe to a compatriot."

Knight and troubadours, justly proud at having their own language, literature, and special civilization without ceasing to be Frenchmen, would no doubt not be sorry at having their own separate religion without quitting the great Church. Such at least may have been the attitude of a large number of them. Some of the nobles and poets refused to participate in the new errors, or they withdrew with great ado as soon as they perceived the danger. Such was that Arnold Amalricus, a converted troubadour, who subsequently became one of the most earnest foes of the heretics.

At any rate, the songs of the troubadours of Provence, which were destined later to awaken the lyrical genius of St. Francis of Assisi,<sup>21</sup> were powerful instruments of propaganda for the heresy; because the minstrel, who roamed from castle to castle, from village to village, retelling his war songs and his songs of adventure, in the twelfth century enjoyed almost the role which the orator, the journalist, or the pamphleteer fills in our day. Through the minstrel's songs, a hundred times repeated, as well as by the regular preachers of the sect, the people accepted the doctrine of the "double God."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> "Francis went so far in his admiration of the Provençal 'gaie science' that he had made for himself a two-colored minstrel's costume, intending to wear it in the circle of his comrades" (Jorgensen, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, chap. 2).

<sup>22</sup> The oath "by the double God" is still used in Provence by peasants who have no notion of its meaning.

## The Albigenses

At the outset of the thirteenth century, the heresy of the neo-Manichaeans or Cathari was spread all through southern France, from Marseilles to the Pyrenees. Avignon, Marseilles, Montpellier, Béziers, Albi, Carcassonne were its principal centers. As its followers were particularly numerous at Albi, where they were openly protected by Roger II Trencavel, viscount of Béziers, they received the name of Albigenses. The tolerance prevailing in a special manner in the south of France <sup>23</sup> enabled them to organize there more completely than elsewhere. They set up their hierarchy in opposition to the Catholic hierarchy. These bishops were assisted by deacons who, with an established residence in a central village, radiated through the country round about, preaching the doctrine and presiding at the initiation ceremonies. Lower in rank than the clergy, were two categories of the faithful: the "perfect," who had received the *consolamentum* and to whom the full doctrine had been revealed, and the "believers," who were adherents rather than initiated members.

Besides the heresy of the Cathari or Albigenses, another heresy arose, that of the Waldenses. The latter must not be confused with the other; in fact, at the beginning it posed as the adversary of the Albigensian heresy. The Waldenses, at first known under the name of "the poor men of Lyons," owed their origin to a rich merchant of Lyons, Peter Waldes, who about 1170, moved by a desire to reform the Church, began to preach poverty and the reading of the Gospel. "Little by little the radical tendencies of their doctrine were accentuated. By dint of simplifying Catholicism, they went almost to the point of suppressing it. They finally rejected the veneration of the

<sup>23</sup> On the popular tolerance and that of the local authorities in the Midi, see Luchaire, *Innocent III, la croisade des Albigeois*, pp. 1-8.



saints, purgatory, transubstantiation, the priesthood, and the hierarchy.”<sup>24</sup> When Pope Lucius III excommunicated them, they left the region of Lyons and spread in Franche-Comté, Burgundy, Dauphiné, the northern coast, the southern coast, and even into Provence and Narbonne (the Narbonnaise).

The progress of the heresy made it bold. Some Albigenses invaded the churches of Castelnaudary and there sang their hymns, robbed the Bishop of Toulouse of his tithes, threatened the Béziers chapter in its cathedral, and obliged it to fortify itself there. In a sort of council held by the Albigenses at St. Felix of Caraman, a certain Nicetas, heretical bishop from Constantinople, came for the purpose of establishing a permanent bond between the Cathari of southern France and those of the Greek Empire. The peril of such an organization supporting a doctrine so ruinous of Catholicism and even of all social order, could not leave the papacy indifferent. Yet the papacy, before resorting to rigorous measures, resolved to exhaust the means of persuasion.

The decree of Lucius III regarding the search for heretics and for their repression had remained almost a dead letter. The Church, ever prompt in proclaiming the rights of truth, because her love for God impels her to do so, is ever slow in enforcing those rights by rigor, because her love for man restrains her. In the middle of the twelfth century, St. Bernard had attempted to convince the neo-Manichaeans of the Midi by preaching the true doctrine at Bordeaux, Périgueux, Cahors, and Toulouse. His harvest was mostly one of insults.<sup>25</sup> In 1178, Alexander III, at the request of Raymond V, count of Toulouse, and of the kings of France and England, had sent into Languedoc a cardinal legate, provided with full powers to repress the heresy. The submission of a few heretics, on whom

<sup>24</sup> Luchaire, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, II, 222.

were imposed public penances, pilgrimages, and fines, was the sole result of that mission, which had scarcely any influence on the general movement of the heresy.

In 1198, Innocent III conferred upon some Cistercians, sent as legates into the countship of Toulouse, the power to apply there all the sanctions thus far decreed by the councils against the heretics;<sup>26</sup> but he at once reminded them that he wished the conversion of the sinners, not their extermination. He wrote to them, saying: "We order you to choose men of proved virtue. Taking Christ's poverty as their model, dressing humbly, but filled with ardor for their cause, they will go to find the heretics and, by the example of their lives as by their teaching, will strive, with God's grace, to snatch them from error."<sup>27</sup>

Shortly afterward, in 1207, two Spaniards (Diego de Acebes, bishop of Osma, and Dominic de Gusman, the subprior of his chapter), coming from Rome, went to Languedoc to carry out this program. After a few months of his ministry in France, Bishop Diego had to return to Spain, and there died almost immediately. Dominic continued the enterprise alone. Born in 1170, the new missionary was in his full vigor. Says a witness of his life: "His stature was medium, but his face was beautiful. His hair and beard were light blond. He was always radiant and pleasant, except when he felt moved with compassion by some affliction of his neighbor."<sup>28</sup> He went barefoot, begging his bread, preaching along the roads and at the street corners of cities and villages, after the manner of the divine Master. At first the heretics made fun of him, threatened him with dire harm, and attempted to carry out these threats. The calm serenity of his soul, his imperturbable fearlessness in the midst of dangers, special divine graces which many times confirmed his words by miracles, kept him from all evil. But in the early days of 1208 a tragic event, the assassination of one of the

<sup>26</sup> Potthast, no. 95.

<sup>27</sup> Luchaire, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Lacordaire, *Vie de S. Dominique*, p. 219.

Pope's legates, the Cistercian monk Pierre de Castelnau, led Innocent III to modify his attitude.

Pope Innocent's plan, as we find it clearly formulated in his correspondence with his legates, was not to make a direct attack on the powerful Count of Toulouse, but to win, one after the other, the barons of the south and the local middle classes, so that Raymond, finding himself abandoned, would be converted, or that he would more easily be convinced.<sup>29</sup> But, on the one hand, most of the nobles who were appealed to showed themselves refractory or indolent; on the other hand, the Count of Toulouse answered these tactics by showing himself more obdurate than ever. The Pope then resorted to spiritual sanctions. Through his legate Peter of Castelnau, he pronounced a sentence of excommunication, which he confirmed by a vigorous letter to the Count (May 29, 1207).<sup>30</sup> The Pope wished to frighten him, and seemed at first to have succeeded.<sup>31</sup> Raymond promised to amend and entered into negotiations with the legate; but his promise concealed his plans of revenge. One day when Peter of Castelnau, weary of Raymond's evasions, threatened to break off the conferences, the Count exclaimed angrily aloud in the presence of his people: "Take care; wherever you go, by land or by water, I will have my eye on you." A few days later (February 16, 1208), as Peter of Castelnau, after celebrating mass, was about to cross the Rhone at St. Gilles, one of Raymond's attendants struck him with a lance. The wound was mortal. "May God forgive you as I forgive you," exclaimed the martyr before expiring.

This outrageous attack was exceptionally grave. The murder of an ambassador has always been considered, among all races, as a *casus belli* in the highest degree. In the present circumstance, it was also the consummation of a series of accumulated attacks upon the Catholics for a century past. It took place at

<sup>29</sup> Innocent, *Epist.*, XI, 232.

<sup>30</sup> Potthast, no. 3114.

<sup>31</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1279.

the time when the papacy had been unsuccessfully employing all peaceful means for suppressing the heresy. Raymond of Toulouse, moreover, from the standpoint of responsibility, found himself in a situation similar to that of King Henry II of England after the murder of Thomas à Becket. The normal method of repression would have consisted in a common action of the Pope and the King of France, the suzerain of the Count of Toulouse. But Philip Augustus, who was several times requested to make a military display in the Midi,<sup>32</sup> had refused to do so, alleging his war with John Lackland. Innocent III then decided to write, not merely to the King of France, but to all the barons and bishops of the kingdom, the following letter :

Although the Count of Toulouse for a long time past has been excommunicated on account of many enormous crimes, yet, as certain indications point to his guilt in the murder of our holy legate Peter of Castelnau, since he publicly threatened him with death and since he has admitted the murderer into his intimacy, we once again declare him excommunicated. And, as the holy canons do not wish that anyone keep faith with him who does not keep faith with God, we, by our apostolic authority, free from their oath all those who have promised him fealty, society, or alliance. Without violating the rights of the chief lord, all Catholics have permission not only to pursue his person, but also to occupy his domains.<sup>33</sup>

This serious document contains in germ all the events that followed.

### The Crusade against the Albigenses

Historians have expressed divergent opinions about the character of the Crusade against the Albigenses. These divergences appear less marked if we attentively distinguish three periods

<sup>32</sup> The Pope had written four times on this subject to Philip Augustus : May 31, 1204, January 16 and February 7, 1205, and November 17, 1207.

<sup>33</sup> Innocent III, *Epist.*, XI, 26-33.

in that undertaking. In the beginning the religious point of view predominated: heresy is what they wished to fight in obedience to the Pope. Then gradually political interest and racial rivalry mingled with the religious motive. Finally this political interest became preponderant; the Crusade was changed into a dynastic war, which especially profited France and endangered the results obtained in favor of the Church. From one end of France to the other, in all the regions of the center and north and, a noteworthy fact, also in several regions of the south, the Pope's appeal was heeded.

Raymond of Toulouse was greatly alarmed and asked for reconciliation with the Church. In penitential garb, bare to the waist, he knelt at the threshold of the Church of St. Gilles, where the remains of Peter of Castelnau had been laid. Touching the holy relics, he swore to obey the Pope and his legates. Ten days later, after receiving from the new Papal legate, Milo, absolution from his excommunication, the Count entered the church and promised, on the holy Gospels, "that when the Crusader princes should arrive in his lands, he would carry out all their injunctions."<sup>34</sup> This scene took place on June 30, 1209. But these promises were too unqualified to be fulfilled. We may well doubt whether they were sincere.

At the end of that same month, the great army of the Crusaders, with flying banners, arrived in Provence and marched on toward the viscounty of Béziers, the head of which, Raymond Roger, had openly declared himself the protector of the heresy. The purpose of the legates, who at the outset were the real leaders of the expedition, was at first to impose on the heretics a salutary fear, by an example in the case of the most insolent of their defenders. The onset of the Crusaders upon the high walls of the city was irresistible. At the first assault (July 21, 1209) the city was taken. But soon the fact became apparent that the leaders were not masters of their troops. Pillage, mas-

<sup>34</sup> Mansi, XXII, 771, 774-84.

sacre, and incendiarism marred this first victory. "In the army," wrote the legates, "are too many people who are united with us in body, but not in spirit."<sup>35</sup> From Béziers the army marched upon Carcassonne, where Viscount Raymond Roger had fled. The city surrendered; but this time the legates succeeded in restraining the impetuosity of the soldiers. Persons and property were respected.<sup>36</sup> The Viscount of Béziers was taken prisoner and died a short time after.

The land was conquered, and it now had to be put into safe hands. For this purpose the legates assembled the Crusader princes. The suzerainty of Languedoc was offered to the Duke of Burgundy, to the Count of Nevers, and to the Count of St. Pol, one after the other. But they declined to be invested with this fief that had been conquered by a massacre. A lesser lord of the Île-de-France, possessing domains in England, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, after making some objections, finally accepted.

### Simon de Montfort

He who would thereafter incarnate the Crusade movement in his own person was an earnest and sincere Catholic, an army leader of the first order, a diplomat full of resources. His contemporaries praise his faith, which was genuine although a little imperious, his strict chastity, his daring in combat, his obstinacy in strifes, his prudence in councils. But an excessive harshness, too pronounced attachment to his personal interests, an undisguised contempt for the southern race, which he judged to be inferior and which according to him could be regenerated only by the introduction of northern institutions, led him to

<sup>35</sup> Quoted by Luchaire, p. 141.

<sup>36</sup> The sack of Bézier was a most regrettable act of war. Responsibility for it rests partly on the nobles placed at the head of the northern army, who wished to impress the imagination of the southern people by a terrible example; it rests also partly on the rabble which those lords had too readily enrolled in their forces.

exceed the Pope's instructions and alienated from him the good will of the people that he was charged to pacify. Simon de Montfort's moral nature was revealed in his outward appearance. The chronicler Pierre des Vaux de Cernay pictures him as "tall, with distinguished features, strong shoulders, a body of unbelievable vigor and suppleness." <sup>37</sup>

Such a man sometimes pushed rigor to the point of ferocity. But we must also acknowledge that at the same time his foes went even to the point of savagery.<sup>38</sup> His procedure was not always in accord with that of the papacy. But this true knight possessed wonderful traits of valor and faith.

At the siege of Carcassonne, a crusader was lying at the bottom of a ditch, with a broken leg, under a hail of stones being thrown from the city. Simon, followed by a single squire and risking his life, went down into the ditch, carried out the unfortunate fellow, and thus saved him from certain death. . . . One Sunday, after hearing mass and receiving communion, he was setting out to fight at Castelnaudary, when a Cistercian monk spoke a few words of encouragement to him. "Do you think I am afraid?" said Simon. "This matter is an affair of Christ. The whole Church is praying for me. I know that we cannot get the worst of it." <sup>39</sup>

From 1209 to 1212 he brought under his power nearly all the fortresses of Languedoc. Raymond held only Toulouse and Montauban.

Meanwhile Innocent III was trying to bring the Count of Toulouse to better dispositions. In 1211 a council at Narbonne made a new attempt at conciliation with him. He was promised the full restoration of his possessions on the single condi-

<sup>37</sup> Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Hist. Albig.*, chap. 18; *PL*, CCXIII, 570.

<sup>38</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1283. At the Lateran Council, one of the chiefs of the Albigenses, Count de Foix, boasted of having put to death 6,000 crusaders who had been taken by surprise in an ambush. Another knight of the Midi, Arnold of Villemur, declared that he regretted he had not had enough of his prisoners' noses and ears cut off. Cf. Vaissète, *Hist. de Languedoc*, VI, 420.

<sup>39</sup> Luchoire, pp. 185-87.

tion that he would expel the heretics from his states.<sup>40</sup> But Raymond was deaf to these offers. The proposals made at Narbonne were repeated in an assembly held at Montpellier. The Count of Toulouse appeared to accept what was proposed to him. But the next day, just as the required conditions were about to be detailed, he suddenly left the city. During the summer of 1212, the Pope, wishing to give him a last proof of his spirit of justice, declared that he took under his protection the Count of Toulouse against Simon de Montfort himself. The Pope's reason was that Raymond, although accused of heresy, had not been convicted of the charge: therefore his possessions must simply be sequestered and not treated as definitely conquered territory. But Montfort took little pains to conform to this decision. Marching forward, he installed himself as master in the cities and in the fortified castles. And he had statutes enacted by assemblies in which the southerners had their place but in which he imposed on the conquered districts the customs of Paris, the usages of the north. "He presented himself as the savior who came to institute order, centralization, and peace in place of the feudal anarchy from which the former counts of Toulouse had been unable to preserve the country."<sup>41</sup> Such measures, however cleverly set forth, exasperated the populations of the Midi. Catholic nobles took the side of Raymond.

In 1212, King Peter II of Aragon, alarmed by the progress of Simon de Montfort and by the danger threatening the provinces of the Midi, intervened on behalf of his brother-in-law Raymond VI. "The two slopes of the Pyrenees were then only a single country. Languedoc, Catalonia, and Aragon had the same tastes for poetry and the same literary language. Across the Pyrenees an active exchange of troubadours and knights, of ideas, songs, and merchandise took place continually."<sup>42</sup> The Pope himself again intervened. He enjoined the

<sup>40</sup> Mansi, XXII, 813.

<sup>41</sup> Luchaire, p. 190.

<sup>42</sup> Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 272.



conqueror of Languedoc to repair the losses he had caused in several counties which, as fiefs, depended on the Kingdom of Aragon.<sup>43</sup> Innocent III did even more. He judged that the Count of Toulouse had been sufficiently punished, and he ordered Simon to end his expedition and to take part in a Crusade against the Saracens of Spain. In this connection he wrote to the Archbishop of Narbonne (January 15, 1212) as follows: "Come to an understanding with the illustrious King of Aragon, so as to draw up terms of peace. Endeavor to pacify all Languedoc. Discontinue stirring the Christian people to the war against heresy."<sup>44</sup>

"This letter is of the highest importance. It shows that, in the mind of Innocent III, the Crusade was ended at the close of 1212. Its continuance for another sixteen years was in spite of the Holy See. In some respects, this expedition was like the Crusade of 1204, which, instead of advancing to Jerusalem, as the Pope wished, ended at Constantinople. Political interests got the best of the religious interests; the covetousness of the princes was considered rather than the defense of Christendom. The Crusade, after 1213, was merely an enterprise undertaken by the nobles of the north to dispossess the nobles of the Midi; by the kings of France to join to the crown the magnificent province of Languedoc."<sup>45</sup>

While disapproving the continuation of the war, Innocent III still watched over it, to defend the oppressed and repeatedly to counsel the conquerors to the use of moderation and justice. In 1215, stripped of their lands by the victory of Simon de Montfort, Raymond VI and his son begged the protection of the Pope, whose justice and charity they knew; their hope was not disappointed. To the petitions of the Count of Toulouse, Innocent III replied: "Do not despair. If God grants me a long enough life so that I may govern according to justice, I will

<sup>43</sup> Innocent III, *Epist.*, XV, 212-15.

<sup>44</sup> *PL*, CCXVI, 744; Potthast, no. 4648.

<sup>45</sup> Guiraud, *Hist. partiale, hist. vraie*, I, 283.

elevate your throne so high that you will no longer have cause to complain either to God or to me." Meanwhile, by a decree that tried to reconcile Simon de Montfort's right of conquest with the hereditary rights of Raymond VI, the Pope divided between them the former possessions of the counts of Toulouse. If we closely examine the wording of this document, we will see that Innocent III did what he could to lessen the advantage of the conquerors and to treat the other party with consideration. Innocent's last act in Languedoc (December 21, 1215, six months before his death) was in favor of the conquered Albigenses against their conquerors. He commissioned the Bishop of Nîmes and the archdeacon of Conflans to take from the leader of the crusaders the Castle of Foix and to make an exact inquiry into the circumstances under which the domain of the Count had been annexed to the conquered territory. Luchaire, who cites this fact,<sup>46</sup> comments on it by placing in relief the Pope's spirit of justice. He says: "Unable to make the Crusade keep its religious character, he wished to prevent it from resulting, in the temporal order, in extreme consequences. Again and again he defended the cause of moderation and justice against violent attacks."<sup>47</sup>

### The Fourth Crusade

While, in the south of France, Simon de Montfort and Philip Augustus made the Albigensian Crusade deviate to their personal profit, a similar spectacle was taking place on a larger scale in the East, in the course of the Fourth Crusade against the Turks.

In his first encyclicals, Innocent III had spoken of his plan to group all the forces of Christendom with a view to a great Crusade.<sup>48</sup> This project had a definite place in the vast plan of

<sup>46</sup> Luchaire, p. 258.

<sup>47</sup> Guiraud, *op. cit.*, I, 284.

<sup>48</sup> Innocent III, *Epist.*; *PL*, CCXIV, 9.

his general policy: the Christian organization of the world. By a universal Crusade, well conducted and retaining its supernatural spirit, the princes and nobles, moved by a desire to deliver the tomb of Christ and to assure the salvation of their souls, would break off their private strifes and would organize themselves into a firmer hierarchy, under a closer inspiration of the Church and of the Pope. Innocent III did not give up hope of seeing the two Empires of East and West brought back, the one to the just limits of its mission, the other to union with the Holy See, colaborer with it in the realization of its great work. Preliminary to this enterprise were the first acts of his pontificate: the expulsion of the German influence from the States of the Church, then from the Two Sicilies, from Tuscany, and from Lombardy, his diplomatic efforts to reconcile Philip Augustus with Richard the Lionhearted and to pacify the Italian peninsula and Hungary.

But from the first overtures which the Pope made to the Christian rulers, the fact became evident that, although the Crusade project was gladly accepted by all, two ideas were going to clash as soon as the campaign should be started. Opposed to the traditional policy of the popes, which Innocent III wished to resume, was the Ghibelline party's plan of Crusade. According to the Pope, all other efforts of Christendom ought to be subordinated to the conquest of the Holy Land, and diplomacy would be expected merely to modify the dispositions of the Emperor of Constantinople toward the West and to lead him to cooperate in this work. The Ghibelline plan, on the contrary, was to destroy the Byzantine Empire and replace it with a Latin empire, which would be the best auxiliary of the Crusade. Henry VI took this plan from the Norman kings of Sicily; his brother Philip of Swabia was its depositary; Boniface of Montferrat was to carry it out.<sup>49</sup> The triumph of the Ghibelline plan was brought about by three successive events, three deviations

<sup>49</sup> Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, p. 153.

which the princes imposed on Innocent III's first idea: the expedition against Zara at the request of the Venetians, a first taking of Constantinople at the instigation of Prince Alexius, and a second taking of Constantinople to the profit of the crusaders for the formation of a Latin empire. In the presence of the various defeats of his first plan, the Pope, reconciling fidelity to principles with a very adaptable policy, attempted to draw the best possible advantages from the events.

At the Pope's invitation, a large number of preachers spread through all the districts of Europe, urging the faithful to take the cross. Of these popular preachers the most celebrated was a country pastor from the neighborhood of Paris, Foulques de Neuilly, a priest experienced in the labors of the ministry. He had studied the sacred sciences in the University of Paris, where the bright lights at that time were Peter of Corbeil (the future cardinal), Peter the Chanter (*Petrus Cantor*), renowned for the brilliance of his theological teaching, and Peter the Voracious ("Eater of books," *Petrus Comestor*), so named because of his avidity to read everything and know everything. Foulques possessed the two qualities essential for a Christian preacher: the zeal of an apostle and the learning of a doctor. His missionary talents were supplemented by a powerful voice able to dominate the tumult of the crowds, robust health, energy so unrestrained that sometimes it became even rudeness. Peter the Chanter, whom Pope Innocent III asked to take up the preaching of the Crusade and whose strength no longer permitted him to assume so heavy a burden, asked and obtained authorization to transfer the burden to the most esteemed of his disciples, the curé of Neuilly-sur-Marne. At the end of 1199, Foulques' eloquence had won to his cause Count Thibaut de Champagne, Count Louis de Blois, Count Simon de Montfort, several vassals of the Île-de-France and of Champagne, and the future historian of the Crusade, Geoffroi de Villehardouin. At the beginning of the next year, Count Baldwin of

Flanders, his brother Henry; and a great number of Flemish nobles also took the cross. In 1201 the preaching of the monk Martin, abbot of Pairis near Colmar, obtained the adherence of a large part of the German nobles. The Venetian Senate agreed to transport and feed for one year an army of 4,500 knights, 9,000 squires, and 20,000 foot soldiers, and to add to the expedition 50 galleys fully equipped. The crusaders agreed to pay 85,000 silver marks (i. e., about \$1,000,000) and to share, half and half, with the Venetians all the lands they would conquer.

This participation of the Venetians, monarchs of the sea, who were indispensable but who were merchants eager for profit, was a cause of anxiety for Innocent III.<sup>50</sup> Another grief came to him from the almost general abstention of the sovereigns. Neither Philip Augustus, excommunicated after his divorce, nor Otto of Brunswick, in strife with Frederick of Swabia, nor the princes whose Italian claims the Pope had rejected, took part in the Crusade. But the nobles never had been so numerous or appeared so well prepared or so disposed to proceed in harmony under the general direction of the Pope and his legates.<sup>51</sup>

Two events of sad augury were the death of Thibaut de Champagne, the knight poet, whom the barons had at first acclaimed as their chief, and the choice of Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, brother of the former rival of Guy of Lusignan, to take Thibaut's place. A short time later when, in the summer of 1202, the papal legate Peter of Capua went to Venice to embark with the crusaders, he learned with amazement that the fleet, instead of sailing for Egypt or Syria, was preparing to set out for Dalmatia. The old Doge Dandolo, moreover, informed him that he could follow the army in the capacity of a preacher, if that suited him, but that he could not expect to hold the rank of legate, that is, of representative of the Roman

<sup>50</sup> This anxiety appears in a letter of Innocent III; *PL*, CCXIX, 131.

<sup>51</sup> Innocent III had ratified the treaty concluded with the Venetian senate, on condition that a legate would follow the Crusade (*PL*, CCXIV, 131).

authority. This open rebellion of Venice toward the Pope may have been the result of an agreement with Prince Alexius, son of the dethroned Emperor of the East, or the result of a conspiracy with the Sultan of Egypt, who is supposed to have promised the Venetians some commercial advantages if they succeeded in diverting the campaign which threatened him. All these hypotheses have been advanced. None of them is necessary to explain the conduct of the Venetians. We need only remark that the port of Zara on the Dalmatian coast interfered with their commerce in the Adriatic. Feeling confident because of their treaty with the crusaders, to whom their fleet was indispensable, they put at the head of the list of places to be conquered, the port of Zara; and in fact they took it. The Pope, who had forbidden the crusaders, under pain of excommunication, to attack any Christian city, did not wish, at the beginning of the expedition, to appear relentless, and removed the censure.

The Pope's benevolence seems not to have greatly affected the Venetian merchants. In the spring of 1203, besides the Zara affair evidently preparations were being made for another undertaking that was not in the plan marked out by the Pope. This time no doubt was possible. At Zara itself a pact had been concluded, at the instigation of the Venetians and of Philip of Swabia, between Boniface of Montferrat, leader of the Crusade, and the representatives of the young Prince Alexius, son of the dethroned Emperor Isaac Angelus, to recover the imperial power against the usurper Alexius III. The young Alexius agreed to pay the crusaders the sum of 200,000 silver marks, personally to take part in the Crusade, to support perpetually in the Holy Land a body of 500 knights, and to submit to the religious authority of Rome.

The Pope, as soon as he learned the news of the pact of Zara, explicitly forbade the crusaders to attack the Byzantine Em-

pire.<sup>52</sup> But the prohibition was too late: when the papal letter reached its destination, the fleet of the crusaders had already set sail for Constantinople. The first assault upon the Eastern capital occurred on July 7, 1203. The undisciplined mercenaries composing the army of Alexius III could not resist the crusaders' army longer than ten days. In July 17 the old Doge Dandolo, with the banner of St. Mark in his hand, was the first to leap upon one of the gangplanks which the fleet set on the shore. Alexius III fled. Isaac Angelus, released from the prison where his rival had confined him, was proclaimed emperor with his son Alexius IV. And now, with the assistance of the new sovereigns of the East, would the crusaders march toward Syria and at length carry out the plan of the Crusade?

By attacking Constantinople, a schismatic but Christian city, the crusaders had again incurred excommunication. Naturally, before entering Jerusalem as liberators of the tomb of Christ, they wished to be reconciled with the Church. The Pope again desired to exercise his fatherly indulgence to the very utmost. Let Emperor Alexius IV clearly join with Rome, as he had promised; let him and his patriarch recognize the primacy of the Church founded by St. Peter: on this condition, all censure would be removed. But the Emperor was as unable to carry out this clause of the Zara treaty as he was to pay the sums of money promised. Vainly the Venetians succeeded in obtaining, by ruse, a letter of absolution, which the papal legate, exceeding the instructions of the Pope, had sent to them. This spiritual immunity did not realize all the desires of Doge Dandolo and his soldiers. Alexius IV in vain sold the chandeliers and the sacred vessels of the churches; he was at the end of his resources and could not pay his debt. The accord which had lasted a while between the emperors and the cru-

<sup>52</sup> Innocent III, *Epist.*, VI, 101; *PL*, CCXV, 106.

saders, soon broke and was followed by open hostility. Quarrels, real combats between Greeks and Venetians, stained the city with blood. An adventurer, Alexius Ducas, called Murtzuphlos ("joined eye-brows"), profited by these disturbances to stir up the people in his favor. On January 5, 1204, he was proclaimed emperor under the name of Alexius V. His first acts were to imprison Isaac Angelus, who died soon afterward, to have Alexius IV strangled, and to order the crusaders to quit the city. The situation of the crusaders, in the presence of an excited populace, was no longer tenable at Constantinople. They withdrew in their ships, but resolved upon another siege as soon as possible.

The question now was, no longer to conquer the city for the sake of an Eastern candidate, but to found a Latin Empire. A treaty which was signed March, 1204, between the Venetians and the barons, provided that after the taking of the city, a council composed of six Venetians and six crusaders would elect an emperor, to whom would be granted a quarter of the Eastern Empire. Of the three other quarters, Venice would take half; the rest would be distributed to the army of knights, under the form of fiefs.

The siege of Constantinople was rigorous. Murtzuphlos himself, feeling that his whole fortune was engaged in this struggle, directed the defense with great activity. But the crusaders increased their deeds of daring. The scantiness of food and the impossibility of turning back, because the Greeks would have massacred them in their retreat, the enticement of the immense riches contained in the capital of the East, were their most powerful stimulants. Bringing up their ships to the very ramparts, fastening them to the walls with ropes under a shower of arrows, climbing up the towers, breaking down the gates with axes, fighting hand to hand, they at length succeeded in penetrating the city by various points at the same time. The night of April 12 enabled Murtzuphlos to flee with



his army. But the Crusade leaders were powerless to restrain the impetuosity of their troops, who rushed upon the treasures amassed in the course of many centuries at Constantinople. The pillage was general and pitiless. Even the churches were not respected. Villehardouin reckons the value of the booty at a million and a half marks (i. e., about \$14,000,000).

The partition of the lands was made as had been agreed. On May 16, 1204, Count Baldwin of Flanders, elected according to the forms determined by the treaty, appeared in St. Sophia, clothed in the imperial mantle, with purple sandals covered with gems, and with the chlamys embroidered with eagles. On October 1, he armed 600 knights and distributed fiefs to them. As in Palestine after the taking of Jerusalem in 1099, a feudal Latin domination was founded at Constantinople.

Innocent III, once more in the presence of accomplished facts, felt a great sadness at news of these events. He did not conceal it. But Baldwin wrote him that henceforth he was going to devote all his efforts to ending the schism of the Greeks; and the Pope did not wish to thwart a plan that had always been very dear to his heart. He comforted himself with the thought that perhaps the occurrences which were contrary to his expectations and his orders were providential; that at any rate a wise policy would be to seek in the irreparable facts some element that could still be utilized for the triumph of the good. The formation of a Latin empire at Constantinople might favor both the union of the Churches and the conquest of the Holy Land.

The events soon undeceived those hopes. In that Latin empire, where the numerical majority of the population had a civilization so different from that of the conquerors, no stable coherence could be established. The crusaders' feudalism and the Byzantine bureaucracy were evidently irreconcilable; Oriental pride would not consent to bow before those whom it

called barbarians. The Patriarch of Constantinople and his clergy abandoned none of their claims to an absolute autonomy with regard to Rome. The national or individual conflicts that had divided the Christian princes in the West were repeated in the East. A violent attack by Johannitus the czar of the Vlachs and Bulgars was enough to bring Baldwin's empire to the verge of destruction. His young brother Henry of Flanders, who succeeded him (August 20, 1206), seemed to save the situation by his energy and his skilful policy. But he was unable to prevent the Greeks from acknowledging as their lawful sovereign the Emperor Lascaris (son-in-law of Alexius IV), who, after the taking of Constantinople by the crusaders, had gone to Asia Minor and there formed a new state including Bithynia, Lydia, and Phrygia, with Nicaea as its capital.

In such conditions, the two aims which Innocent III had thus far followed with tireless energy, the union of the Greek Church and the deliverance of the Holy Land, seemed now to be unattainable. The Pope, however, did not lose courage. In 1213 he ordered the Crusade preaching resumed throughout Europe. He commissioned Cardinal Pelagius to negotiate a union with Lascaris, on condition that Lascaris would acknowledge himself a vassal of the Latin empire. Thus he hoped to limit the extension of that empire and to keep the crusaders from making a further diversion of conquests in the East. On July 25, 1215, Emperor Frederick II, following his coronation, of his own accord and to everyone's surprise swore to take the cross, and when, on November 11 of that same year, in opening the Lateran Council, the Pope renewed his appeal for the Crusade, he had reason to believe that the desire of his whole reign was at last about to be realized. But such was far from the truth. The successive deviation of the papal plan, from which the Pope had suffered so much, arose less from passing whims than from a general tendency of the nations to act of their own accord, to organize separately, to replace the inter-

ests of religion, or at least to mingle in them excessively the interests of their commerce, of their industry, and of their territorial expansion.<sup>53</sup>

### State of Christendom

We have viewed the three principal works of the pontificate of Innocent III. But these three great projects—the liberation of Rome and Italy from all foreign influence, the repression of heresy, the restoration of the Christian order by the driving back of Islam, by the extinction of the Eastern schism, and by the religious enthusiasm of the Crusades—had not absorbed all the Pontiff's activity. To each of the states he had continually turned his attention, ready to correct abuses in them, to promote reforms, and to increase respect for Christian laws and for his legitimate authority.

Owing to the constant efforts of the papacy, efforts whose age-old work was completed and consecrated by the genius of Innocent III, the various states of Europe were ranged in a strongly organized hierarchy about the Holy See.

At the top, the pope. Beneath him, first a certain number of states bound to him by special titles of dependence, varied as feudalism was. In the first rank, the Empire, embracing Germany and northern Italy; its elective chief, official defender of the Holy See, must be acceptable to the Holy See. Next, various vassals strictly so called, beginning with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, another sword of help, which the papacy, by a wise policy, was careful to keep separated from the Empire. Next, several other feudatory states, special protégés of the Holy See: such were England, Aragon, Hungary, and other king-

<sup>53</sup> This is the period, about 1212 and 1213, in which some accounts, of disputed historical worth, place the "children's crusade." A young shepherd of Vendome, Stephen by name, is said to have drawn after him 30,000 children. Having set sail at Marseilles on five ships, some are supposed to have perished by shipwreck, the others to have been sold as slaves in Egypt. Another expedition of 20,000 children is said to have taken place in Germany, under the direction of a boy of Cologne. Most of them are supposed to have died of hunger and exhaustion.

doms of the east and north. Lastly, certain states, as France, which had none of these special titles of temporal dependence upon the Holy See, but which nevertheless remained always subject to its "power of declaration" in whatever might concern conscience by reason of sin or of an oath (*ratione peccati ac juramenti*). These last states likewise accepted, either by virtue of a divine right or by virtue of a human right (the question is a matter of controversy among historians and canonists) a power of arbitration by the Holy See in regulating their conflicts.<sup>54</sup>

This may not have been the "Christian Republic" with its complete elements, but at least it was a powerful outline of it.

Some writers, by distorting certain words taken out of their context or by overlooking the circumstances that provoked those words, have maintained that Pope Innocent III showed that he intended to absorb the power of the secular states into his sovereign authority. But the Pope never had such an intention. In a letter to Count William VIII, lord of Montpellier, he says: "We have no wish to prejudice the rights of another or to usurp a power that does not belong to us; because we are mindful of these words of Jesus Christ in the Gospel: 'Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's.'"<sup>55</sup> But this is not to say that the Pope admitted a complete equality between the two powers. "The power of princes," he wrote, "is exercised on earth; that of the priests, in heaven. The former govern only bodies; the latter, souls. Thus the priesthood is as far above the royal power as the soul is above the body."<sup>56</sup> Innocent III seemed even to think that at the time of the Crusade, by the very fact that the princes and peoples committed themselves to him for the direction of the expedition, exceptional powers of intervention were implicitly conferred

<sup>54</sup> Brugère, *Tableau de l'hist. et de la litt. de l'Eglise*, p. 283.

<sup>55</sup> Baluze, *Innocentii III epistolae*, I, 676.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 548.

on him. Such are the principles that we see him apply in his relations with the different powers.

### The Papacy and the Empire

The events narrated above have sufficiently defined the attitude taken by the Pope toward the Empire and toward Sicily. Several early writers have spoken of the respective situation of the papacy and the Empire, calling the Empire "a fief of the Holy See." But we must clarify the meaning of this vague expression.<sup>57</sup>

Several appear to understand it as meaning a fief properly so called, that is, a domain which the owner or feudatory held by cession or investiture of a suzerain lord. The popes and the emperors did not thus understand the dependence of the Empire upon the Holy See. Their view was that the emperor held strictly from the pope not the domain or territory of the Empire, but only the title of emperor. His domain, like that of the other sovereigns, came to him from the free disposal of the peoples who had chosen him, from the constitution of the state, or from his just conquests. The whole right of the Holy See over the Empire was thus reduced to choosing the emperor, either by itself, or by the prince electors, and to conferring on him his title and judging cases where he should be deposed. To establish this explanation, we need merely note the difference between the "oath of fidelity," taken to the pope by the emperors, and the oath taken by the princes who were feudatories of the Holy See. The oath taken by the latter (for instance, the kings of Sicily) clearly supposed that they held their domains by cession or investiture from the pope, whereas the oath of the emperors supposed merely the obligation to protect and defend the interests of the Holy See against its enemies.<sup>58</sup>

During the last years of his life, Innocent III again had occasion to apply these principles. The Guelph Emperor Otto IV,

<sup>57</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under the word *Feudus*.

<sup>58</sup> Gosselin, *Pouvoir du pape au Moyen Age*, p. 484.

whose cause the Pope espoused, conducted himself like the fiercest of the Ghibellines and violated his most solemn oaths; the Pope therefore did not hesitate to pronounce against him a sentence of excommunication, thus freeing his subjects from their oath of fidelity, and recognized the young Frederick II, king of Sicily, as emperor.

From the general history of Europe we know how Otto, abandoned by the clergy of the Empire, at war with a large number of his vassals, sought in a league against France to restore his political, military, and religious fortune. He was sustained by his uncle John Lackland who, by his rivalry with Philip Augustus and by his revolt against Rome, was doubly his ally, and he was supported by Ferrand of Portugal, Count of Flanders, who had a grievance against the King of France. Otto raised an army which counted, besides the troops furnished by Germany, England, and Flanders, those brought to him by Brabant, Holland, Lorraine, Limburg, and a number of feudal lords angered against Philip Augustus, notably all the nobility of Aquitaine. The King of France had on his side his two hereditary allies, always present in hours of difficulty: the Church and the communes. The members of the league were so sure of success that they had already in advance drawn up the partition of the Kingdom of France.

The two armies met on Sunday, July 27, in the plain of Bouvines on the Marque, not far from Lille. The forces of the coalition numbered 80,000 men; France could oppose them with only 25,000 soldiers. The French thus had to fight in the proportion of one against three. But they were conscious of the greatness of the struggle about to take place, of the justice of their cause. The bourgeois militia was one with Philip Augustus and his faithful knights. All the historians of that period speak of the knightly inspiration which, in the battle of Bouvines, transported men's souls and increased the forces tenfold. These same historians speak also of the part taken,

at the side of the King of France, the living incarnation of the nation, by Bishop Garin of Senlis, representative of the Church, who was seen throughout the action in various parts of the battlefield, exhorting the soldiers and the leaders, communicating to all the sacred fire which animated him. Otto's defeat was complete. Never was more clearly manifested the superiority of a handful of heroes, guided by love of God and of country, over a mass of warriors having no bond but a community of interests and of grudges. When, toward evening, the Emperor was seen fleeing shamefully, with the remnants of his army, the victory that had been won might well be called the victory of France and that of the Church.

As soon as Otto's defeat was known, the Rhine cities submitted to Philip Augustus. The Kingdom of Arles, that of Denmark, the feudal state of Lorraine, abandoned a lost cause. On the very evening of the battle, the King of France sent to the rival of Otto the remnants of the dragon banner of the Empire, which had been taken and torn in the struggle. Frederick of Hohenstaufen was henceforth undisputed master of Germany. He repeated the promises made to the Pope the year before, promised him the freedom of ecclesiastical elections and of appeals to the Holy See, help against the heretics, in a word, the most complete obedience. These promises, which he was careful to have ratified by the German feudalism, surpassed all those which Otto and Philip had been able to make. But this repudiation of the whole program of the race by a Hohenstaufen was too radical to be lasting. We may doubt whether it was sincere. Frederick II, "the polyglot and literary emperor, the friend of the Saracens, the enigmatical despot,"<sup>59</sup> soon showed himself and for thirty years conducted himself as one of the most formidable adversaries of the papacy and of the Church.

<sup>59</sup> Luchaire, *Innocent III, la Papauté et l'Empire*, p. 304.

## The Holy See and Spain

After the Holy Empire which by its own constitution, so misunderstood by many of its sovereigns, was the official protector of the rights of the Church; after the Norman Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, whose sword, though often insubmissive, at least was able in times of crisis to give mighty blows for the defense of the papacy, three nations gloried in placing their forces at the service of Christendom. Spain, in perpetual contact with the Mussulman world, was like a knight ever on guard at the frontier; England, so closely attached to the See of Rome by its beginnings and by its most ancient traditions, considered fidelity to Rome a point of honor; and France, always generous, in many circumstances had shown that she was unwilling to let anyone outdo her if the occasion was one of performing the *gesta Dei*.<sup>60</sup>

Thanks to Spain, in 1212 Europe was at last freed from the danger of a Mussulman invasion from the south. In fact, while the crusaders were fighting in the East, the infidels continued to spread in northern Africa and in Spain. After the death of the Cid Campeador, through alternating successes and reverses, they had fortified themselves in Morocco, had taken possession of Andalusia, and were threatening Castile. The brave king of Castile, Alfonso VII, by hazardous raids, by terrible predatory incursions which the Spaniards called "algarades," had difficulty in withstanding them. In January, 1212, Innocent, seeing the peril, requested the French of the north and south, the Italians, and the Germans to join the Spaniards to drive back the Crescent. At the same time he ordered throughout Christendom processions and fasts, to draw down God's blessing on the undertaking. Following the

<sup>60</sup> It is known that Guibert de Nogent, recounting the story of the first Crusade, entitled his account, *Gesta Dei per Francos*.



usages of knighthood, the King of Spain sent to the Emir En-Nasir a challenge for the next Pentecost.

The army of Christ and the army of the prophet met at Muradal, in the plain known as Navas de Tolosa. The disproportion in the sizes of the two armies was enormous. The Mussulmans were five times as numerous as the Christians. In spite of the Pope's appeal, the foreign contingents that came to the aid of the King of Castile were not considerable. Of the five Spanish kings, three were present: Alfonso VII of Castile, Sancho VII of Navarre, and Peter II of Aragon. Alfonso II of Portugal, who was kept at home by a civil war, merely sent some reinforcements; and Alfonso IX of Leon, a friend of the Mussulmans, kept away. Spain was left almost alone and did not have at her disposal even all her forces. En-Nasir felt confident of victory. In an insolent manifesto addressed to the King of Aragon, he declared that, after subjugating Spain, he would go all the way to the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome and would purify it by blood.

At the approach of the day fixed upon by King Alfonso, Innocent III called upon all Christendom to unite in prayer. Two months later, July 16, 1212, the Christian army faced the army of the infidels. The Spaniards, after preparing for battle by confession and communion, confidently hurled themselves against the enemies of Christ. At first there was a moment of confusion; but a vigorous charge by Alfonso VII revived the ardor of the Christian army, which was irresistible. The rout of the infidels was general. En-Nasir escaped death only by speedy flight. On the field of battle he left more than 100,000 soldiers; the action had been so vigorously conducted that the victors lost barely a few hundred men. Europe now seemed safe from any Mussulman invasion.

This great victory had another important result. It helped to bring about unity among the five kingdoms of Spain and to

attach them to the Holy See. Like the other countries of Europe, the Spanish peninsula was disturbed by ideas of national independence. We saw, in our account of the Crusade against the Albigenses, how Peter of Aragon, the devoted friend of Innocent III, "the Pope's man" par excellence, had not hesitated to take up arms when he saw a province of his race threatened. In Castile, Alfonso's claims of autonomy were shown with regard to the Holy See and the clergy. Innocent III was on the point of striking him with ecclesiastical penalties for his encroachments on the possessions of the Church; but the prince's services to Christendom halted the excommunication with which he had been threatened. In Navarre, King Sancho had been excommunicated by the papal legate for breaking a truce, and his complacency toward the Sultan of Morocco brought down upon him severe rebuke. But his brilliant part in the battle of Navas de Tolosa won him the generous pardon of the Pope. The kingdom of Portugal, which from its origin was connected with the Holy See by ties of vassalage, had also given cause for grief to the Supreme Pontiff. Sancho I had been clearly hostile in his attitude to the Church. He infringed on the rights of the bishops and refused the Pope the annual quitrent due him. Innocent III refrained from breaking with a prince who could effectively fight the Saracens, and did nothing more than severely reprimand him. The King was grateful to the Pope for this consideration. On his deathbed he publicly repented of his faults and renewed the oath of vassalage which united his kingdom to the Apostolic See. The dynasty of Leon alone showed itself refractory to all the advances of the papacy. Alfonso IX, following two marriages contracted despite impediments of relationship, had to undergo excommunication and see his kingdom placed under interdict. He was the only Spanish ruler who did not answer Pope Innocent's appeal to fight the Mussulmans.

## The Holy See and England

England did not let anyone forget that she had received the Christian faith from monks who came directly from Rome and that the institution of Peter's pence owed its origin to three Anglo-Saxon kings, Ina of Wessex, Offa of Mercia, and Ethelwulf. But William the Conqueror had refused to take an oath which the Pope considered a corollary of the bonds attaching his kingdom to the Holy See, and the policy of Richard the Lionhearted had been full of contradictions. Advised by the powerful and capable archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, he had enacted detestable laws against the clergy. John Lackland had also two policies, but they were successive.

"John Lackland had the qualities of his race: an understanding of government and of business affairs, and that instinct of personal power, an active and restless instinct, so remarkable with Henry II and Richard the Lionhearted. But certainly his brother's vices were to be found in him, exaggerated to the degree of brutal, ignominious debauché. He differed from them by his pliant hypocrisy and a facility in effacing himself or bowing down in the presence of danger, which explain his frequent relapses and his final change."<sup>61</sup>

The first part of his reign (1199 to 1213) was marked by more and more hateful outrages, which were met by more and more severe sanctions by the pope. In 1200 he suddenly repudiated his first wife, Isabella of Gloucester, and married Isabella of Angoulême, the betrothed of the Count of the Marches. Innocent III sent him a severe admonition. In 1203, the King of England, to rid himself of the competitions of his nephew Arthur of Brittany, did not stop even at assassination; in 1205 he brought about, by order, the election of

<sup>61</sup> Luchaire, *Innocent III, les Royautés vassales*, p. 183.

his candidate John de Gray to the archbishopric of Canterbury; and he violently dispersed the monks who elected another candidate. The Pope turned to the bishops of England; three of them pronounced the interdict of the kingdom. The strife became more and more bitter. John confiscated all the landed property and revenues of the English Church. Innocent then ordered the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to pronounce the personal excommunication of the King. John subjected the monks and the secular clergy to a reign of terror. The Pope excommunicated him and called upon Philip Augustus, king of France, to prepare a landing in England.

At that moment, John Lackland, seeing his cause lost, had recourse to one of those changes of front, which his hypocrisy made easy. He completely reversed his attitude. On May 15, 1213, he resigned his crown into the hands of the papal legate, placed his state in the domain of St. Peter, and declared himself a vassal and tributary of the Holy See for his kingdoms of England and Ireland, with a quitrent of 1,000 pounds sterling. On July 20 he was solemnly relieved of the excommunication. At the same time the Pope forbade the King of France to make any attack on England. The King answered this measure of clemency by abolishing a large number of unjust decrees and by putting into force, according to the desire of the barons of his realm, the liberal laws of Henry I.

But the barons and the Pope soon perceived that the King was merely playing a hypocritical game. Instead of granting the liberties promised in the charta of King Henry, John returned to his methods of despotism. The nobles protested. An uprising took place. Overcome with fear in the presence of his barons, as he was a short time earlier before the Pope, John again repudiated his past conduct by signing (June 15, 1215) the famous document known in English history as the Magna Charta.

This important document, developed in the fifteenth century

into the Petition of Rights, in 1628 into the law of *habeas corpus*, and in 1688 into the Declaration of Rights, is regarded as the basis of English liberties. It stipulated: with regard to the nobles, that henceforth they would be freed from the restrictions placed on their fiscal rights; with regard to the clergy, that their possessions could no longer be taxed by way of fines or requisitions; with regard to the whole population, that thereafter no person could be imprisoned, deprived of his property, or put to death except by the judgment of his peers, that is, of a jury. But these provisions do not constitute the essence of the Magna Charta. It is to be found rather in the stipulation that no tax can be levied without the consent of the "Common Council of the Realm," and that the king's government will be subject to the control of twenty-five lords. "Scholarship and contemporary criticism have, in examining the Magna Charta more closely, restricted its historical significance. They no longer regard it, in the same measure as formerly, as the source of English liberties. . . . But we should not simply assimilate the revolt of 1215 with a commonplace insurrection of a group of nobles desirous of defending against a mischievous royalty the feudal law and the seignorial privileges. We cannot deny that the presence, in the coalition, of the three elements of the English social body is an indication of a national manifestation directed not only against the abuses of absolutism, but also against the regime of theocratic government which John had accepted in 1213 to escape from Philip Augustus." <sup>62</sup> Innocent III soon perceived that the Magna Charta was not a basis for an understanding; that the barons, under pretext of defending their rights, purposed weakening the power of the Holy See at the same time as that of the sovereign. On August 24, 1215, by a bull dated from Anagni, the Pope declared the Magna Charta null and void. "This Charta," he said, "forcibly extorted from the King,

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

constitutes a lack of respect toward the Apostolic See, as also a grave detriment to the royal power.”

But this papal document did not put an end to all conflict. On the one hand, John, after signing the Magna Charta, openly violated it and entered upon undisguised strife with the council of twenty-five. On the other hand, the son of the King of France (the future Louis VIII), in spite of the Pope's prohibition, got ready to land in England to take possession of the crown.

### The Holy See and France

In provoking the mobilization of the armies of the French King against the King of England, did Innocent III purpose transferring the crown of John Lackland to Philip Augustus, or did he wish merely to frighten King John into submission? Perhaps we shall never have a precise answer to this question, because, after the reconciliation, the Holy See ordered the complete destruction of the documents concerning this affair.<sup>63</sup> According to the English chronicler Wendover, the Pope, even after requesting Philip Augustus to land in England, continued to negotiate with John; this fact lends weight to the supposition that no final decision had been reached regarding the transfer of the royal dignity.

The total disappearance of the documents relative to the expedition of Philip Augustus prevents us from reaching a positive conclusion about the conflict which arose, between the King of France and Innocent III, after the latter had ordered that the French King's descent upon England be abandoned. When Philip Augustus bitterly complained of the Pope's interference in a quarrel of a temporal order, Innocent replied: “that he nowise intended to assume the right to decide in a matter of fief, since that question was subject solely to the

<sup>63</sup> For Innocent's letter to his legate Nicholas of Tusculum, ordering the destruction of these papers, see *Innocentii III regesta*, Bk. XVI, no. 132; *PL*, CCXVI, 926.

King of France, but that he claimed merely the right to pass judgment on the sin.”<sup>64</sup> By these words the Pope no doubt meant that he had competence to judge if, in such grave circumstances, a prince’s moral duty was to make a truce in any dispute. But, in 1213, the concern about the Crusade, which he desired to resume with energy, by restoring to it its real character of a religious expedition, seemed to oblige the Pope to order the suspension of all internal wars in Christendom. At least, in this obscure question, such is the hypothesis that best harmonizes the Pope’s conduct with the principles he had constantly proclaimed. This is also the interpretation reached by the Protestant historian Hurter, who says: “Innocent III strove first of all to maintain peace between two monarchs whose power could effectively contribute to the deliverance of the Holy Land.”<sup>65</sup> The death of John Lackland in 1216 and the subsequent rallying of all the barons around his son Henry ended the conflict. Prince Louis, seeing all chance of success slip from his hands, abandoned the struggle.

The King who so earnestly argued for the defense of his real or alleged rights against the Pope was neither an unbeliever nor a rebel. Philip Augustus in the course of his reign gave many testimonies of sincere faith and of true devotion to the Apostolic See. But the interests of his policy and the vehemence of his passions sometimes turned him aside from the right path. We have seen instances of this in his conduct during the Albigensian war and in the matter of his divorce from Ingeburg.

This latter affair had remained pending at the death of Celestine III. Innocent III, as soon as he was elected, hoped promptly to end the scandal given by the King of France. In a letter to the King, he says: “The Holy See cannot abandon the defense of persecuted women. . . . The royal dignity can-

<sup>64</sup> *Decretal*, Bk. I, *De judiciis*, chap. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Quoted by Gosselin, *op. cit.*, p. 566.

not place you above the duties of a Christian.”<sup>66</sup> Neither this letter nor several other letters nor the rebuke which the Pope directed his legates to transmit to Philip Augustus could overcome the King’s obstinacy. Innocent then resorted to the supreme sanction: the interdicting of the kingdom of France. This penalty was pronounced on January 14, 1200, by the papal legate Peter of Capua,<sup>67</sup> and occasioned great disturbances in the kingdom. The first bishops who carried out the censure were mistreated by the King. The Bishop of Paris and the Bishop of Senlis had their property confiscated. Even peasants were hunted out for having conformed to the orders of their ecclesiastical superiors. But Philip was soon convinced that he would not succeed, by terrorism, in imposing his wishes. On the contrary, a more and more general murmur reached him from all the districts deprived of religious services. “Saladin was blessed,” exclaimed Philip, “in not having any dealings with a pope.” For his own tranquillity he decided the safer thing would be to submit, or rather to feign submission. He promised whatever was required of him: the sending away of Agnes de Meran, the taking back of Ingeburg, the judgment of the divorce case by a council. On September 7, 1200, the interdict was lifted.<sup>68</sup>

The council which was called to decide on the main point of the case met at Soissons on March 2, 1201. Present at it were King Philip Augustus, Queen Ingeburg, King Canute of Denmark. For fourteen days the council deliberated on the validity of the King’s marriage. No doubt existed as to what their decision would be. This Philip understood quite well and he resorted to a trick. Without waiting for the publication of the decision, he spontaneously declared that he was resolved to take for his wife the daughter of the King of Denmark;

<sup>66</sup> Baluze, *Miscellanea*, I, 422; Potthast, no. 199.

<sup>67</sup> Mansi, XXII, 708; suppl., II, 777.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 722; Froidevaux, *De regiis conciliis Philippo II regnante habitis*, p. 98.



immediately he mounted horseback and, taking Ingeburg behind him, rode off from Soissons. The council was dissolved. This is all that Philip desired. No judicial decision had been reached; and at the end of a short time, he again imprisoned Ingeburg.

The death of Agnes de Meran (August, 1201) seemed to bring about a real movement of change in his feelings. Again he expressed a desire for reconciliation with Rome. The Pope, with extreme condescension, decided, so as to show his love for peace, to legitimate, at the King's request, the two children that Philip had by Agnes, on the ground that, in accord with the dissolution pronounced by the Archbishop of Reims, the King had entered a second marriage in good faith. But this concession, instead of appeasing Philip, seemed to make him more audacious in his claims. From 1202 to 1213 the condition of Ingeburg, in captivity and removed from the King, was wretched. She was refused all the usual domestic conveniences, suitable clothes and food, and even the consolations of religion. Again and again by his letters and by his legates, Innocent repeated his entreaties with the King.<sup>69</sup> Philip did not respond to these fatherly advances, but in 1210 again attempted a marriage with a daughter of the Landgrave of Thuringia. At length, in 1213, he decided to take back Ingeburg and in fact did take her back. This marriage had in the first instance been prompted by political considerations, and the same kind of considerations seemed to prompt Philip to ratify it. He was contemplating an expedition into England. For this purpose he needed the support of the Pope and the alliance of the King of Denmark. At any rate, the joy was great at Rome and in France. Ingeburg officially kept her position of queen until the death of the King her husband in 1223. She survived him by more than fifteen years, treated as queen by her son Louis VIII and by her grandson Louis IX.

<sup>69</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1305-8.

## The Holy See and Hungary

Pope Innocent's condescension toward Philip Augustus has seemed excessive to some historians. It is explained by the general policy of this Pope, who has often been represented as a fierce, uncompromising extremist, and especially by his well-founded reliance on that French nation which Philip Augustus, capable and discerning statesman that he was, had organized on solid foundations. The reign of St. Louis would soon realize those hopes.

In eastern Europe two other powers were the object of Innocent's thoughtful solicitude: Hungary and the group of Slavic peoples.

Coming into existence under the auspices of the papacy, when St. Stephen, the first king of the race of the Arpads, received the crown from the hands of Pope Sylvester II, the Kingdom of Hungary was at this time agitated by the movement of national independence which would result, in 1222, in the famous Golden Bull, the great charta of Hungarian liberties. Pope Innocent had three reasons for maintaining in Hungary and consolidating the influence of the papacy as much as possible. He wished: 1. to have it offset Germany; 2. to make it a highway for the Crusades; 3. to employ it in the conversion of the Slavs. Consequently his policy in Hungary was dominated by these two rules: clearly to affirm the rights of the Holy See, but be tolerant and liberal in their application.

When he became Pope, Innocent III found Hungary in a state of civil war. In this struggle were engaged against each other the two sons of King Bela III: Emmerich the rightful king, and his brother Andrew, an unlawful claimant. In giving the archbishop of Gran the right to crown the king, the pope was careful to add: "Saving the authority of the Holy See, on which the crown of Hungary depends." But although

Emmerich by the fickleness of his character gave the Pope many just causes for complaint, Innocent always showed himself kindly toward him. One day this King, on a futile pretext, ill treated a papal legate, placing him under military guard in his house. Innocent merely wrote to him: "Beloved son, what has become of your royal kindness and your Christian sentiments?" And, in a private and separate note, he added: "We have written you in a very mild tone so that no one, in case our letter should be intercepted, may be able to think that you have lost the Apostolic favor."<sup>70</sup> At the same time he reminded the King that "many things have taken place in his kingdom, which upon close examination ought to be corrected, such as the captivity of his brother, the elections of prelates, and many other things besides."<sup>71</sup> The taking of Zara by the army of the crusaders was, for Emmerich, the occasion of a vehement protest. Innocent succeeded in appeasing him by an excommunication issued against the Venetians and by the eagerness he showed in crowning the King's son Ladislaus, who was still a minor.

The relations between the Pope and King Andrew, who became master of the kingdom after the death of his brother Emmerich and of his nephew Ladislaus in 1205, were more delicate. Weak, irresolute, and intermittently violent, King Andrew was dominated by irreconcilable parties one after the other. The aristocracy of the magnates fought against that of the bishops; the native Magyars could not tolerate the Germans and, although at times a temporary coalition was effected between these different factions, the combination was nearly always against the King. Innocent III's intervention in the affairs of Hungary then became almost uninterrupted. It is not our purpose to enter into the details of these events.

<sup>70</sup> Hurter, *Geschichte Papst Innocenz der dritten und seines Zeitgenossen*, Bk. VIII, p. 553.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

But we can say, in a general way, that if the maintenance of the unity of Hungary during the thirteenth century can be attributed to one man, the glory belongs to Pope Innocent III.

### The Holy See and the Slavs

The group of Slavic peoples, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was appealed to by two tendencies. One inclined it to the Latin Church, the other toward the Eastern schism. Bosnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia followed the former tendency; Bulgaria, Serbia, Galicia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro yielded to the latter. Innocent III, by a prudent and firm policy, which ably profited by the circumstances, finally attached Bulgaria, Serbia, and Galicia to the Latin Church.

The leader of the Bulgarians, Johannitius, called also Calo-jan, contemplated a revival of the great empire of the tenth century, embracing almost the whole Balkan peninsula and part of Hungary. But, to attain this end, he needed religious independence from Constantinople. He turned to Rome. Innocent III, without making himself a party to the political schemes of the sovereign, profited by his favorable dispositions to send a legate to Bulgaria. This legate was Johannes de Casamaris, who reorganized the Bulgar Church and officially gave Johannitius the title of king. In return the latter acknowledged the pope's right to appoint and consecrate the upper clergy of Bulgaria and promised that his kingdom would never separate from the Holy See.

The attachment of the Serb tribes to the Church of Rome took place in similar circumstances. The supreme head, who governed them with the title of grand zhupan or grand count, was, at the close of the twelfth century, the celebrated Nemanya, whom the Serbs venerate as a saint. His deep piety made him the protector of the monks and of the clergy, but, drawn into the political orbit of Constantinople, he had not

contracted, as national chief, any diplomatic bond with the Holy See. After his death, the competition that arose between his two sons, Vouk and Stephen, led both of them to ask the support of Innocent III, who took advantage of this appeal to send legates to Serbia, where they effected an ecclesiastical reform and attached the kingdom to the Roman Church by permanent relations.

After the terrible defeat of Zawichost in 1205, in which Romanus the prince of Galicia was killed, his widow called King Andrew of Hungary to her aid to free her country from the Russian and Polish invasion. Andrew answered the appeal, proclaimed Romanus' young son Daniel king, reigned effectively under his name, and later even passed the power on to his son Coloman.

Innocent III, whose relations with King Andrew of Hungary were, as we have seen, very close, profited by this political transformation. To Galicia he sent legates, who persuaded the Galicians to abandon the Greek rites, adopt the rites of the Latin Church, and submit to the directions of Rome.

### Innocent III and Christian Civilization

In Pope Innocent's negotiations to attach a new nation to Rome, the idea of the reform of Christian and ecclesiastical morals was always a decisive motive. And it was no less preponderant in the government of the old Churches. Of the great expansion of Christian life that filled the thirteenth century with its brilliance, the great Pope did not see all the fruits, but he sowed nearly all the seeds of it. Under his pontificate, with St. Francis and St. Dominic, the monastic life took an altogether new advance. The hierarchy of the secular clergy was more permanently regulated, the transformation of the schools into universities was effected. In that reign were trained the architects who, following his death, would plan

the great Gothic cathedrals of the thirteenth century, the painters who would adorn the Missal of St. Louis with such amazing miniatures and would conceive the plan of the Campo Santo of Pisa; it was then the prose of Villehardouin prepared the way for that of Joinville, that the verses of the troubadours and of the Minnesingers preluded the poems of Dante, and that was elaborated the science of which St. Thomas Aquinas gave the immortal synthesis. We will set forth this religious, artistic, literary, and scientific movement more properly at the moment of its apogee; but we must here relate, because they belong entirely to the pontificate of Innocent III, the origins of two religious orders with which we can connect nearly all the glories of that epoch, the order of St. Francis of Assisi and the order of St. Dominic.

### St. Francis of Assisi

The Church, in one of her liturgical prayers, praises God for giving the world the warm charity of St. Francis at a time when the world was growing cold.<sup>72</sup> In the eleventh canto of his *Paradiso*, Dante shows the saint of Assisi rising like a sun over the Umbrian mountains, to give light and warmth to the earth.<sup>73</sup> These metaphors are no exaggerations. They represent the deep impression made on thirteenth century society, at the time when Provençal troubadours and Venetian merchants seemed to be leading it toward a life of pleasure and opulence, by the radiating appearance in its midst of him whom Bossuet calls "the most enraptured, the most ardent, and, if we may say so, the most reckless lover of poverty the Church ever had."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Domine Jesu Christe qui, frigescente mundo, in carne beatissimi Francisci passionis tue sacra stigmata renovasti* (collect of the feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis, September 17).

<sup>73</sup> Dante, *Paradiso*, canto 11, verses 43 f.

<sup>74</sup> Bossuet, *Œuvres oratoires* (Lebarq-Levesque ed.), I, 202.

He was born in 1182, in that fertile, beautiful land of Umbria, which has justly been called the Eden of the Italian peninsula. The son of a rich merchant of Assisi, Pietro Bernardone, he grew up in the midst of that abundance of the good things of this world which is the lot of the wealthy. This youth of attractive presence, of refined and vivacious spirit, held the scepter of elegance amid a society of young people who divided their time between the sport of knightly tournaments and the delicate pleasures of the *gai savoir* <sup>75</sup> of the troubadours. But, one day in February, 1209, while Pope Innocent III was still lamenting the scandalous spectacle of the Fourth Crusade, in which the demon of wealth and ambition had so completely diverted the armed knights from their avowed purpose of delivering the tomb of Christ, the young son of the rich merchant of Assisi heard at mass these words of the Savior: "Do not possess gold nor silver nor money in your purses: nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats nor shoes nor a staff." At once he felt himself inwardly transformed. Going out from the church, he threw away, with a sort of horror, his purse, his cane, his shoes. He put on the dress of the poorest inhabitants of the Apennines, the tunic of heavy gray material, with a rope as a cincture. Radiant with joy, to all comers along the highways and in the village squares, he preached evangelical perfection, penance, and peace. <sup>76</sup>

Other men, in other places, under the name of Cathari, Waldenses, Albigenses, Poor Men of Lyons, had also made profession of penance and poverty, but in a tone of bitterness and vexation, cursing the rich, disobeying the Pope, stirring up the people, at times scandalizing them by surprising contrasts between their doctrine and their life. Francis had only words of peace and joy. He believed that wealth would

<sup>75</sup> Jorgensen, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, chap. 2.

<sup>76</sup> Celano, *Vita prima*, Vol. I, chap. 11.

be sufficiently blamed by the glorification of poverty, by his cherishing it and having it cherished around him as a spouse. He loved all men as his brothers, and nature itself was his friend. He sang about "his brother the sun and his sister the moon," the wind, the air, the clouds, and every creature of God, in harmonious verses which the people repeated with enchanted delight.<sup>77</sup> But, when the name of the Savior Jesus came to his lips, his voice changed, according to St. Bonaventure's expression, as though he were listening to an interior melody the notes of which he wished to recover.

At the end of the year 1209, twelve companions had gathered about Francis of Assisi. At the very outset the little community had no common exercises, no ecclesiastical office, none of those things which, properly speaking, constitute a religious order. Each one freely followed the promptings of his own piety. Very early, however, Francis drew up, for the use of the humble society, a simple and short rule, which, about 1209 or 1210, he had approved by Pope Innocent III. This rule underwent frequent alterations at the chapters which the holy founder assembled every year; in 1221 it was supplanted by a more complete and more precise legislation. The distinctive traits of this rule were the spirit of poverty and the spirit of humility. Poverty must be absolute among Francis' disciples, both for the community and for the individuals composing it, and these could accept no money whether directly or through intermediaries.<sup>78</sup>

We are told that Innocent III, when Francis set forth his ideas on this point, said to him: "The kind of life you propose seems to me very hard." In fact, it was in connection with the practice of poverty that arose the controversies which brought about divisions and occasioned reforms in the order. The spirit

<sup>77</sup> *The Canticle of the Sun* or *The Hymn of the Creatures* was well conceived by St. Francis in his native tongue. On this point see Jorgensen, *op. cit.*, Introd.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *Expositio Regulae Fratrum Minorum*, 1912; Holzapfel, *Handbuch des Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*.



of humility was also the subject of the saint's most insistent recommendations. "One day," writes Thomas of Celano, "while the rule was being read, upon hearing these words contained in it: *Et sint minores, et subditi omnibus*, Francis said: 'I wish this brotherhood to be henceforth called the Order of Friars Minor.' " <sup>79</sup> In 1212 a noble young woman of the city of Assisi, Clare, soon followed by a few companions, placed herself under Francis' direction, and the Order of Poor Clares was founded. Later, in 1219, a Third Order was established for those who are unable to leave the world.

No one can easily picture the joyous, naive, overflowing enthusiasm with which the son of Pietro Bernadone filled the souls of his disciples, and which they spread among the people wherever they passed, preaching penance and love of God. Says Thomas of Celano: "Men and women hastened to hear him. Even the monks came down from the monasteries in the mountains. The most highly cultured literary men were in admiration. You would have said that a new light was shining from heaven on the earth." <sup>80</sup>

This influence increased when people learned of the welcome which Pope Innocent III gave at Rome to the little band of Friars Minor, who had come to Rome to ask his blessing. "Indeed," exclaimed the Pontiff as he looked at the Poor Man of Assisi, <sup>81</sup> "this is the man who is called to sustain and repair the Church of God." In explanation of these words, the

<sup>79</sup> The life of St. Francis by Thomas of Celano is the earliest and the most authentic of the sources for the history of the origin of the Friars Minor. A first biography, the *Legenda prima*, was written immediately after the saint's canonization. A second composition by the same author, the *Legenda secunda*, appeared a few years later, about 1246. For the writing of this second work, Thomas of Celano had in his hands documents gathered by order of the general and also writings by the companions of the saint. Among other historical sources, should be mentioned the legend of the *Tres Socii*, the *Speculum perfectionis*, and the *Legenda minor* of St. Bonaventure.

<sup>80</sup> *Videbatur quaedam nova lux e coelo missa in terris* (Celano, p. 31).

<sup>81</sup> "The Poor Man": in Italian, *Il Poverello*, a title commonly given to St. Francis.

Pope related that, shortly before, after a day in which the misfortunes of the Church had filled him with anxiety, he had seen during his sleep, a beggar holding up the Lateran Basilica, which was tottering on its foundation and seemed ready to fall.<sup>82</sup>

Of the influence exercised by Francis of Assisi in those first years, we have two authentic monuments. One is a communal charta, signed (November, 1210) unanimously by the citizens of Assisi. A breath of peace and supernatural charity inspires this charta, in which, between the *majores* and the *minores* of the city are contracted reciprocal engagements of Christian fraternity and of cooperation, in which liberty is offered to all the serfs on very mild conditions, in which guaranties are given against despotic action by the magistrates. Although the name of Francis does not occur in the document, all historians attribute its inspiration to the apostle of Assisi.<sup>83</sup> A second monument, contemporary with the first, leaves no doubt about Francis' influence over his native city at that period. On a stone in the apse of St. Mary Major's Church we read these simple words, dated 1216: "In the time of Bishop Guido and Brother Francis. . . ." The Poor Man of Assisi and the Bishop are named together as the official personages of the commune.<sup>84</sup>

But to collaborate in the work of preaching the Gospel and of spreading peace among the people, which the papacy of that time had undertaken; to fight the Manichæan heresy by taking from it all its pretexts; to purify the ideal of the clerical and monastic life by the practice of poverty, humility, and charity: all this was not enough for the zeal of the new

<sup>82</sup> Le Monnier, *Hist. de S. François d'Assise*, I, 155. Probably this was the occasion when the diaconate was conferred on St. Francis, at the same time that his companions received tonsure. (*Op. cit.*, p. 156.)

<sup>83</sup> Cristofani, *Delle storie d'Assisi*, Bk. II, p. 130.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* Cristofani had read the date 1210. Faloci has shown that we should read 1216.

apostle. He wished to take part in the Church's works of conquest in the East, to labor for the conversion of the Saracens and to die there, if it so pleased God, there where Christ died for us. In a certain way God answered his prayer. Although it was not granted to Francis to preach the Gospel in the Holy Land,<sup>85</sup> his sons would take a place of honor there. Although he did not have the joy of undergoing death for his God, yet, for the two last years of his earthly life, which were a veritable martyrdom for him, he was marked in his flesh with the painful stigmata of Christ.

In the admirable triplets where the author of the *Divine Comedy* sums up the life of St. Francis of Assisi, he does not separate the founder of the Friars Minor from the founder of the Friars Preachers.

. . . one, seraphic all  
In fervency; for wisdom upon earth  
The other, splendor of cherubic light.<sup>86</sup>

### The Friars Preachers

In these three verses the poet sets down the special characteristic of their two holy founders, and also of their religious families. We have seen Dominic's part in the strife against the Albigensian heresy. He, too, understood that his work could be carried on in a durable manner only by the formation of a society. But his viewpoint in organizing and developing it was that of preaching and teaching. One of the fundamental articles of his rule recommends unceasing application to study. "Let the brethren show themselves applied to study. Day and night, in their residence as also on journeys, let them be unceasingly occupied with reading or meditat-

<sup>85</sup> Did St. Francis visit Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jerusalem? On this point, see Jorgensen, *op. cit.*, Bk. III, chap. 2.

<sup>86</sup> Dante, *Paradiso*, canto 11, verses 37 ff.

ing.”<sup>87</sup> On November 17, 1206, Innocent III had established, in favor of Dominic and for the first time in the Middle Ages, the regime of apostolic preachers, and thus constituted the Order of Preachers under its primitive form.<sup>88</sup> On December 22, 1216, Honorius III gave the new foundation its solemn confirmation, by adding to the canonical life of the order the apostolic and doctrinal mission.<sup>89</sup> The preachers thus became the first order, in the Middle Ages, that placed study at the basis of its constitution. The Dominican conventual foundation was eventually a school. They were not permitted to establish a house of the order without a doctor to teach the monks and secular clergy, who were to have free access there.<sup>90</sup>

Francis of Assisi set up his work in opposition to the false mysticism; Dominic Guzman set up his in opposition to false learning. This latter danger was as formidable as the other. Since the time of Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée, an intellectual fever was agitating men’s minds. The monastic and episcopal schools were numerous, but they lacked stability and organization. They sprang up or disappeared, according as they were in possession of a teacher or were without one. The fact of an uninterrupted succession, as at Chartres, is probably exceptional. Under these conditions, odd, venturesome opinions more easily had free play.

Among these opinions we must mention the doctrine of the celebrated Joachim of Flora, abbot of the monastery of that name in Calabria. This doctrine divided the history of the world into three ages, subject to the separate action of each of the three divine Persons: the age of the Father, beginning with creation; the age of the Son, finally established by the redemption; and the age of the Holy Ghost, beginning in the

<sup>87</sup> *First constit.*, dist. I, chap. 13.

<sup>88</sup> Potthast, no. 2912.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 5402 f. Cf. B. M. Reichert, *Monumenta ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*.

<sup>90</sup> Mandonnet, art. “Frères précheurs” in Vacant’s *Dict. de théol.*, VI, 865.

thirteenth century. Beside separating the action of the divine Persons in history, Joachim, in this point a disciple of Gilbert de la Porrée, also separated them in dogma. He enjoyed notable repute among the great, among popes and princes; the people venerated him as a prophet; and his writings indicate a keen mind and a deep interior life. But an over-enthusiastic imagination and a passion ill adapted for study were the two danger points of his thought. In 1183 he obtained from Pope Lucius III a dispensation from several observances of his rule so as to devote himself more fully to study; Clement III, for the same purpose, allowed him to resign his office of abbot. During his life, but especially after his death, his fancies about the approaching revelation of the Holy Ghost misled many imaginations. They would be exploited by the Spirituals and the Fratricelli of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Starting out from a different principle, a doctor of Chartres and professor at Paris, Amalric of Bena by name, reached almost identical results. He taught a sort of pantheism intermingled with theosophic rationalism. All that is, is One; God is immanent in all things, for the being of all things is based on the divine being. Thus humanity is deified, and every man is an apparition of the Divinity just as Christ was. The Scripture texts that refer to the Divinity may be literally applied to each one of us. . . . His deification theory was put into practice by the heretics, who publicly preached to the crowds that man, being a member of God, cannot sin, and that after a few years (about 1210) every man would be the Holy Ghost.<sup>91</sup>

Joachim's tritheism and Amalric's pantheism had to be condemned by the council of 1215 at the same time as the ditheism of the Albigenses.

<sup>91</sup> De Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, § 208, p. 220.

### The Trinitarians

Mysticism and intellectual culture were not the only movements that were in danger of deviation at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The great inspiration of the Crusades, so pure at the outset, had frequently ended in scenes of disorder and scandal. Two men, John of Matha and Felix of Valois, the one born in a little town of Provence, called Faucon, of a noble family, the other a native of that part of Île-de-France which bears his name, resolved, by a divine inspiration, to found a religious order that would go to the infidel countries, there to give the example of a simple, austere, and devoted life. The more special aim of the order was to practice the works of mercy, in particular to ransom the captives and bring them back to their homeland. The new institute, placed under the title of the Holy Trinity, was solemnly approved by Pope Innocent III.<sup>92</sup> A white woolen tunic, ornamented with a red and blue cross, was the costume adopted by the new religious, who, in the middle of the thirteenth century, counted more than six hundred houses, divided into thirteen provinces. The number of the captives ransomed by them was incalculable. But their zeal did not confine itself to this mission. They devoted themselves to preaching in Christian countries, combatted the heretics, and practiced every kind of good works.<sup>93</sup>

### Fourth Lateran Council

Without failing to note the effectiveness of all these separate efforts, Innocent III, for the realization of the plan of his pontificate, counted especially on a great collective effort, by

<sup>92</sup> Potthast, no. 483.

<sup>93</sup> The Trinitarians established themselves at Paris in the property where a chapel of St. Mathurin stood. Hence the name of Mathurins which was given them.

the meeting of an ecumenical council. On April 19, 1213, in a letter to the episcopate of the West and East, he said: "Two things lie particularly near my heart: the regaining of the Holy Land and the reform of the whole Church. Attention to both can hardly be delayed any longer without grave danger. . . . I have decided after the manner of the ancient fathers to convoke a general council, by means of which evils may be uprooted, virtues implanted, mistakes corrected, morals reformed, heresies extirpated, the faith strengthened, disputes adjusted, peace established, liberty protected, Christian princes and people induced to aid the Holy Land, and salutary decrees enacted for the higher and lower clergy."<sup>94</sup> The assembly was not to meet until two years later; the date set for its opening was September 1, 1215. The Pope used the interval in the preparation of its labors.

The council began its sessions November 11, 1215. The gathering was enormous. More than four hundred dioceses of the West and East were represented.<sup>95</sup> In addition, there were present more than eight hundred abbots, procurators of many others, the ambassadors of the emperors of Germany and Constantinople, of the kings of France, England, Spain, and all the Christian states.

This council was the twelfth ecumenical and the fourth of the Lateran. Of its proceedings we possess seventy canons, which for the most part were inserted in the *Corpus juris*. No new dogma was promulgated at it, but the disciplinary decrees enacted form the basis of the modern discipline.

Its first business was to issue a solemn condemnation of the three main errors of the Albigenses, of Joachim of Flora, and of Amalric of Bena. The council declared that heaven and earth are ruled, not by two principles, one a principle of good.

<sup>94</sup> Mansi, XXII, 903; supplement, II, 861. (Cf. Schroeder, *The Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*. Tr.)

<sup>95</sup> For the list of these dioceses, see the *Journal des savants*, October, 1905, pp. 557 f.

the other a principle of evil, as was said by the heretics of Albi, nor by three divine Beings dividing among themselves the ages of the world, as taught by the Abbot of Flora, nor by a God confounded with the world, as was maintained by the doctor of Chartres, but by a superior, incomprehensible Trinity, at one and the same time Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.<sup>96</sup> The fathers of the council then repeated explicitly the decrees of the Council of Verona relative to the searching out of heretics and their punishment.<sup>97</sup>

The second care of the council was to define and strongly establish the various degrees of the hierarchical authority. Canon 5 proclaims the universal right of appeal to the pope and establishes the following order among the four patriarchal sees: after Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The patriarchs of these last four sees can give the pallium to their suffragans, but they themselves must receive it from the pope. Canons 6 and 7 define the rights and duties of metropolitans, of provincial councils, of bishops, and of chapters.

The organization and functioning of ecclesiastical justice received special attention on the part of the reform council. The questions of judicial order and of procedure were familiar to Innocent III, who was an accomplished jurist. Canon 8, on trials in ecclesiastical courts, was destined to become the basis of the criminal procedure, even before the secular courts. It defended the accused against the arbitrary acts of the judge. It decided that the proceedings should be written, and that the accused should never be cited before a judge too far away. In short, the arraignment procedure, already battered by several of the decretals, finally disappeared and was replaced by the inquiry procedure, *per inquisitionem*.

<sup>96</sup> "We believe and confess with Peter (Lombard) that there is one supreme entity, incomprehensible and ineffable, which is truly Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, together (*simul*) three persons." (Cf. Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 240. Tr.)

<sup>97</sup> Canon 3.



The Pope wished not only greater justice but also greater light to enter the clerical world. The schools of theology, instead of being opened arbitrarily or according to the chance of circumstances, were given a hierarchical order and were really placed under control. Canon 11 decreed that "not only in every cathedral church but also in other churches where means are sufficient, a competent master be appointed . . . who shall instruct *gratis* and to the best of his ability the clerics of those and other churches." Canon 27 declares that, "if in the future bishops presume to ordain ignorant and unformed men, . . . we decree that both those ordaining and those ordained be subject to severe punishment."

Passing to the consideration of the faithful, the council issued various decisions regarding marriage impediments and the bans (canons 50-52), prescribed annual confession of the faithful to their own parish priest and the duty of Easter communion (canon 21),<sup>98</sup> repeated the prohibition of dueling (canon 18), provided that the people should be instructed in their duties by regular and frequent preaching (canons 11 and 27).

The last four canons refer to the Jews and the Saracens. They prescribe: "that if in the future under any pretext Jews extort from Christians oppressive and immoderate interest, the partnership of the Christians shall be denied them till they have made suitable satisfaction for their excesses. The Christians also shall be compelled by ecclesiastical censure to abstain from all commercial intercourse with them; 2. since it sometimes happens that through error Christians mingle with the women of Jews and Saracens, and Jews and Saracens mingle with those of the Christians; therefore that such ruin-

<sup>98</sup> The famous canon is worded as follows: "All the faithful of both sexes shall after they have reached the age of discretion faithfully confess all their sins at least once a year to their own (parish) priest and perform to the best of their ability the penance imposed, receiving reverently at least at Easter the sacrament of the Eucharist" (cf. Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 259. Tr.).

ous commingling through error of this kind may not serve as a refuge for further excuse for excesses, we decree that such people of both sexes (that is, Jews and Saracens) in every Christian province and at all times be distinguished in public from other people by a difference of dress; 3. that Jews are not to be given public offices; 4. that baptized Jews, having given themselves of their own free will to the Christian religion, must abandon all their former rites.”

The decree about a new Crusade is the last document of the council. It fixed the date for the departure of the expedition for the year 1217 and, for this purpose, prescribed a universal peace throughout Christendom.

Innocent III did not see his great plan carried out. In July, 1216, as he was on his way to Upper Italy to settle a difference there between Pisa and Genoa and to make preparations for the Crusade, he was stricken with fever and died at Perugia, July 16, almost suddenly, in his fifty-sixth year, the nineteenth of his pontificate.

We can form a sound judgment of this great Pope's work only by considering it as a whole and by considering it in its circumstances. Some persons have been shocked at seeing Innocent III subject to himself, as vassals, princes and kings, speak to them at times as an army chief would address his captains. But we should not forget that those princes and kings, if they had not gravitated into the orbit of the papacy, would have been drawn, to the great harm of Christendom, into the orbit of the German Empire or that of the Empire of Constantinople; that vassalage was then the normal means of assuring oneself of a permanent authority over the peoples,<sup>99</sup> and that the hegemony of the Holy See appeared, at that precise moment of history, necessary for the triumph of Christian morality and of true civilization. We may add that often the

<sup>99</sup> But France showed herself devoted to the Holy See without ever contracting any bond of vassalage to it.

bond of vassalage to the Holy See was desired by the princes themselves; that they regarded it less as a sign of a yoke than the guaranty of a protection. They even sought to shelter under this vassalage their usurpations or their unjust conquests: so great was the moral authority of the papacy at that time, reaching out to whatever it took under its protection.<sup>100</sup> As we have already noted, Innocent III knew how to moderate the rigor of his government by an unusual spirit of gentle kindness, and in him the justice of the suzerain nearly always effaced itself before the charity of the shepherd and father.

<sup>100</sup> See Duchesne and Fabre, *Liber censuum de l'Eglise romaine*.

## CHAPTER XI

### *From Innocent III to Alexander IV (1216-1254)*

WHEN, at the Lateran Council, Pope Innocent III organized the forces of Christendom to hurl them all together against the infidels, one thought in particular gave him confidence for the future. He who shared with him the government of the Western world, the Emperor, seemed to him fully won to his cause. Never, since St. Henry, had a German prince given such pledges of fidelity to the Church. The ward of Innocent III, raised by him to the royal power of the Two Sicilies, then to the imperial dignity, Frederick II appeared no less devoted to the Pontiff's principles than to his person. But the future was preparing some bitter deceptions for Innocent's successors.

The former protégé of the Holy See became its most terrible foe. In him were united, mutually supporting each other, the most ambitious political hopes of his predecessors and the most daring philosophical speculations of his contemporaries. With him the imperial idea was erected into a complete system of antichristian civilization. Calling everything into question in the realm of ideas, even the dogmas of the Church and the divinity of Christ; undermining everything in the order of institutions, with the exception of his divine right, which he exalted even to the point of regarding himself as an emanation of the Holy Ghost, he waged merciless war on priests and monks, he unceasingly thwarted the policy of the Holy See, he even made an alliance with the Saracens, who he considered were closer to his ideal of civilization; and, to attain his end, he regarded all and any means as good, especially

trickery and perfidy, until he was unmasked by Gregory IX and finally crushed by Innocent IV.

### Pope Honorius III

On July 18, 1216, three days after Innocent III's death, the cardinal-priest Cencius Savelli was elected pope under the name of Honorius III. He was an aged man reputed for his knowledge of affairs and for the urbanity of his character. To him we owe the *Liber censuum*, in which are listed and described the patrimonial possessions and the tax incomes of the Roman Church.<sup>1</sup> Pope Innocent III, who esteemed him highly, had made him familiar with his projects, and he was known to have nothing more at heart than to bring about the triumph of the ideas of the great deceased Pontiff. These ideas we find clearly expressed in the decisions of the last great council. They may be summed up in three points: to extirpate heresy, to reform morals, and to resume the Crusade. Such was the program which Honorius intended to carry out when he accepted the office of governing the Church. But he was not long in seeing that this program could not be realized so long as Italy was not completely freed from the imperial domination. The realization of this fourth part of the papal program encountered formidable obstacles.

All those obstacles came from Emperor Frederick. The mildness, loyalty, and peacefulness of the new head of the Church were matched by the baseness, hypocrisy, and quarrelsomeness of the new head of the Empire. Born in Italy, and being partly of German blood and partly of Norman, Frederick II combined in himself a surprising mixture of brilliant qualities and coarse vices. His intellectual culture placed him far above his nation; his valor in war and his skill in council raised him to the level of his grandfather Barbarossa; but no one perhaps

<sup>1</sup> See Duchesne and Fabre, *Liber censuum Ecclesiae romanae*.

ever equaled him in shameless dishonesty and perjury. In the whole line of the emperors he is the only one whom Dante, that passionate admirer of the Empire, felt constrained to consign to the tortures of his *Inferno*.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the life of Innocent III he had protested his attachment to the Church and to the Holy See; but in reality he felt himself humiliated at being a vassal of the papacy for Sicily and, like Henry V and Barbarossa, he was contemplating encircling the papal domain with imperial possessions. Only let the Church permit him little by little to realize this scheme, and he would promise everything, even to become the champion of the canons of the council, to fight heresy, to labor for the reform of the Church, and to march at the head of the Crusade. In these conditions, to ask the abandonment of Sicily from the son of the German Emperor Henry VI and the Sicilian Princess Constance, was to encounter invincible resistance. The kind and gentle Pontiff would meet with failure.

Frederick neglected nothing to deceive the Pope about his real dispositions. He not only renewed his vow to set out for the Crusade, but he succeeded in having the Pope pronounce excommunication against the princes who would put off their departure under various pretexts. The tenants of Countess Matilda's domain were relieved of their obligations to the Empire. He confirmed the pope's rights over the Duchy of Spoleto and the March of Ancona, recognized all the liberties of the Church, pursued the heretics, placed under the ban of the Empire all whom the Pope had excommunicated for attacking his rights or possessions, and promulgated a perpetual peace in favor of the country people. True, he did interfere in Lombardy and tried to have acknowledged as German Emperor his son Henry, who had already been crowned king of Sicily; that is, he attempted to constrict the papal domain on the north and on the south. But he pretended that his inter-

<sup>2</sup> Dante, *Inferno*, canto 10, verse 120: "Within is Frederick, second of that name."

vention in Lombardy had no purpose except to nullify certain laws passed by the communes against the liberty of the Church. As to his son Henry's election to the imperial office, it had taken place, said Frederick, unexpectedly, during his absence, and he protested that he would not give his assent to it except with the approbation of the head of Christendom. Could the Pope mistrust so devoted and submissive a collaborator? To quiet the Pope's least scruples of conscience, Frederick II declared that in any event Sicily and Germany would be separately administered. Thus would be avoided even the appearance of any threat of encroachment of the state upon the domain of the Church.

If the thought of any hypocrisy on Frederick's part came to the mind of Honorius III, such a hypothesis doubtless seemed to him in this case too revolting to be true. The peaceful Pontiff (September 22, 1220) conferred the imperial crown on Frederick II, who with great spirit took the cross from the hands of Cardinal Ugolino bishop of Ostia and again swore that he would set out for the Holy Land during the summer of 1221.

The faithless Emperor had obtained all that his ambition desired: the obtaining of his authority over northern Italy and over the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the confirmation of his imperial dignity. After that he took no account of his oaths and promises. Honorius, eager to see the expedition to the Holy Land really get started, in vain implored him to set out, and threatened him with the censures of the Church. Frederick alleged urgent necessities, unforeseen hindrances; he repeated his promises, but never fulfilled them. In 1222 his marriage, it was his second marriage, to Princess Isabella, only daughter of John of Brienne and sole heir of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, seemed to pledge him to participation in the holy war. But, in fact, it did nothing of the sort. Frederick took the title of king of Jerusalem and made use of it to

place further obstacles in the way of the Crusade. "A delay is necessary," he pretended, "so as to make the campaign in a sure manner." Meanwhile he oppressed the Sicilians, molested the Lombards, treated the Pope's subjects as though they were his own, and even founded, at Lucera north of Naples, a colony of Sicilian Mohammedans, who terrorized the Christians of the vicinity.

Honorius, who was then absorbed in weighty cares of administration and reform, hesitated to adopt rigorous measures against the formidable sovereign. About the end of 1226, however, he was on the point of resorting to them. The Lombard communes, weary of the imperial yoke, had formed a new league for the defense of their independence. Frederick saw the blow that menaced him; a papal excommunication at that moment might raise the south of Italy against him, might detach several Christian nations from the Empire, and might encourage rebellions in Germany. He resorted to effrontery and trickery. Suddenly revoking the violent measures which he had taken in Lombardy, recalling the bishops he had driven out, he humbly begged the head of the Church to act as arbitrator in his conflict with the Lombards. The Lombards accepted the plan of arbitration. Honorius, in his decision, tried to make the events contribute to the success of the Crusade which he had so much at heart. After repairing the injustices committed on both sides, the Emperor and the Lombards were to go together to fight the Saracens of the Holy Land. At the same time the Pope by his legates strove to arouse public opinion in Germany and in Hungary. But death overtook him (March 18, 1227) before anything was undertaken in Palestine.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Hergenröther-Kirsch, *Kirchengeschichte*, Bk. II, Part III, chap. 1. On Honorius III, see Potthast, nos. 5317-7862; *Liber pontif.*, II, 453; Pressuti, *Regesta Honorii papae III*; Watterich, *Pontif. roman. vitae*, I, 71-84; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici II*, I, 503 ff.; Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1409-66.



## Pope Gregory IX

The peaceful kindliness of Honorius III had been powerless to disarm the aggressive ambition of Frederick II. After the Pontiff's death, the cardinals unanimously chose a prelate whose energetic and militant character was known to all, the cardinal-bishop of Ostia, Ugolino. He was almost eighty years old; but his advanced age had not lessened the tireless activity and the manly courage which he had shown under the preceding popes in important missions. He belonged to the noble family of the Segni and was related to Innocent III. He promised to defend and continue the work of that Pontiff with the fearlessness of a Gregory VII. The name of Gregory IX, which he took, seemed to be a program. Like Hildebrand, he had always sought his strongest support among the monks. Successfully he resisted his terrible adversary Frederick II in an almost ceaseless struggle, simultaneously carried on in the East and in the West. Besides this he displayed, in theological, canonical, and disciplinary matters, an organizing activity that made his reign one of the important stages in the intellectual movement of the Middle Ages.

A treaty between Honorius III and Frederick II fixed the month of August, 1227, as the date for the Emperor's departure for the Crusade. "In the first letter which he wrote to the sovereign, the new Pope enjoined upon him that he fulfil his vow without delay.<sup>4</sup> A second letter (June 8, 1227) was still more pressing. On September 8, Frederick embarked. But, after his ship had gone only a few miles, he turned back under the pretext of sickness. Then (September 29) at Anagni the Pope launched the excommunication against him. The quarrel of the priesthood and the Empire began again: Frederick transported it to the East."<sup>5</sup> He set out again the next year

<sup>4</sup> Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, III, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, p. 200.

(June 28, 1228), but at the head of a fleet of fifty ships which scarcely presented the aspect of a religious expedition. The Saracens of Lucera were in it, mingled with the knights of Germany. "Frederick II's Crusade was a purely political expedition. Heir to the traditions of his father Henry VI, he resolved to claim for the imperial authority the Christian states of the East, which until then had been regarded as a conquest of the Church. Imbued with the new political doctrines that were a consequence of the revival of the studies in Roman law, it was with the Caesars of ancient Rome that, far beyond Otto and Charlemagne, he connected the roots of his power. Therefore he regarded as his absolute right the exercise of sovereignty over the East as well as over the West, over the Church as well as over the state." <sup>6</sup>

Boldness and cunning, abetted by a singular coincidence of circumstances, at first seemed to assure full success to this policy. The recent death of Empress Isabella, by handing down to her young son Conrad his eventual rights to the crown of Jerusalem, created for Frederick II a title, or at least a pretext, to intervene in the East for the purpose of protecting the prince's rights there. And so the Emperor everywhere spoke and acted as master. At Cyprus, where the young King Henry reigned, under the regency of his mother Alix of Champagne, the Emperor assumed the suzerainty of the kingdom and the guardianship of the young sovereign. A few barons resisted. An army landed on the island and seized it in the Emperor's name.

Upon his arrival in Palestine, Frederick's situation appeared at first to be very critical. He was excommunicated. The grand masters of the Temple and of the Hospitallers refused to hold communication with him; the Franciscans and the Dominicans preached against him; many of the crusaders returned to Europe. But the circumstances favored him; or rather his

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

unscrupulous conscience let him utilize, for the benefit of his policy, a conflict that had just broken out between the sultan of Egypt, Melek-el-Khamil, and the Prince of Damascus. By agreeing to fight the latter, by promising to prevent the Western princes from attacking Egypt, and by guaranteeing to the Mussulmans the free exercise of their worship and the ownership of the Mosque of Omar, he obtained from the Sultan the restitution of Jerusalem, of Bethlehem, and of Nazareth, with the highways and villages that connected those cities with St. John of Acre. This was the purpose of the treaty signed at Jaffa on February 4, 1229. On March 17 Frederick II made his solemn entry into the Holy City, wearing the imperial mantle and followed by his knights. The only further thing he needed was reconciliation with the Pope. This he accomplished by swearing to have his troops evacuate the States of the Church, to restore to all clerics and laymen what had been confiscated from them on account of their attachment to the Church, to return to their sees and office all the exiled bishops. The agreements were subscribed to by him (July 23, 1230) at San Germano; and the Pope, after receiving satisfaction on all the points which had prompted the excommunication of the Emperor, reconciled him with the Church on August 28.<sup>7</sup>

But Gregory IX was always distrustful of his precarious and equivocal success. Frederick's attitude in the East was unfriendly to the Latin Empire. He aided neither his father-in-law John of Brienne nor his brother-in-law Baldwin II. A coalition was formed against him and, in 1243, the High Court of Jerusalem, on the alleged ground that Prince Conrad, Frederick's son, had come of age, declared Frederick removed from the regency and entrusted the government of Jerusalem to the Queen of Cyprus, Alix of Champagne, as the closest relative of Isabella of Brienne, then to her son, Henry of Lusignan, king

<sup>7</sup> *M. G.*, SS., XIX, 362; *Leges*, sec. IV, Vol. II, pp. 170-83.

of Cyprus. Furthermore, the latter's powers did not last long, because a fresh disaster soon removed the Holy City from the domination of the Christians.

### The Crusade in Spain

To fight the infidel, Providence had prepared other succors for the Church. While the German Emperor was upsetting the world on the pretext of delivering the tomb of Christ, St. Ferdinand and his Spaniards, St. Louis and his French, St. Francis of Assisi and his Friars Minor, were accomplishing, with less gorgeous show, more useful works.

The victory at Navas de Tolosa (July 16, 1212) had arrested the impetus of the Mussulman invasion in Spain, but had not removed every danger. The four military orders of Avis, of St. James, of Alcantara, and of Calatrava, would continue to form in the peninsula a sort of living rampart, holding back the flood of the Almohades Mussulmans.<sup>8</sup> King Ferdinand III's coming to the throne of Castile (August 31, 1217) gave a fresh security to Spain and to the Church. The new sovereign was barely nineteen years old. But his serious, strong character, his open intelligence, and especially his deep faith promised his people an era of justice and prosperity. That promise was kept. He started out from the principle that the first condition of a powerful outward action for a state is an internal organization solidly established on the observance of justice between men and on respect for the rights of God. So he first strove to ameliorate the legislation, undertaking that recasting of the Visigoth code which his son

<sup>8</sup> The Almohades (from the Arab *al monahedya*) were a sect and dynasty of Moorish princes, so named because they claimed to be the only ones who acknowledged the unity of God. After 1120 in Morocco, then in the regency of Algeria and on the southern coast of Spain, they supplanted the Almoravides (from the Arab *al morabeth*), so called because they considered themselves the most religious of their race.

Alfonso X completed and published under the name of *El Setenario*.<sup>9</sup> He also watched over the exact application, without passion or weakness, of the laws which he strove to revive. He himself, wherever he passed, was pleased to hear and settle disputes, gladly taking the side of the poor and the lowly. "I have more dread," he said, "of the curses of a poor woman than of all the armies of the Moors."<sup>10</sup>

In 1229 Pope Gregory IX commissioned his legate John of Abbeville, bishop of Sabina, to arouse in Spain a crusade against the domination of the Mussulmans. Ferdinand III was the first ruler to answer this appeal. While James I of Aragon was taking Majorca and Valencia, the King of Castile, who had become also King of Leon through the death of his father Alfonso IX in 1230, took by assault the fortresses of Cordova, Seville, and Cadiz. At his death in 1252 the Moors were in possession, in the Spanish peninsula, only of the city of Granada, and the great King, who wore a haircloth shirt, who passed in prayer the whole night preceding a clash of arms, and who exclaimed: "Lord, you are my witness that I seek only the development of faith in you and not perishable conquests,"<sup>11</sup> left to Spain and the Church the example of a saint.

### France and the Crusades

When Gregory IX stirred up Spain against the yoke of the Saracens, King Ferdinand III's aunt, Blanche of Castile, was governing France as the guardian of her son Louis IX. Brought to France in 1200 at the age of twelve, she there gave the example of a pious and austere life. Her regency revealed in her also a virile energy, an absolute devotion to the cause of the Church. To her has been attributed the inspiration of

<sup>9</sup> Laurentie, *Saint Ferdinand III*, p. 47.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

the Crusade which Thibaut IV de Champagne, the knight-poet, led to the Holy Land in 1239 and 1240. The Church should venerate in her especially the admirable mother who trained St. Louis. Of her personal life we know particularly what her son was pleased to relate. She had told him often that she would prefer to see him dead than to have him guilty of a mortal sin. These words deeply impressed the young prince and inspired his whole life.

When he became of age in 1235, Louis IX found himself, thanks to his mother, not merely sovereign of a comparatively tranquil kingdom, but profoundly penetrated with the duties of a Christian king. The saintly King already had, no doubt, in his features and in his bearing, that noble beauty which later prompted Joinville, in his account of the battle of Mansurah, to say: "No one ever beheld so beautiful an armed man." With regard to his moral traits, another historian says: "Never did a man charged with governing men have more upright intentions. . . . He guided his steps by the light of two ideas: that of right, and that of salvation. . . . He did not think that encroachment on the rights of others, spoliation, or robbery, forbidden between individuals by morality, were lawful for reasons of state. . . . To his eyes, the blessing of peace was so great that often he consented to sacrifices to procure it for his country and his neighbors. His principle was to reconcile his foes instead of profiting by their quarrels."<sup>12</sup> "If I acted otherwise," he used to say, "I would deserve the hatred of God, who has said: Blessed are the peacemakers."

Louis IX had another reason for maintaining peace in his kingdom and between nations. In his early youth he entertained the hope of uniting all the forces of Christendom against the infidels. When he was a mere boy, nothing afflicted him so much as the account of the oppression that weighed on the Christians of Palestine. The treachery which Fred-

<sup>12</sup> Langlois in Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 37 f.

erick II manifested in his expedition to the East, was for Louis IX an occasion of great sadness. William of Nangis tells that in 1237, when the Emperor of Germany expressed a desire to confer at Vaucouleurs<sup>13</sup> with the kings of England and France about the interests of Christendom, the latter manifested the intention of going there with two thousand knights. The Emperor, in the presence of this mark of mistrust, alleged an illness to excuse his absence. Three years later the dangers of the Mongol invasion, the supreme appeal of Pope Gregory IX to Christendom against the new peril of the Church, deeply affected the heart of the holy King. The invaders' sudden diversion toward the Far East halted his plan to take the cross; but this idea did not leave him after that. He realized it at a later time, with a brilliance that made him the accomplished model of the knights of Christ.

Like his cousin St. Ferdinand of Castile, St. Louis could indeed say: "What I desire is not the extension of an earthly kingdom, but the spread of faith in Jesus Christ." This was the thought which then also dominated the soul of another great saint. To die for Christ while preaching his name to the infidels, on the soil sprinkled with His blood: such was the hope cherished by Francis of Assisi. In 1219, in the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, he divided the world among his disciples, reserving for himself Syria and Palestine. In the month of August he joined the army of the crusaders at Damietta. Quickly perceiving that many of these soldiers of Christ had need of the word of God, he preached it to them with results, even prompted several of them to put on the robe of a Friar Minor. But Francis had no rest until he preached the Gospel to the Mussulmans. Melek-el-Kamil the sultan of Egypt had promised a gold bezant to anyone who should bring him the head of a Christian. Francis, no doubt

<sup>13</sup> Vaucouleurs was the usual place for the conferences between France and the Empire.

under the pretext of opening preliminaries of peace in the name of the Christian army, presented himself, accompanied by a Friar Minor, before the Saracen outposts. At first the two Christians had blows heaped on them by the sentries; but by dint of shouting, "Sultan, Sultan," Francis was at length led into the presence of the Commander of the Faithful. Then, to everybody's amazement, he did propose peace to the Sultan, but by inviting him to embrace the Christian faith, setting forth its dogmas in simple form. The Sultan merely answered mildly: "Pray God, that he reveal to me the religion which is most acceptable to Him." <sup>14</sup> Then, says an old chronicle, he sent Francis away, "giving him, as also his companion, a certain sign, so that at sight of it, no one should do them any harm." <sup>15</sup>

### Emperor Frederick II

Such deeds of heroism consoled Gregory IX for the treasons and perjuries of Frederick II. And these treacheries were not limited to the East. In the spring of 1228 the Emperor, to avenge his excommunication by the Pope, had stirred up the powerful house of the Frangipani and several other great Roman houses, who were won over by gifts of money or by promises of honors. Gregory IX was obliged to leave Rome, flee to Rieti, then to Perugia.

During the summer of that same year, the Emperor, when setting out for Palestine, had left behind him, to disturb the States of the Church, a strong body of soldiers, a mixture of Germans and Saracens, who soon gave the Pope cause of

<sup>14</sup> Celano, *Vita prima*, I, 19; St. Bonaventure, *Vita S. Francisci*, IX, 8; *Acta sanctorum*, October 11.

<sup>15</sup> *Actus Beati Francisci et sociorum ejus* (ed. Sabatier), chap. 27. This sign is supposed to have been a safe-conduct, a sort of *firman*. The preference always shown by the popes in choosing a Friar Minor to represent them in negotiations with the Mussulmans, is supposed to go back to this episode.



complaint. To protect himself from these vexations, two expeditions were required. One, commanded by John de Brienne, drove the imperial forces from the States of the Church; the other expedition entered Sicily, where the subjects of the kingdom were freed from their oath of fidelity to the Emperor. The Treaty of San Germano (1230) brought six years of comparative peace.

But in 1236 war broke out again. The Emperor, on the pretext of fighting the heretics, required that the Pope serve as an instrument of his policy by excommunicating and fighting the Lombards. Instead of acceding to this demand, Gregory IX judged that the hour had come to condemn once again the crimes of the Emperor, who in addition to his public attacks upon the Holy See, the episcopate, and the religious orders, indulged in the disorders of a private life given over to the grossest debauchery. Frederick replied by letters sent to all the Christian rulers, to win them to his cause. The Pope, to avert the storm, made a final effort to start the Emperor toward the East. But a fresh knavish trick by Frederick precipitated the events. While his envoys were promising the Pope all the satisfactions required, he was invading Sardinia and was taking possession of Massa in the diocese of Lucca. The Pope (June 20, 1239) addressed an encyclical to all the Christian rulers and to all the bishops,<sup>16</sup> answering point by point the Emperor's calumnies and disclosing his scandalous impiety. Has he not been heard to say that "three impostors, Christ, Moses, and Mohammed, had led the world to its ruin"? Has he not been heard to exclaim, at sight of a priest taking the Blessed Sacrament to a sick person: "How much longer will this comedy last?"<sup>17</sup> In two letters written shortly afterward (October 21, 1239), the Pope attempted to convince the

<sup>16</sup> Potthast, no. 10,766. Of this letter, mentioned by Potthast, we possess a copy which is addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans.

<sup>17</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1590 f.

King of France of Frederick's guilt and of the necessity of fighting him.<sup>18</sup>

The position of the holy King was a delicate one. His devotion to the Holy See could not leave him indifferent to this great controversy. His own interests would have led him to take up arms against the Emperor. "Frederick always claimed to be the sovereign of all the countries located to the east of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone."<sup>19</sup> In taking Gregory IX's side, St. Louis could drive from the frontiers of France that shadow of imperial sovereignty."<sup>20</sup> But his father Louis VIII and later his mother Blanche of Castile had concluded treaties of friendly understanding with the Empire. No one carried respect for treaties so far as did King Louis IX. "He allowed bishops, according to the Pope's command, to publish the excommunication of Frederick. He let the Pope levy money on the ecclesiastics; but he himself refused to become involved and, in the name of his brother, declined the imperial dignity which the Pope offered to the latter."<sup>21</sup> The King of Spain, Ferdinand of Castile, for similar reasons, took the same attitude.

Relying on the Ghibelline cities, Frederick had hurled his troops on the country districts of the Guelphs; but the Romans at length decided to take in hand the cause of their aged pontiff. In 1237 Gregory IX, sustained by the Orsini and the Conti, recovered possession of Rome. Very skilfully he accepted the struggle on the terrain where the Emperor had been provoking it for some time: he declared that he appealed to a council. From all points of the Christian world, the bishops were convoked to come to Rome. Then Frederick took fright. It was no longer merely the Pope, it was all Christendom that perhaps was going to rise up against him. Furthermore,

<sup>18</sup> Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, V, 457; Potthast, nos. 10,798 f.

<sup>19</sup> Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, Introd., pp. ccli f.

<sup>20</sup> Wallon, *Saint Louis et son temps*, I, 124.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

Gregory IX, then more than ninety-eight years old, was showing tireless energy. The Emperor, personally holding the passes into Italy, entrusted to his natural son Enzo a fleet that was to halt every ship carrying prelates. A number of bishops and of English and French abbots were thus kept from answering the Pope's summons. Some were arrested by the Emperor. Louis IX then intervened and wrote to Frederick in a tone that allowed of no other discussion except resort to arms. Frederick, unwilling to break with the King of France, liberated the prisoners. The Pope's death, which occurred soon afterward, and the election of Innocent IV complicated the grave conflict still more.

### Intellectual Activities

So many cares would have worn out a less robust constitution than that of Gregory IX. But what is truly prodigious is that this Pope, who became head of the Church at the age of eighty, was able, for almost twenty years, to give to the canonical, philosophical, and theological sciences a powerful and fruitful impulse which places him, close to Sylvester II, among the great promoters of the intellectual movement in the Church.

He was a canonist of worth. He had noted, in the various juridical collections of his time, two defects, which he expressed in a concise way. Those collections, he said, were "too alike and too diverse": too alike by the accumulation of several texts of identical meaning, and too diverse by the insertion of contradictory texts. Gregory IX was alluding to the five famous compilations, made in the pontificates of his three predecessors, Celestine III, Innocent III, and Honorius III, which the Bologna doctors had adopted, under the name of *Quinque compilationes*, to serve as texts for their lectures. The partial success of this innovation had not escaped Gregory IX; but

he wished the reform to be more complete and permanent. To replace the five collections by a single book, more easily handled, without apparent contradictions and without repetitions, where the texts would be reduced to the conciseness required for legal documents, where the parts fallen into disuse would be eliminated, where everything would have an official juridical value above all dispute; to make it a text obligatory for teaching in the schools, a single code before the ecclesiastical courts: such was his aim. This was more than a change in scholastic method; it was a complete juridical reform that he contemplated, comparable to that which Emperor Justinian realized by codifying and harmonizing the laws of the Roman Empire.

To accomplish such a project a canonist was needed, one able to grasp the great idea by a mighty spirit of synthesis and to realize it by a spirit of critical analysis and judicious common sense. Raymond of Penafort was that man. Born, about 1175, in Spain, in the Penafort castle, whose ruins may still be seen in the neighborhood of Barcelona, with the soul of a scholar and apostle, Raymond in his youth had two ambitions: to acquire consummate learning, which he would distribute freely about him; to amass the greatest possible resources, to be used in ransoming Christian captives from the Mussulmans. He realized his second plan by founding the Order of Our Lady of Mercy. He thought he was sufficiently carrying out the former plan by giving free lessons in canon law, when Pope Gregory IX summoned him to serve him as chaplain and penitentiary, then entrusted to him the execution of his great project.<sup>22</sup> Begun in 1230, the editing of the *Decretales*—such was the name given to the new collection—was completed in 1234. By his bull *Rex pacificus* (September 5, 1234), the Pope imposed the collection on the faculties

<sup>22</sup> On St. Raymond of Penafort, who was the third master general of the Friars Preachers (1238–40), see Mortier, *Hist. des maîtres généraux des Frères prêcheurs*, I, 255–85.

as the sole official text for teaching, on the ecclesiastical tribunals as the authentic rule of the law. All the texts contained in it, whatever their origin or historical authenticity, thenceforth, by the will of the Pope, had a juridical authenticity, and in the future no one could compose another collection without a special authorization of the Holy See.

The teaching of the philosophical and theological sciences had no less need of being regulated at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The relations established, on the occasion of the Crusades, between the West and East, had brought into Europe numerous works, until then unknown, of Greek and Arabian philosophy. The master most frequently cited by both was Aristotle. No doubt, the study of the great philosopher, by the scientific precision of his method and by the depth of his views, would give a great impulse to the philosophy of the thirteenth century. But his doctrine was interpreted too much in the sense of his rationalist commentators.<sup>23</sup> His philosophy of God and of the soul was thus, on many points, in disagreement with Christian dogma. For instance, how was his theory of matter and of eternal movement to be reconciled with the dogma of the creation? How could his doctrine about pure act, which takes no account of the universe, be reconciled with faith in Providence; or his system of the two intellects, one passive and perishable, the other active and impersonal, be reconciled with the immortality of the human soul?

The danger was great, the greater as notorious heretics of that time, Amalric of Bena and David of Dinant, appealed to the authority of the Philosopher. We shall see presently how Albert the Great, St. Thomas Aquinas, and the Scholastics succeeded in warding off the peril. But we can understand that the first movement of anxiety by the heads of the Church was

<sup>23</sup> Several treatises of Aristotle, successively translated from Greek into Syriac, from Syriac into Arabic, from Arabic into Hebrew, from Hebrew into a Spanish dialect, reached the Europe of the Middle Ages only after being subjected to the deformations of five different languages.

in the form of a prohibition against reading the works of Aristotle. A council of Paris, convoked in 1210 by Peter of Corbeil, forbade the public or private teaching of Aristotle's writings on natural philosophy and the commentaries of Averroes.<sup>24</sup> Five years later the legate Robert de Courçon repeated the same prohibitions, extending them to the writings on metaphysics. In these official acts, Aristotle was put in the company of the worst heretics of the period. The prohibition was prompted by good reasons. Certain obscure passages of Aristotle could easily be distorted and certain errors in his works could be used to spread dangerous doctrines under cover of his great authority.<sup>25</sup>

But in 1231, when the first panic had passed, Gregory IX saw that, to avoid one peril, they were on the road to encounter another. To forbid Christians the study of the first philosopher of Greece, was to deprive them of intellectual resources of incalculable value; to leave to the Arabs the privilege of commenting on him and adapting him to their doctrines, was perhaps to abandon to them the direction of the intellectual movement, to allow them to reconquer, by their influence over minds, the ground which the Crusades had made them lose. Moreover the errors of Amalric of Bena and of David of Dinant no longer had any followers. Apparently their heresies had been destroyed along with their books. Gregory entrusted to three theologians the task of correcting the forbidden books and allowed the editions thus amended to be inscribed in the program of the faculty of arts at Paris. From that time on, the ecclesiastical authority merely condemned those who should be proved to have made abusive use of Aristotle to teach error, and the authority of the Stagirite continued to grow in the schools.

The maxim of this great Pope was that the proper way

<sup>24</sup> Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis parisiensis*, I, 70.

<sup>25</sup> De Wulf, *op. cit.*, § 228, p. 252.

to combat the errors of a false science is, not by ignorance, but by the light of true science. Such is the thought which inspired him, in 1231, to issue the celebrated bull *Parens scientiarum*, which is regarded as the charta of foundation of the University of Paris. Gregory was a former student of the Paris schools. There he had won even the highest rank.<sup>26</sup> In 1229 the professors, in protest against a violation of certain privileges of their corporation, had even entered into conflict with the royal government and had discontinued their classes in sign of dissatisfaction. The Pope confirmed the right which they claimed to enact statutes for themselves, and explicitly authorized them to use, as a defensive arm, the "cessation," that is, suspension of teaching. He also regulated the University's relations with the chancellor of the Church of Paris. Thus strongly organized, the University of Paris soon experienced a rapid extension and became the model of all the other universities of the Middle Ages.

### The Inquisition

But the more favorable Gregory IX was to the progress of studies, the more severe he was toward those who made use of this broadly dispensed instruction to propagate heresy and, by heresy, disturbance in the Church and in society. Gregory IX, the patron of studies, was one of the most active organizers of the Inquisition. From 1229 to 1240, by a series of methodically combined measures, he pursued the repression of heresies throughout Europe by the establishment of an agreement between the Holy See on one side, and the episcopate and Christian rulers on the other.

Some have said that the Roman Inquisition was created in November, 1229, at the Council of Toulouse, by Cardinal Romanus, legate of Gregory IX. This statement is not quite

<sup>26</sup> Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis parisiensis*, III, 680.

correct. The Council of Toulouse simply decreed a very complete regulation for the finding and punishment of heretics. This regulation,<sup>27</sup> by codifying and supplementing the usages and prescriptions followed for a half century before in the repression of heresy, subsequently became the basis of the procedure followed by the fixed tribunals of inquiry established during the thirteenth century. For this reason it has great historical importance.

These fixed tribunals were established successively in France, where St. Louis put himself at the disposal of the clerics charged with the pursuit of the heretics; in Castile, where St. Ferdinand took the same attitude;<sup>28</sup> in Aragon, where King James, on the advice of his confessor Raymond of Penafort, himself asked the Pope to send him some inquisitors;<sup>29</sup> in Italy, where the Cathari let loose civil war by joining the Ghibellines against the Guelphs;<sup>30</sup> in Germany, where the Dominican Conrad of Marburg was especially commissioned by the Pope to have the inquisition regulations carried out;<sup>31</sup> at Rome, where Gregory IX had those same regulations inserted in the municipal laws.<sup>32</sup> This organization was established by Gregory IX between 1225 and 1240. From that time on, we find a tribunal of the Inquisition at Rome, exercising powers which emanated directly from the pope. This tribunal had its own prisons. Only the obstinate heretics and the relapsed were

<sup>27</sup> Mansi, XXIII, 191.

<sup>28</sup> Raynaldi, *Annales*, year 1236, no. 61.

<sup>29</sup> Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, II, 168.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>31</sup> Vacandard, *The Inquisition*, p. 82.

<sup>32</sup> Boehmer, *Acta imperii selecta*, XIII, 378. From Germany the Inquisition extended into Bohemia, Hungary, and the Scandinavian countries. Flanders and the Netherlands were placed under the jurisdiction of the grand inquisitor of France. Gregory IX, after promoting the institution, watched over its functioning. He intervened notably to moderate the excessive and sometimes cruel zeal of the grand inquisitor of France, Robert le Bougre, so named because, before entering the Dominican Order, he had been a Catharist heretic; the Cathari were popularly called Bulgari or Boulgres or Bougres. Cf. Vacandard, *op. cit.*



turned over to the secular arm, to undergo the penalty decreed by the civil law, namely, burning at the stake.

An important bull of Gregory IX was that which (April 20, 1232) gave commission to the provincial of the Dominicans of Provence to organize a general preaching in the south of France against heresy. This bull did not give the Order of St. Dominic the monopoly of the Inquisition in the Midi, as some writers have alleged; but Bernardes Guidonis rightly considers this letter as "the first title of his order to exercise the Inquisition." <sup>33</sup>

### Dominicans and Franciscans

Gregory was a great patron of the religious family of St. Dominic. He had seen its beginning and he knew its zeal for the defense of orthodoxy. In his pontificate were drawn up in a logical manner, by order of Raymond of Penafort, then approved by the chapters of 1239, 1240, and 1241, the rules that have since then remained the basis of the legislation of the Preachers. "The modifications subsequently added are nothing more than an authentic and age-long commentary on them. This is why St. Raymond is called the author of these constitutions." <sup>34</sup>

Gregory likewise showed his solicitude toward the Order of St. Francis. When still only a cardinal, he had helped in bringing about the approval of its rule. But, in 1230, he had to intervene in the discussions that divided the members of the order. Outside its rule, approved by Honorius III, St. Francis had left to his religious family a spiritual testament, in which he laid great stress upon the practice of perfect poverty. Among the Friars Minor, some wished to place this testament on the same level as the rule; others, sustained by the

<sup>33</sup> Douais, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc*, I, v.

<sup>34</sup> Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux des Frères prêcheurs*, I, 281.

new general of the order, Brother Elias, declared that, while respecting their father's last counsel, they did not regard it as having the force of law. By his bull *Quo elongati* (September 28, 1230), Gregory IX decided in favor of Brother Elias and his followers, declared that the testament of St. Francis of Assisi did not oblige in conscience, and that the poverty could and should be reconciled with the use of money by the intermediary of delegates of the benefactors and with the building of monasteries adapted to the needs of a large community.<sup>35</sup> Says a historian of the order: "Beyond doubt this was a departure from St. Francis' ideal, but it was a lesser evil than to endanger the existence of the order by imposing on the multitude of the religious certain obligations which many were powerless to observe."<sup>36</sup> We add that, among those who earnestly called for the observance of a stricter rule, several appear to have been animated by that spirit of exaggeration which would later produce, in the Franciscan Order and in the Church, the schism of the Spirituals.

The spirit of moderation in all things accompanied the devout Pontiff to his last hour. He gave fresh proofs of this with regard to Frederick II by entering upon negotiations with him in 1241 with a view to peace.<sup>37</sup> The Emperor, ill advised by his pride, refused these advances and decided to resort to arms. He advanced at the head of an army and was ravaging the environs of Rome, when the Pope, almost a hundred years old, died (August 21, 1241).

### Pope Innocent IV

The worthy Pontiff's death furnished the Emperor with occasion for an insolent and indelicate triumph. To the rulers

<sup>35</sup> Brother Elias of Cortona has been a subject of considerable discussion among scholars. Cf. *Analecta bollandiana*, XXII (1903), 194-202.

<sup>36</sup> E. d'Alençon in Vacant's *Dict. de théol.*, VI, 812.

<sup>37</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1605.

of Christendom he wrote: "He did not pass through the bounds of the month of August, he who dared to attack the Augustus. He is dead, he who threw so many men into the peril of death."<sup>38</sup> Frederick's intrigues and interference prolonged the vacancy of the papal see for about two years.<sup>39</sup> Yet the Emperor feared that an indefinite prolongation of this state of affairs, which was agreeable to him personally, would arouse Christendom against him.<sup>40</sup> In May, 1243, seizing upon the moment when Cardinal Romanus of Porto, his most dreaded foe, had just died, he allowed the cardinals to meet in conclave.<sup>41</sup> He seems even to have expressed the desire that the one elected by the cardinals should be the cardinal-priest of San Lorenzo in Lucina, Sinibaldo de' Fieschi, who, by the imperial fiefs which his family possessed, belonged to the nobility of the Empire and with whom the Emperor had had cordial dealings. The cardinals had no difficulty in satisfying this desire. They knew their colleague as a man of eminently reliable faith. The high offices entrusted to him by the confidence of Pope Honorius and Pope Gregory IX had revealed his firm attachment to the Roman Church. His lectures in canon law at the Bologna University had given evidence of his high learning. He was in the full vigor of manhood.

On June 24, 1243, he was unanimously elected. To show that he meant to continue the traditions of Pope Innocent III,

<sup>38</sup> Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, V, 1165-67.

<sup>39</sup> This period of vacancy was indeed interrupted by a brief pontificate. Cardinal Godfrey of Milan, bishop of Sabina, a feeble old man, who was elected in October under the name of Celestine IV, died sixteen days after his election without marking his short occupancy of the Apostolic See by any important act.

<sup>40</sup> In August 1242, Louis IX of France had written to the cardinals, urging them to elect a pope and not to let themselves be frightened "by a certain prince who wished to gather the Empire and the priesthood into his own hands." These words plainly pointed to Frederick. St. Louis added that they could count on the support of his kingdom. Cf. Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, VI, 68.

<sup>41</sup> The election of Celestine IV in 1241 seems to be the first example of a conclave, that is, the practice of enclosing the cardinals in a certain place from which they do not come out until they have elected a pope. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1613 note 2.

he at once chose the name of Innocent IV and, when notifying the princes of his election (July 2), he declared that he would maintain all the rights of the papacy. Frederick wrote him a letter of felicitation filled with best wishes.<sup>42</sup> But we are told that, with a presentiment of the future, he exclaimed: "I fear that this election has removed a friend from the ranks of the cardinals by giving me, as my only compensation, a hostile pope." If by "hostile pope" the Emperor merely indicated a vigorous defender of the rights which he unjustly encroached upon, his presentiment would be realized beyond all expectation.

The pontificate of Innocent IV, which lasted eleven years, was marked by perfect unity and continuity of purpose: the liberation of the Church, oppressed in the West by the Emperor, in the East by the infidels. The three chief events of his reign are these: the Council of Lyons, the strife with Frederick II, and the Crusade. But they were merely various stages in the execution of that program.

A few months sufficed to convince the new Pope that he could not safely reside in Rome. The Emperor's attitude was more and more equivocal. While he was negotiating, shifting, making promise after promise and keeping none, he was buying fortresses from the Frangipani, had bishops on their way to or from Rome molested by his son Conrad, and he himself stayed in Italy, ready to play a decisive part there. Certain traditions attribute to the Emperor the project of making off with the Pope. Good reason existed at least for fearing that Innocent's communications with the Christian world might abruptly be cut off.

When the danger appeared clear to him, he hastened to create twelve new cardinals to fill up the number of the Sacred College, which had been reduced to seven members, entrusted to Cardinal Otto of Porto the necessary powers to take his

<sup>42</sup> Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, VI, 90-105; *M. G. Leges*, II, 341.

place in Rome. Then, on June 10, 1244, disguised as a knight, he left the Eternal City, went to Civitavecchia, where one of his relatives had a fleet prepared to escort him, and, joined by twelve of his cardinals, whom he had designated by name, he went to Lyons, then a free city, located on the confines of France and the Empire, not far from the prince who could, in case of danger, give him the most effective protection. The Abbey of St. Just, situated on Fourvières hill and surrounded by a solid fortification, seemed to him a safe retreat. He lived there more than six years and from there, with full freedom, governed the Christian world.

### First General Council of Lyons

His first care was to gather about him the great council which had been planned by his predecessor. The sad news coming from the East made the holding of the council especially urgent. In the month of September, 1244, the army of the sultan of Egypt, supported by 10,000 Chorasmians,<sup>43</sup> seized Jerusalem. A body of Mongols threatened Antioch. The Christians of the East were in the greatest peril and appealed for the aid of their brothers of Europe. On January 4, 1245, Innocent IV convoked to Lyons, for June 28 of the same year, all the bishops and all the princes of the Catholic countries, to discuss the questions about the Holy Land, the relations of the Holy See with the Emperor, and the reform of the Church.

It was not in the Emperor's power to prevent this assembly. But he convoked a diet at Verona and sent, to represent him at Lyons and to defend his cause there, several of his most devoted counselors, among them Peter de la Vigne and Thaddeus of Suessa.

On the appointed day more than two hundred prelates,<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Chorasmia (Kwarizm) is a region of Western Turkestan, south of Lake Aral.

<sup>44</sup> On the number of prelates, see Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1636.

coming from various regions of Christendom, met in the cathedral of St. John at Lyons. The Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II, was seated beside the Pope. The three patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Aquileia, and the ambassadors of several princes occupied places of honor.

Despite a very able defense of the Emperor, presented by Thaddeus of Suessa, the council, considering that Emperor Frederick II had violated the oaths several times taken to the sovereign pontiffs, that he had despised the ecclesiastical censures, seized the lands of the Church, and despotically imprisoned prelates, that for nine years he had not paid the tribute due to the Holy See for the Kingdom of Sicily, and that he had made himself suspected of heresy by his relations with the Saracens, declared him deposed from the imperial dignity.

Then the council adopted several measures for the assistance of Constantinople and the Holy Land, and a Crusade was decided upon to be undertaken in the very near future. Among other reform measures was a severe prohibition of duelling and tournaments.<sup>45</sup>

### Emperor Frederick II

Upon being informed of the sentence of deposition decreed against him by the council, Frederick flew into a rage. He placed one of his crowns on his head and exclaimed: "I still have my crown, and neither pope nor council can take it from me without a bloody struggle." Next he sent to the European princes a violent circular against the Pope, telling them that their crowns were menaced, and adding that "to take away from the clergy harmful riches would be a pious work,

<sup>45</sup> On this council and its canons, see Mansi, Vol. XXIII and Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1642-78. (Cf. also Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, pp. 297-323, 585-94. Tr.)

so as to lead them back to the Apostolic life of the early Church." All the princes were invited to lend him their concurrence to this end. He was now in open revolt, not only against the Pope, but against the Church; it was a declaration of war against them.

Until the death of Frederick a strife without truce continued between the priesthood and the Empire. At times the Emperor issued numerous official memorials in which, by cleverly presented sophisms, he strove to show that right was on his side; again some people in his pay spread in profusion pamphlets against the Pope and his friends. By offers of money, he tried to win the allies of the Holy See. By a system of terror methodically applied, he attempted to frighten the populations subject to the Pope. Monks, guilty of obeying the decisions of the Council of Lyons, were fastened together, two and two, and by the Emperor's orders were "burned alive like foxes." Mercenary troops made frequent incursions into the Patrimony of St. Peter, pillaging and burning everything ruthlessly.

Innocent was obliged to withstand all these attacks. In conformity with the decree of deposition pronounced by the Council of Lyons, an important fraction of the German princes elected, in the spring of 1246, a new king of Germany, Henry Raspe of Thuringia; then, after the death of this new chief, the next year, the young Count William of Holland. The Pope, that he might not seem to retreat before his enemy and abandon his faithful defenders, was obliged, in order to sustain them, to make enormous expenditures. Frederick had armies and a large amount of money. The possession of Sicily made him the richest ruler of Europe. To resist him Innocent had to resort to extraordinary fiscal measures: taxes on the revenues of the churches and on those which were in some way connected with the ecclesiastical dignities. The large increase of

the "expectatives," <sup>46</sup> the restriction of the freedom of the elections, with a view to increase the interventions of the Holy See in the appointments to benefices, were also regrettable consequences of the financial needs of the Holy See. All this led to spirited complaints, from which the papacy had to suffer greatly, but for which, it must be granted, Emperor Frederick, by driving the distressed Holy See to those lamentable expedients, was primarily responsible.<sup>47</sup>

These unfortunate consequences of the war let loose by the ambitious sovereign were not its only deplorable results. The resumption, in an acute state, of the struggle between the priesthood and the Empire turned men's minds away from the Crusade. "How think of Jerusalem when we do not know whether the Empire will remain in the hands of Frederick or whether Rome will remain the Pope's? Italy and Germany were too much interested in the question to have leisure for thinking about anything else. England and France remained. But, when St. Louis had taken the cross, Henry III was the less disposed to do so. The truce between France and England was near its end, and the King of England hoped perhaps to find, in the absence of the King of France, some occasion to profit by it." <sup>48</sup> Louis IX was, therefore, alone in bearing the weight of that expedition. He was not disquieted by this fact.

### St. Louis and the Crusade

For the policy of the King of France, the Crusade, "under its appearance of being an offensive movement, was really the

<sup>46</sup> An expectative is the anticipatory grant of an ecclesiastical benefice, not vacant at the moment, but which will become so on the death of the present incumbent. The Council of Trent abolished expectatives.

<sup>47</sup> In the course of seven years, Innocent IV had to spend more than 200,000 marks (silver) to carry on his struggle against Frederick II. The financial measures used by him stirred up many protests. On this subject, see Berger, *Saint Louis et Innocent IV*; Adlinger, *La nomination aux évêchés allemands sous Innocent IV*; Fournier, *Les officialités au Moyen Age*.

<sup>48</sup> Wallon, *Saint Louis*, I, 212.



continuation of the great work of Christian and European defense, vigorously and successfully conducted, against the assault of pagan and Mussulman barbarism, by Charles Martel and Charlemagne.”<sup>49</sup> For his piety, it was the greatest manifestation of devotion and love which a knight could give to his God. In 1244, during a grievous illness that threatened his life, the devout King had the relics of the passion, which three years before he had bought from the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, brought to him; he was suddenly cured. He at once summoned to his side William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris. “Bishop,” he said to him, “I beg you to place on my shoulder the cross of the overseas voyage.” From that moment, he considered himself bound by a sacred engagement to undertake the expedition to the Holy Land.

For almost four years he matured and prepared his enterprise. On Friday, June 12, 1248, after receiving at St. Denis the oriflamme from the hands of the legate, the saintly King set out from Paris, walking barefoot, wearing the garb of a pilgrim, and escorted by processions from all the churches. After taking leave of his people, he mounted his horse and departed. On August 18 he set sail from Aigues Mortes. On the night of September 17 he landed on the island of Cyprus, which had been chosen as the concentration point. He was detained there eight months, waiting for reinforcements on which he was counting, but which did not come. Finally, on June 14, 1249, he came in sight of the coast of Damietta. Addressing the leaders of his army, he said: “My faithful friends, everything is ours, whatever happens to us. If we win, the Lord’s glory will thereby be celebrated in all Christendom; if we are overcome, we will ascend to heaven as martyrs.”

God did not grant victory to the arms of his faithful servant. After the taking of Damietta and a very sanguinary victory won at Mansurah, the pestilence forced him to beat a retreat.

<sup>49</sup> Sepet, *Saint Louis*, p. 140.

His army was decimated by the disease and by the sword of the Saracens. He himself fell into the hands of his enemies; but, upon his return to Europe four years later (in 1254) with the remnants of his troops, he left to the Franks as also to the infidels the example of a valor in trials, of uprightness in all things, which elevated the prestige of the Christian name to the height of the most triumphant victories. In Joinville's account we read the following: "As I was on foot with my knights, the King came with his main body. Never did anyone behold so fine an armed man. He appeared towering over all his people, head and shoulders taller than they, a gilded helmet on his head, a German sword in his hand." And again: "The sire de Courtenay related to me that one day six Turks had seized the King's horse by the bridle and were leading the King away prisoner. And alone by himself he freed himself from them with great blows of his sword. When his people saw the defense which the King was making, they took courage." Says another witness: "His features showed that in his heart he had neither fear nor alarm." Count Charles of Anjou, his brother, seeing him ill, begged him to save his life by embarking on board a ship. "Count of Anjou, Count of Anjou," the King gravely replied, "if I am a burden to you, relieve yourself of me; but I will never relieve myself of my people." As a captive, he astonished the Saracens and aroused their admiration, "deliberating and making decisions under their hand with as mature reflection and as perfect freedom of mind as he could have done in his palace at Paris peacefully surrounded by his knights and his secretaries."<sup>50</sup>

His spirit of faith dominated every other feeling in him. In speaking of a certain emir who seemed desirous of becoming a Christian, he used to say: "Oh, if I could become the godfather of such a godson." But piety never took from him the noble high-mindedness that befits the head of a nation. Gener-

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

ous in money matters, he granted all that his enemies asked of him for the ransom of his soldiers, but, when he was asked at what price he placed his own ransom, he answered, says Joinville, "that he was not of a sort that could be redeemed for money." The Sultan, upon hearing this, said: "By my faith, the Frank is liberal, not to bargain over so great a sum." Although conquerors of the King of France, the Saracens felt small before this Christian prisoner.

When St. Louis returned to his kingdom, Emperor Frederick II and Pope Innocent IV were dead. The last years of the German Emperor were filled with bitterness. His barbarous cruelties, his vindictive disposition, had rendered him detestable. The Guelph party had fortified itself in Italy. On February 28, 1248, Frederick had suffered before Parma a decisive defeat, in which his faithful counselor Thaddeus of Suessa perished. The next year his own son Enzo was overcome and made prisoner by the forces of Bologna. His secretary and intimate confidant Peter de la Vigne turned against him and, so it was said, attempted to poison him. Frederick had Peter's eyes torn out and threw him into a dungeon, where he died; report had it that he was strangled by the Emperor's orders. During the summer of 1250, Frederick fell ill of the dysentery at Fiorentino in Apulia. There he died on December 13, at the age of fifty-six, after attempting by his testament to redeem the injustices of his life. He chose as his successor his son Conrad IV. The Emperor made his confession to the Bishop of Palermo, received absolution, and selected for his burial the cathedral of that city, where his body still rests in a superb porphyry monument.

At news of Frederick's death, Pope Innocent IV commissioned a Dominican to preach a crusade in Germany against King Conrad IV, and confirmed William of Holland's title of king. As for Sicily, he offered it successively to Prince Edmund, son of King Henry III of England, who did not fulfil

the required conditions, and finally bestowed it on a natural son of Frederick II, Manfred, who declared that he submitted fully to the Pope. But Manfred showed himself too much like his father, shortly afterward violating all his promises. At the head of an army of Saracens, he attacked the papal troops. Conrad's death (May 29, 1254) did not improve the situation to any notable extent. A little later, Innocent IV, who meanwhile had left Lyons, died of grief at Naples, on December 7 of the same year.

## CHAPTER XII

### *From Alexander IV to Boniface VIII (1254-94)*

DURING the forty years between the death of Innocent IV and the coming of Boniface VIII, the outward history of the Church was marked by few great events. From 1254 to 1294, twelve popes followed one another. The shortness of their reigns and the comparative length of the interregnums did not enable them to pursue any great policy. Furthermore, in the nations no great enterprise appeared. Under the scepter of the last of the Hohenstaufens, the Germanic Empire, exhausted by the great struggles of Frederick II, disintegrated. The old kingdoms of Arles, Burgundy, and Lorraine separated from it. The nobles became independent sovereigns. A similar anarchy prevailed in Italy, where the cities and the leagues, after being victorious over the emperors, fought among themselves. In France, on the contrary, in England, and in most of the other states, the tendency of events was to centralize and strengthen the power.

But all these movements of destruction and building up took place by little fits and starts, without contemporaries perceiving the broad lines. The East presented a similar spectacle: the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which sprang from the combined cupidity of Venice and of the nobles, followed the Kingdom of Jerusalem to the grave. The enthusiasm of the crusaders disappeared. St. Louis king of France cast upon it the brilliance of his heroism and sanctity; but he was alone and succumbed. Yet all did not point to ruin in these multiple and complex events. A new world was being elaborated. Only later generations could discern its birth and progress. The

popes, like the kings and peoples, of the second half of the thirteenth century, most of the time could merely face the difficulties of the moment, leaving to Providence to make everything concur in the accomplishment of His designs.

However, never perhaps was the interior life of the Church more intense. The great pontificates of Sylvester II, St. Gregory VII, and Innocent III bore their fruits. It was the period when theology, queen of the sciences, displayed incomparable brilliancy with St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure; when a Christian philosophy was established on solid foundations; when a Christian art was revealed; when a Christian law was organized, in opposition to the ancient law; when a Christian organization of labor and ownership was elaborated; when the natural sciences made unprecedented advance under the influence of a monk of genius, Roger Bacon. This was the age of the *Summa theologica*, of the spread of the great orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis, of knighthood at its acme, of the Gothic cathedrals, of the *chansons de gestes*, of the great universities and workmen's corporations. Especially in reference to this epoch we can say that the Middle Ages was one of the greatest periods of history, and that "the intellectual life was then intense, eager, and vehement, and far more original than the Latin intellectual life."<sup>1</sup>

#### Pope Alexander IV

Rinaldo Conti, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, was elected pope on December 12, 1254, under the name of Alexander IV. He was notable for the purity of his morals and the nobility of his character. But he was too much influenced by unworthy counselors and lacked the necessary firmness to resist the cabals of the Italian parties. Most of the time he did not live in Rome, where Senator Brancalone overmatched his power. In Ger-

<sup>1</sup> Faguet, *A Literary History of France*.

many, after the death of William of Holland, two rivals (Richard of Cornwall, brother of the King of England, and Alfonso of Castile) contested each other's claim to the imperial office. The Pope hesitated to take sides, although evidently inclining to Richard's party. In Sicily he had to fight against Manfred, who refused to dismiss the Saracens in his service and put himself at the head of the Ghibelline party in Italy. So many cares kept the Pope from realizing his projects of a Crusade against the infidels. He made a few tentative approaches to the Emperor of the East, Theodore II Lascaris, with a view to the union of the Greek schismatic Church, and he opposed the heretics of Europe by introducing some simplifications in the procedure of the Inquisition<sup>2</sup> and by the encouragement he gave to the preaching of the mendicant friars. He died May 25, 1261.

#### Pope Urban IV

He was succeeded by two French popes. The first was Urban IV, Jacques Pantaleon, son of a shoemaker of Troyes, who rose by his merits from the lowest ranks of the clergy to become patriarch of Jerusalem. He was elected pope at Viterbo on August 29, 1261. He, too, had to make his habitual residence outside of Rome. He labored to conciliate the two parties that were at strife for the power in Germany, and he persuaded the two claimants, Richard and Alfonso, to accept his arbitration. But he died before pronouncing his decision.

Understanding the gravity of the situation in the Two Sicilies, he offered its government to the King of France, who declined it; then to Charles of Anjou, who, urged by his wife

<sup>2</sup> He decided that henceforth the proceedings should be conducted in a summary manner, without lawyers and without the usual contentions of court trials (Bull dated December, 1257). Cf. Potthast, no. 17,097. By too much simplification in the procedure, the sacred rights of the accused were infringed upon. This fact was recognized and later on gradually lawyers appear at the side of the accused.

and by his own ambition, accepted the offer in spite of the remonstrances of his brother Louis IX. Charles received the Kingdom of Naples as a fief of the Holy See and promised never to join his new states with the Empire or with Lombardy: the independence of the papacy required that the north and the south of Italy should never be combined under the same hand. But Charles' ambition could not restrain itself. Scarcely was he installed at Naples, when he strove to assure himself of a foothold everywhere. At Milan he obtained the appointment of one of his subjects, the Provençal Barral des Baux, as podesta. At Rome, Charles himself was made senator, and by that title represented the whole Senate.

Urban IV, whose piety was profound, attempted to console himself for this defeat of his policy by favoring the cult of the Eucharist. When he held the office of archdeacon at Liège, he was one of the first to approve the project of a feast of the Blessed Sacrament. He resolved to extend to the whole Church the celebration of this solemnity, which was already observed in some dioceses. He requested the two greatest doctors of the time, St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure, to compose a special office for the occasion and he published a bull to this effect in 1264. But his death soon after delayed for forty years the celebration of that feast, destined to become one of the most solemn and most popular in the Church.

### Pope Clement IV

Urban IV's successor, Clement IV, elected February 5, 1265, after a vacancy of four months in the Holy See, was called Guy le Gros. He was a native of St. Gilles on the Rhone.<sup>3</sup> At first a lawyer and jurist, he was one of King Louis IX's intimate advisers. After his wife's death, he embraced the ecclesiastical career and rapidly passed through the various

<sup>3</sup> Potthast, no. 19,650.



ranks. He was returning from a mission that he had filled in England as papal legate, when he learned that the Sacred College, at the death of Urban IV, had elected him unanimously. Like his predecessors, he was unable to stay in Rome. In the conflict that was rending Germany, he claimed, as did Urban IV, the right to decide the choice of the emperor, but he died without making such decision. In Sicily the situation was extremely critical. The exactions and encroachments of Charles of Anjou were such that Clement IV was not averse to coming to an agreement with his rival Manfred, that natural son of Frederick II, who was also laboring to prepare the road to power for the young son of Conrad IV, Conradin. But the prompt success of Charles of Anjou, who defeated and slew Manfred at the battle of Benevento, February 27, 1266, cut these plans short.

This event, however, did not end the strife. In 1267 the young Conradin, who had just attained his sixteenth year, profited from the discontent aroused by Charles' tyranny, to enter on the scene in person, attacking both Naples and Rome, Charles of Anjou and Clement IV. This bold stroke by the young prince, his bravery, his youth, aroused the chief cities of Italy in his favor. Rome received him in triumph, and the greater part of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies had already taken his side, when he was made prisoner and taken to Naples. There Charles of Anjou, after a summary trial, executed him in the city square, October 29, 1268. Thus ended the last of the Hohenstaufens. Some writers have tried to implicate Pope Clement IV in this affair.<sup>4</sup> But "Clement IV, who so often had urged upon Charles of Anjou the practice of prudence, clemency, and justice,"<sup>5</sup> certainly had no part in the tragedy which terminated the destiny of the Hohenstaufens. Probably he had no previous knowledge of the execution and sincerely

<sup>4</sup> Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. 13, p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> Potthast, nos. 19,602, 20,086, 20,248.

deplored the brutal repression that prevailed throughout the kingdom.”<sup>6</sup>

Clement IV marked his pontificate by several prudent reform measures. Yet his spirit of centralization and of finance has been blamed.<sup>7</sup> He legalized and thus extended the usage, already introduced by his predecessors, of reserving to the pope the appointment to all benefices “vacant in the Roman court,” that is, the benefices the titulars of which died in the place of residence of the Roman court.<sup>8</sup> But this was a means of rescuing from the influence of the local nobles or of the kings the recruiting of the episcopate. Like Innocent IV, he also levied several taxes for the benefit of the Curia. But the struggles he had to sustain in the East, and especially the projects he entertained, from the time of his elevation to the papacy, with a view to a new Crusade in the East, projects from which all Christendom would profit, justified these financial measures.

For some years past the situation of the Church in the East had become extremely grave. In 1261 Michael Paleologus, Greek emperor of Nicaea, thanks to the support of the Genoese and the connivance of the Greek population of Constantinople, had driven from the city and dethroned, almost without a blow, Emperor Baldwin II. The Latin Empire was dead. Pope Urban IV, who was then governing the Church, had tried to stir up a new Crusade. Louis IX, alone of all the sovereigns, answered the appeal. Besides, Paleologus had succeeded in paralyzing the Pope’s ardor by at once entering into negotiations with him for the union of the Churches. But soon it was evident that this move was nothing more than a trick intended to deceive the papacy. Furthermore, at the coming of Clement IV, the situation was singularly complicated by the sudden intervention of Charles of Anjou. The King of the Two Sici-

<sup>6</sup> Hemmer, art. “Clément IV” in Vacant’s *Dict. de théol.*, III, 60.

<sup>7</sup> Potthast, no. 20,133.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 19,326.

lies, in his strife against Manfred and Conradin, contemplated resuming, for his own sake, the ambitious project of Frederick II: to rule over both the West and the East. Like Frederick, he turned his gaze toward Jerusalem as well as Constantinople, and, with the support of all the enemies of the German Empire and of all the nobles who hoped to carve out principalities in the East, he was preparing a new expedition. Clement IV urged St. Louis to take the cross. The King of France and his three sons, Prince Edward of England, Count Thibaut of Champagne, and numerous French barons, were already crusaders and were making their first war preparations, when Clement IV died at Viterbo, November 29, 1268.

This death seemed at first to favor the plans of Charles of Anjou. He counted several partisans in the Sacred College. The cardinals were unable to agree on the choice of the new pope. The vacancy of the see lasted three years, offering a free field for the ambitions of the King of Sicily. But the energetic intervention of Louis IX stopped him. The King of France fixed the date of his departure for the Crusade for the spring of 1270 and required his brother to join him at that date before Tunis. The interests of the traditional policy of the popes in the East were saved, at least for the time being, by the initiative of the holy King.

The armies landed (July 17, 1270) on the Carthage peninsula. The castle of Carthage was seized. But, in the month of August, the plague broke out in the army. After seeing the papal legate and several of his best knights die, St. Louis felt himself stricken with the dread disease. Aware that his end was approaching, he wrote, for the sake of his son, this admirable will, worthy of serving as a model for all rulers: "My dear son, the first thing I point out to you is that you devote your heart to loving God. . . . Keep your heart gentle and merciful to the poor and to all those who suffer in heart or body. . . . Maintain the good customs of your kingdom. Do

not burden your people with taxes. Be strict and loyal in preserving justice and uprightness toward your subjects. . . . Bestow the benefices of holy Church upon persons who are good and worthy. . . . Avoid stirring up wars and strifes. . . . Be devoted to the Church of Rome and to the supreme pontiff, our father." Among the last words of the holy King were these: "We will go to Jerusalem." He was speaking of the heavenly Jerusalem.

Having become head of the Crusade through his brother's death, Charles of Anjou hastened to conclude with the Sultan of Tunis a treaty advantageous for his Kingdom of Sicily. Then he embarked for Europe with the French princes, and postponed to three years later the fulfilment of his Crusade vow. Only Prince Edward of England was resolved to continue the expedition to the Holy Land. He landed at St. John of Acre on May 9, 1271, but his forces were insufficient and, the next year, he too turned back to Europe.

### Pope Gregory X

The Church then had a new pope. The choice of the Sacred College, Teobaldo Visconti of Piacenza, archpriest of Liège, was at St. John of Acre with Prince Edward, intending to go to the Holy Land as a pilgrim, when he learned that he had been chosen to govern the Church. He was obliged to retrace his steps to Rome; but, as he turned away from Jerusalem, he exclaimed: "O Jerusalem, if ever I forget thee, may I forget myself." Teobaldo Visconti, consecrated and crowned at Rome on March 13, 1271, took the name of Gregory X. Unquestionably the pontificate of Gregory X was the most fruitful and glorious of the period we are now considering. It has been said of this pope that, "with St. Louis, he best represents the social Christianity of that age." His great ideas were the re-establishment of the Empire of Germany, reform, the reunion

of the Greeks, the deliverance of Jerusalem, and the reconciliation of Guelphs and Ghibellines. The two outstanding events of his pontificate were the restoration of the Empire in the person of Rudolph of Habsburg and the celebration of the fourteenth ecumenical council at Lyons.

Like St. Louis in his kingdom, Gregory X wished to be in the Church the incorruptible interpreter of right and the defender of peace. "If it is part of the duty of those who govern states," he said, "to safeguard the rights and independence of the Church, it is also part of the duty of those who have the ecclesiastical government to do everything possible so that kings and princes may possess the fulness of their authority." Judging that the interregnum of the Empire had lasted too long, that the anarchy reigning in Germany since the death of Frederick II in 1250 was becoming a grave peril for the peace of Europe and of the Church, he approved the prince electors' choice (October 1, 1273) of Count Rudolph of Habsburg as King of Germany, and had a solemn conference with the prince, at which Rudolph promised him his concurrence to assure the liberty of the Church and to defend it against the heresies. The approval of the Pope led to that of all Germany in favor of him who became the founder of the house of Austria.

### Second General Council of Lyons

The council which Gregory assembled at Lyons (May 7, 1274) had for its chief purpose the establishment of peace and the union between the Latin Church and the Greek Church. Four Friars Minor were commissioned to discuss the conditions of this union with Emperor Michael Paleologus; and the general of the Dominicans, Humbert of Romans, prepared a report on the state of the clergy. Five hundred bishops and many other prelates were present at the opening session. Among those in attendance were the learned Dominican Peter

of Tarentaise and the general of the Franciscans, Bonaventure. The most learned of the theologians, Thomas Aquinas, had been invited, but he died on his way to the council, in the Cistercian abbey of Fossanuova, not far from Aquin, on March 7, 1274. The representatives of the Templars and of the Knights of St. John, the ambassadors of the kings of France, Germany, England, and Sicily, the Latin patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople, were present at the council.

While awaiting the arrival of the Greek embassy, the council held three sessions, at which it voted twelve disciplinary canons<sup>9</sup> regarding ecclesiastical elections, Church property, legal procedure, and excommunication.<sup>10</sup> On June 24 the ambassadors of the Emperor of Constantinople presented themselves. Paleologus had the bishops and Greek clergy under his jurisdiction accept three things: the recognition of the primacy of the pope, the acceptance of the principle of appeal to Rome, and the mention of the pope in the liturgy. A fourth session was held, at which, in the Emperor's name, the grand logothete or chancellor of the Emperor, declared that the Church of Constantinople returned to the obedience of the Holy See. The *Te Deum* was intoned and, after an address by the Pope, the *Credo* was sung, with a threefold repetition of the *Filioque* formula. The date was July 6, 1274. It was the end of a schism that had lasted two hundred twenty years.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For the text of these canons, see Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 324 ff., 595 ff. (Tr.)

<sup>10</sup> Canon 29 decided that the prohibition to communicate with excommunicated persons applies only in case of persons excommunicated by name.

<sup>11</sup> Before final adjournment, the council held two more sessions. Among the dogmatic decrees then adopted, one of the most important is that which contains the following declaration: "We confess that the Holy Ghost proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son, not as from two principles, but as from one principle, not by two spirations but by a single spiration" (canon 1).

Among the disciplinary decrees, we should note one which was adopted with a view to avoiding in the future any long vacancies of the Holy See. This decree (canon 2) contains the following provisions: "When the pope dies in the city in which he resided with his curia, the cardinals who are present at that city must wait only ten days for their absent colleagues. On the expiration of that time, whether those absent have arrived or not, they shall assemble in the palace in which

"The Council of Lyons was a triumph for the papacy and for the advocates of the Crusades. Apparently no obstacle remained to prevent the deliverance of the Holy Land. From the bishops assembled at the council the Pope obtained the levy of the Crusade tithes for six years. King Philip III, the Queen, many prelates and barons, enrolled as Crusaders. On May 1, 1275, Gregory X accomplished his work of pacification by leading Charles of Anjou and Michael Paleologus to conclude a truce. A few days before his death, the Pope received an embassy from the Byzantine Emperor, who repeated the expression of his zeal for the Holy Land. At that moment, the King of France, the King of Sicily, the King of England, and the King of Aragon had taken the cross. The political and spiritual union of Christendom seemed accomplished. The hopes of Urban II and Innocent III appeared near being realized. Unfortunately this diplomatic accord concealed causes of division so deep that it could not last: immediately after the death of Gregory X, these divisions broke out."<sup>12</sup>

### Popes Innocent V, Adrian V, and John XXI

The Greeks, in uniting again with the Church of Rome, had not abandoned all their prejudices against the authority of the pope and their old grudges against the Latins: and Charles of Anjou, in submitting to the Holy See, did not renounce his ambitious projects. The rapid succession of three pontiffs, within a year and a half, in the Apostolic See, favored the

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the pope lived. . . . To no one shall admittance to the cardinals be granted, nor shall anyone be given opportunity to speak with them secretly. . . . But if, which God forbid, within three days from the time they enter the aforesaid room, the cardinals have not provided the Church with a pastor, they must for the period of five days immediately following, on each day, be content at their noon and evening meals with only one dish. If at the end of that time they have not provided a pastor, then they shall be served only bread, wine, and water till they have done so." Cf. Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 330 ff.; also Mansi, XXIV, 109-32. (Tr.)

<sup>12</sup> Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

development of all these seeds of discord. Innocent V (Peter of Tarentaise), wishing to continue Gregory X's work of pacification, negotiated peace between Charles of Anjou and Rudolph of Habsburg. Unfortunately he died after a pontificate of five months, without being able to bring his work to a successful conclusion. His successor, Adrian V (Ottobuono Fieschi of Genoa, nephew of Innocent IV), elected while he was only a deacon, did not live long enough to be ordained and crowned. Peter Juliani, a native of Portugal, who succeeded him under the name of John XXI,<sup>13</sup> resumed the negotiations undertaken by his predecessors for the purpose of assuring a stable reconciliation between the King of Germany and the King of Sicily. But, seriously wounded at Viterbo by an accidental collapse that happened in his palace, he died a few days later (May 16, 1277), eight months after his election.<sup>14</sup>

### Popes Nicholas III and Martin IV

Eight cardinals, divided into two parties (one French, the other Italian), were at Viterbo at the time of John XXI's death. The Italian party prevailed. John Gaetano Orsini, proclaimed pope under the name of Nicholas III, endeavored to limit the power of the house of Anjou by obtaining from the King of Sicily the renunciation of the office of senator of Rome and the abandonment of the office of regent of the Empire in Tuscany. But he was unable to prevent the progress of that house in the East. Nicholas III contemplated undertaking that difficult work, when he died of apoplexy (August 22, 1280) at Soriano near Viterbo, before ending the third year of his pontificate.

The division that had taken place in the College of Cardinals

<sup>13</sup> Why John XXI, rather than John XX? See Mourret, *History of the Catholic Church*, III, 522 ff.

<sup>14</sup> In the matter of the conclaves, John XXI entirely abolished Gregory X's decree, which had already been suspended by Adrian V.



after the death of John XXI broke out again more bitterly after the death of Nicholas III. Six months passed without an agreement being reached. At length the French party triumphed. This intervention of politics in the election of the head of the universal Church was unfortunate. The new Pope, Simon de Brie, who took the name of Martin IV,<sup>15</sup> favored the projects of Charles of Anjou, whose situation became preponderant in Christendom. All-powerful in Italy through the possession of the Two Sicilies, the title of senator of Rome and vicariate of Tuscany, very influential in France through his hereditary states of Anjou and Provence, master of the Kingdom of Arles and of the remnants of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, he assured himself, by a treaty, of the alliance of Venice, and declared war on the Emperor of Constantinople. The Pope, who had not regarded the conversion of Paleologus as serious, approved the expedition. But the catastrophe of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282 cast a permanent cloud over Charles' dream of universal domination. On March 30 the Sicilians, exasperated by the despotic government of Charles of Anjou, had, at the hour of vespers, assassinated all the Frenchmen who were in Palermo. At this signal, a coalition, extending over the whole island, directed by John of Procida and backed by King Peter III of Aragon, son-in-law of Manfred, drove out King Charles and gave the kingdom to Peter of Aragon. In vain the Pope pronounced excommunication against the new sovereign. The papal censures, which were looked upon as prompted by political considerations, were insufficient to restrain the movement of insurrection.

On the other hand, the Emperor of the East openly violated the pact of union which was signed at the Council of Lyons. Emperor Andronicus II declared that he disavowed the conduct of his father Michael VIII, recalled the former patriarch,

<sup>15</sup> Why this name of Martin IV, since only one pope had borne the name of Martin? See Mourret, *op. cit.*, III, 522 ff.

and re-established in their sees all the members of the Greek Church who had shown themselves hostile to the union.

### Popes Honorius IV and Nicholas IV

Whatever may have been the fault of Charles of Anjou, the sanguinary conduct of the Sicilian revolutionists could not be approved. The successor of Martin IV, Giacomo Savelli, governed the Church from 1285 to 1287 under the name of Honorius IV and maintained the censures pronounced against the usurpers. He was a native of Rome, renowned for his virtues of justice, prudence, and moderation. He rose above every consideration of party or nationality. In the University of Paris, where he had studied in his youth, he established chairs of Arabic and other foreign languages, with a view to facilitating the conversion of the Mohammedans and the reunion of the schismatics of the East.

After a vacancy of thirteen months, Cardinal Girolamo Maschi, former general of the Franciscans, was called, despite his resistance, to assume the tiara. He took the name of Nicholas IV. In the question of the succession to the Sicilian throne, he imitated the example of his two predecessors, who, contrary to Nicholas III, had decided for the house of Anjou. His great grief was to see the total and final loss of the Holy Land. On May 18, 1291, the Christians' last fortress, Ptolemais or St. John of Acre, fell into the power of the Sultan of Egypt. The city was razed to the ground and its inhabitants slaughtered. Along the whole coast the European population was wiped out or obliged to flee. In vain Pope Nicholas IV tried to stir up a new Crusade. Except the King of England, none of the great sovereigns of Europe agreed to take the cross. France was at war with Aragon. Among the other princes, some abstained through cowardice, others through avarice. Such was the case of the successor of Rudolph of Habs-

burg, Adolphus of Nassau. The disaster was completed by the premature death of Nicholas IV on April 3, 1292. He was a humble and austere monk, a scholar and a patron of learning. He founded several universities, including those of Montpellier, Lisbon, and Gratz in Styria.

### Pope Celestine V

After the death of Nicholas IV the Holy See remained vacant for two years and three months. The conclave, meeting in Perugia, gave promise of continuing indefinitely, when King Charles II of Naples, called le Boiteux, proposed and had accepted by the cardinals the candidature of a humble and holy monk, Peter Morone (or Murrone), who seemed in no way to be prepared for the government of the Church. Son of a peasant of the Abruzzi, he had until then followed the eremetical life, at first on Mount Majella, then on Mount Murrone, whence his surname. He took the name of Celestine V. His inexperience put him in the hands of politicians and schemers. At first the King of Naples, who wished to exploit the Pope's moral authority for the conquest of Sicily, made him decide to establish his residence in the city of Naples near him. Then utopians and adventurers endeavored to involve him in their fanciful schemes and intrigues. Soon Celestine V felt himself sinking under the heavy weight of his office. The solitude, which he had left reluctantly, beckoned him. He tried at first to transfer the government of affairs to a commission of three cardinals. Then, upon the advice of true friends, he announced his abdication of the Apostolic office, ordered the election of a new pope, and resumed his solitary life, in which he accomplished his own sanctification. The Church has placed him in the number of the saints; but Pope Clement V, in the very bull proclaiming his canonization, calls him "a pontiff inexperienced in the government of the universal Church" (*ad regimen*

*universalis Ecclesiae inexpertus*). One of his merits was that he grasped his own incapacity, spontaneously stepped down from the Apostolic See, and left this great lesson of humility to those who would be elevated to offices whose weight they are unable to bear.

### Religious Orders

Whatever were the failures, whatever were the variations of policy of the popes during the second half of the thirteenth century, on one point they continued and developed without failure the work of the great pontiffs who preceded them: the patronage of two institutions which became the centers of Christian civilization, namely, the religious orders and the schools. Honorius failed in his Sicilian projects, but he encouraged the progress of studies in the University of Paris; Nicholas IV witnessed the destruction of the Christian centers in the East, but he spread the institutions of learning; all that remains of Celestine's pontificate is the example of a religious life that reached the height of sanctity.

The religious orders, a veritable bulwark of society in the thirteenth century, formed an immense spiritual army, spread everywhere, active everywhere, here by the intercession of prayer and by the example of asceticism, there by the influence of the spoken word and of good works. In the valleys you would meet the white robe of the son of St. Bernard; on the heights the brown robe of the son of St. Benedict; in villages and cities, the coarse gray habit of the Franciscan and the black mantle of the Dominican.<sup>16</sup> We have already noted the work of the monks of Cluny, of Cîteaux, and of Clairvaux, the Carthusians, the Canons Regular of St. Victor and of Pré-

<sup>16</sup> The two verses are rather well known:

*Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat,  
Oppida Franciscus, celebres Ignatius urbes.*

montré, the religious of Fontevrault, the Teutonic Brethren, those of the Temple and of the Holy Ghost, the Trinitarians, the Beghards, and the Beguines, the Friars Minor and the Friars Preachers. Besides them, prayed and labored the Carmelites, the Servites, the Hermits of St. Augustine, the Hospitalers of St. Anthony and of St. Lazarus, the Nolascans and the Humiliati, the Knights of St. Michael, and the Knights of the Sword.

Among these countless legions of apostles, two new types of monks appeared in the thirteenth century: the knight-monk and the mendicant monk. Before the thirteenth century, the Middle Ages had seen the missionary monk, like St. Boniface and St. Augustine, converting the barbarians; the monk who cleared the forests, with his mattock remaking the soil of Europe; the contemplative monk, elevating the ideal of a race of hunters and fighters; the usufructuary monk of a great abbey, by royal or papal investiture, cultivating the sciences, letters, the liturgical arts, and spreading around him instruction among the people. The knight-monks and the mendicant monks, created by new needs, possessed an alert and militant quality. We have seen the knight-monks withstand the onset of Islam in Spain and in Palestine, and the mendicant monks fight against heresy in the south of France. Both of them also exercised a mighty influence in the inner life of Christendom. The former, always armed, reminded Christians that the life of this world must be a perpetual battle; the latter, stripped of everything, taught them to detach themselves from the goods of this world. The congregations of St. Dominic and of St. Francis,<sup>17</sup> by their Third Orders, made their spirit enter into families, corporations, private life, and public life.

The institution of the mendicant orders exercised very particularly a most timely influence on the secular clergy. Two

<sup>17</sup> The two other mendicant orders were the Carmelites and the Hermits of St. Augustine.

considerable events took place in the society of the Middle Ages, events that profoundly modified the conditions of the life of the clergy. These were, in the early Middle Ages, the coming of feudalism and, in the thirteenth century, the substitution of the beneficiary regime for the regime of common ownership. The feudal regime made public authority rest on ownership of land ; hence the different members of the Catholic hierarchy were led to acquire direct and profitable ownership of domains hierarchically arranged according to the various degrees of their powers. The rise toward the heights of the hierarchy thus became a rise toward riches. The peril was unavoidable. Through moral strength and holiness, a very large number of the clergy triumphed over this danger, and in the case of many the triumph was glorious. But a revolution, gradually prepared and almost consummated in the thirteenth century, aggravated the evil. This was the introduction and generalization of the beneficiary regime, that is, the regime which assigned to an individual cleric the revenues which previously had been assigned to the common funds of the church to which the cleric was attached. True, the theologians kept teaching that fundamentally nothing had been changed ; that the beneficiary was merely an administrator, in the name of the Church, of a portion of its property ; that over that part he could claim nothing more than his decent sustenance. But, in the eyes of the people, in the eyes of the lay patrons who distributed the benefices, and, by way of influence, in the eyes of such and such clerics, the moral obligation seemed changed. The lure of the benefices and prebends would tempt the ambition of families. In place of first accepting the office and thereby acquiring the right to the benefice, the benefice was first acquired, on condition that the recipient would subsequently render himself eligible for the office. The war carried on by the popes against the lay investitures had to some extent warded off the danger. The institution of the mendicant orders,

exempted by general dispensation from the intitution prescribed by canon 6 of the Council of Chalcedon, and thereby detached from the ordinary hierarchy, preserved from its difficulties in the order of ecclesiastical ownership, and professing poverty even to its extreme consequences, was like a new appearance of the ancient apostolate.

This advantage was especially proper to the order of St. Francis. The order of St. Dominic seemed to have more particularly had in mind another: the advancement of the ecclesiastical sciences and of preaching.<sup>18</sup>

### The Universities

In the thirteenth century, teaching was imparted by the Church in three kinds of institutions: the universities, the episcopal or monastic schools, established near cathedrals and large monasteries, and the "little schools," founded in the villages. These three sorts of institutions corresponded to what we call today higher education, secondary education, and primary education.

The universities were not created by a decision of authority, but had organically constituted themselves, either by the grouping of several schools, or by the large attendance at a school because of the teaching of a renowned professor. The school (*schola*) then took the name of *studium*, and, if a corporation (either of teachers or of pupils), it changed this name of *studium* for that of university, the word *universitas* being at that time a synonym of *corporatio*.<sup>19</sup>

The most famous universities were those of Paris, Bologna, and Oxford. The Paris University was especially a center of philosophical studies, the most illustrious representative of which was the Dominican St. Thomas Aquinas; the Bologna

<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless the Friars Minors' contribution to the progress of the sciences and to the work of preaching has been considerable.

<sup>19</sup> Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*.

University was a center of law studies, always inspired by the work of the Benedictine Gratian; the Oxford University gave to the world the greatest scientific genius of the Middle Ages, one of the greatest of all ages, the Franciscan Roger Bacon.<sup>20</sup>

The University of Paris sprang from the episcopal school of Notre Dame. In the shadow of the cathedral, lived a very large number of professors and students, drawn from near and far by the reputation of the Paris schools. One day they resolved to unite by a corporative bond. Their association formed "the University of the Masters and Scholars of Paris." This designation is met with for the first time in a document of 1221; but the formation of the University certainly goes back to an earlier date.<sup>21</sup> The new corporation developed and became organized rapidly. The teachers were grouped into four faculties: that of theology, that of law, that of medicine, and that of arts. The students of the faculty of arts, the most numerous of all, early adopted the practice of meeting in regional groups, according to their country of birth. These groups, at first very numerous, were reduced to four in the time of St. Louis; that of the French, that of the Picards, that of the Normans, and that of the English. They were known as "the four nations." Each "nation" had its own magistrates. About 1240 all the "nations" agreed to elect a common head, the rector. Between the rector (the head of the nations) and the chancellor a strife ensued, which ended in the triumph of the rector, who then became the head of the whole University. To the University were attached various colleges, establishments which at first merely offered to certain categories of students food and lodging, and which subsequently, drawing teachers to themselves, gave the instruction within their own houses. The most

<sup>20</sup> Among the other medieval universities, we should mention the following: in France, Montpellier, Orleans, Angers, Toulouse; in England, Cambridge; in Italy, Salerno, Padua, Naples, Pavia; in Spain, Salamanca; in Germany, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Prague, and Vienna.

<sup>21</sup> E. Jordan, "Les Universités" in *La France chrétienne dans l'histoire*, p. 271.



celebrated of these colleges was the one founded by St. Louis' confessor, Robert de Sorbon. This was the origin of the Sorbonne.

### The Mendicant Orders

As the University of Paris was, like all the other universities, an institution international in its composition, little by little it came to form a veritable "school state," having its magistrates, its customs, and its privileges; a state often agitated by turbulent rivalries, by real uprisings. The most famous of these quarrels was that which arose between the seculars and the mendicant orders, and in which a tart and fiery writer, Master William of St. Amour, attacked the Dominicans and the Franciscans with extreme violence. The conflict ended by an intervention of Pope Alexander IV, who confirmed the right of the mendicant religious to teach in the University and expelled William of St. Amour, as also the chief ringleaders.

These violent attacks of the seculars upon the religious were evidently connected with doctrinal divergencies and secret jealousies. In the first half of the thirteenth century, in 1231, the Franciscan Alexander of Hales became the first holder of the first chair of theology confided to the order of St. Francis, and the Dominican Albert Bollstadt, called Albert the Great, gave incomparable renown to the chair of philosophy which he held from 1245 to 1248. Alexander of Hales has left us, in the form of a commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, a vast work, logical and methodical, which is considered the first of the theological summas. St. Thomas Aquinas often derived inspiration from its teaching. Says Gerson: "The doctrine of Alexander had a breadth that cannot be praised too highly. We are told that St. Thomas, when asked about the best way to learn theology, answered that it should be studied in a single doctor chosen for teacher. And, when he was asked further

which author to choose, he said: 'Alexander of Hales.' ” <sup>22</sup> Albert the Great, whose erudition was prodigious and whose works form a whole library, is the author of an immense encyclopedia, in which he appears as philosopher, theologian, polemic, exegete, scholar versed in all the mathematical and natural sciences of his time, a mystic familiar with the loftiest spiritual ways. His influence was no less in the profane sciences than in the sacred sciences. In his school, St. Thomas Aquinas was trained.

### St. Thomas Aquinas

At Paris, about the end of 1245, the young Thomas, then only twenty years old, met Albert the Great for the first time. The latter had just entered his fortieth year. The young religious, who for seven consecutive years would train his mind under the direction of this great man, was, through his father, the grandnephew of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, distant cousin of Emperor Frederick II, then reigning; on his mother's side, he was descended from the Norman princes who had driven the Arabs and Greeks from Italy and had acquired Sicily. It was told of him that his parents had taken him and confined him in a castle to turn him from his vocation to the order of St. Dominic, but that they had been unsuccessful; that when a woman was introduced into his room, he drove her out with a flaming fire-brand in his hand; that he won his two sisters to the religious life in conversations in which they sought to dissuade him from such a life; that Pope Innocent IV, who was entreated to break the bonds that were already drawing Dominic to the order of Friars Preachers, listened to him with admiration and offered him the abbey of Monte Cassino. Having arrived after so much ado, the young

<sup>22</sup> Eckhart, *Corpus historicum medii aevi*, I, 117.

Count of Aquin, who was now merely Brother Thomas, was the center of all eyes in the monastery. But the monks found nothing in him to correspond to their expectations. They beheld a simple young man, who spoke scarcely at all, whose very eyes seemed dull. Finally it was thought that he had nothing lofty about him except his birth, and his comrades smilingly called him "the big silent ox of Sicily." His teacher Albert, not knowing what to think, took occasion of a large assembly to interrogate him with a series of perplexing questions. The student answered with so surprising a wisdom, that Albert was filled with that rare and divine joy which superior men experience when they meet another man who is destined to equal them or surpass them. Deeply moved, he turned to the young men present and said to them: "We call Thomas a silent ox, but some day the bellowing of his doctrine will be heard all over the world." This prophecy was soon fulfilled. Thomas Aquinas became in a short time the most celebrated doctor of the Catholic Church, and even his high birth was eclipsed by the magnificence of his personal fame.<sup>23</sup>

Even a summary exposition of the philosophical, theological, apologetic, oratorical, and poetic work of St. Thomas would here be out of place. That account belongs to special works.<sup>24</sup> Wherever the Angelic Doctor carried the torch of his genius (and the field which he covered before dying at the age of fifty, was immense), he brought order and clearness on the results acquired in his time, and he carried the investigations of his mind further than his predecessors had done. At a period when the domain of the mind was strewn with the debris of ancient, Arabian, and medieval learning, and while several of his contemporaries, putting their hand to the work, did but increase

<sup>23</sup> Lacordaire, *Mémoire pour le rétablissement en France de l'Ordre des Frères prêcheurs*, chap. 4; *Œuvres* (Poussielgue ed., IX, 134 f.).

<sup>24</sup> De Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, II, 3 ff.; Pierre Rousselot, *The Intellectualism of St. Thomas*; Jourdain, *La philosophie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*.

the disorder,<sup>25</sup> he was able, out of all these materials, to construct a monument having a solidity which the centuries have not shaken. Does this mean that St. Thomas has left no lacuna in his work and that on every subject he has said the last word of science? Such a claim would be disloyal to the thought of the master and of his truest disciples. One of the earliest biographers of the saint relates that, shortly before St. Thomas died, he said of his work: "All that I have written seems to me a wretched bit of straw." Says Lacordaire: "St. Thomas is a lighthouse, not a goal."

But the light of this beacon is so sure, that the Church, which must provide with security for the education of her clerics and for the public instruction of the faithful, has made St. Thomas Aquinas her official doctor.<sup>26</sup> It has placed the *Summa theologiae* "between the Gospel and the catechism, as the masterpiece of science between the code of revelation and the manual of faith."<sup>27</sup>

### St. Bonaventure

In his encyclical *Aeterni patris*, having as its purpose the restoration of Christian philosophy in Catholic schools, Pope Leo XIII, speaking of "the angelic St. Thomas and the seraphic St. Bonaventure," says: "The illustrious teachers, with surpassing genius, by unwearied diligence, and at the cost of long labors and vigils, set in order and beautified Scholastic

<sup>25</sup> On the intellectual movement of this period and its various currents, see the important work at Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

<sup>26</sup> See Leo XIII's encyclical *Aeterni patris* (August 4, 1879) on the restoration of Christian philosophy, and his proclamation (August 4, 1880) of St. Thomas as patron of Catholic schools. (An English translation of the encyclical will be found in *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII*, pp. 34 ff. Tr.)

<sup>27</sup> Freppel, *Œuvres*, III, 352. On the work of St. Thomas, see the critical study by Mandonnet, *Des écrits authentiques de saint Thomas d'Aquin*.

theology, and, when skilfully arranged and clearly explained in a variety of ways, handed it down to posterity.”<sup>28</sup>

Usually St. Bonaventure is called a mystic. If we thus mean to contrast him with St. Thomas or to place him outside Scholastic theology, we are wrong. True, he gladly claimed his connection with St. Augustine, pseudo-Dionysius, St. Bernard, and the school of St. Victor; but, like St. Thomas, he declared that he had no other intention than to “follow the old, most common, and most authorized doctrines”;<sup>29</sup> like St. Thomas, he takes as the basis of his teaching the philosophy of Aristotle. Besides his theological work, he did indeed write books of spiritual doctrine, in which, as all agree, he excelled. “After reaching the summit of speculation,” said Leo XIII, “St Bonaventure wrote on mystical theology with such perfection that the most capable judges have considered him the prince of mystics.”<sup>30</sup> His *Itinerarium mentis ad Deum*, written at a stroke in 1259 at the top of Alvernus, is, according to good critics, the work in which his mind and heart are best revealed. In this treatise is found that magnificent definition of God, distorted by Pascal: “God is an infinite sphere, the center of which is everywhere and the circumference nowhere.”<sup>31</sup> In that same work he addresses the following words to the disciples of Averroes: “It is truly surprising that you cannot find the first principle of all things, when He is so near you, and His name is written in letters of fire on the vault of the firmament, in letters of gold in the depth of your consciences.”<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The encyclical *Aeterni patris*.

<sup>29</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Comment. in Sent.*, II, praeloc.

<sup>30</sup> Allocution of November 20, 1890, in the *Acta ordinis fratrum minorum*, 1890, p. 177.

<sup>31</sup> Pascal said: “Nature is an infinite sphere, with its center everywhere and the circumference nowhere.”

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps Kant had this thought in mind when he wrote: “Two things fill my soul with admiration: the starry heavens above my head, and the moral law in my heart.”

### The Study of Law

The chief center of the study of law was at Bologna. An international university like that of Paris, the Bologna school included several corporations, distinguished into "ultramontane" corporations and "citramontane" corporations. During the second half of the thirteenth century, the University of Bologna does not offer us any great doctor comparable to St. Thomas Aquinas or St. Bonaventure. But the impulse given to law studies by its professors spread over all Christendom. We have already noted that most of the popes of this period were learned canonists; and presently we shall see that the struggle which arose between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair was not so much a strife between two persons or two interests, but rather the contest of the canonist against the legist, of Christian law against pagan law.

The introduction of the study of Roman law into the schools of ecclesiastical law had, like the study of Aristotelian philosophy into the schools of theology, its advantages and its dangers. Just as Pope Gregory IX in 1231 had been obliged to set conditions to the study of Aristotle, so in 1219 Pope Honorius III judged it opportune to forbid to ecclesiastics the study of the *Pandects*,<sup>33</sup> and Gratian had composed, with regard to the Roman law, a work like that of the Scholastics in relation to Aristotle's system of philosophy: he made use of its methods and elements that could be assimilated, while he rejected its spirit. The Church was then able to constitute a Christian law, as also a Christian philosophy.

Between this Christian law and the pagan law of ancient Rome, the divergencies were notable, and at times the oppositions were formidable. They appeared first in public international law, that is, in the reciprocal relations of the different

<sup>33</sup> Both prohibitions were temporary. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the study of Roman law was fully authorized at Bologna.

states to one another. Whereas for the jurist of antiquity each state was constituted in an absolute autonomy, Christian law, as the popes of the Middle Ages taught it and practiced it, rejected that claim. For them, in the relations of the states to one another, there existed rules of justice, with the vicar of Christ as the accepted arbiter, the one whose character and interests were the best guaranty against unfair decisions.

Much has been said about the evil of the "vassalage right" of the popes in the Middle Ages, that is, of those relations of vassalage, guaranteed by an annual tribute, which were established between the Holy See and a large number of states. This practice has been interpreted by some as a desire of universal domination on the part of the papacy. An attentive history of the establishment of the "tribute right" presents the question in a different light. At first the monasteries, to escape the avidity of laymen, appealed to the protection of the Apostle St. Peter and paid an annual tax, the sign of that voluntary dependence. When wronged, they had recourse to Rome, which took their cause in hand by threatening the culpable nobles and sovereigns; and this protection was called "the Roman liberty" (*libertas romana*).<sup>34</sup> "The nobles' domains, even kingdoms, followed the example of the monasteries. Alfonso count of Portugal and Ramiro king of Aragon thus became vassals of the Apostle. This powerful protector, whose only arm was excommunication, had still in his clientele the kings of England and Poland, of Denmark and Kief, the dukes of Bohemia and of Croatia, the counts of Provence. Inscription in the book of the tributes guaranteed to the titulars a sort of security; it appeared to authenticate their rights and to preserve their liberties. The sovereigns also asked the pope to cement, by a religious ratification, the agreements which they signed. A peace was consecrated by oaths. Parties to a con-

<sup>34</sup> On the development of the tribute right, see Paul Fabre, *Etude sur le Liber censuum de l'Eglise romaine*, and the *Liber censuum de l'Eglise romaine*, published with a preface and a commentary by Duchesne and Paul Fabre in 1895.

tract, each mistrusting the honesty of the other, and perhaps even their own, kept a blank space on the treaty for the signature of God, who would unite their work.”<sup>35</sup> As the jurist Martin de Lodi wrote, “the pope can oblige the princes to keep a peace agreed to. The crime of breaking the peace between princes is subject to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical justice.”<sup>36</sup>

In public national law, to regulate the relations of a sovereign with the nation, the Christian law of the Middle Ages was in opposition to the Roman law. The imperial law of ancient Rome, considering the prince as incarnating the nation in his person, did not recognize any limits to his power. His will made the law, *quidquid principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*. It was not so in the Christian concept. St. Thomas taught that “the people is not made for the prince, but the prince for the people.” Between the two, juridical relations were admitted. And here again, in case of conflict, no one conceived of an arbiter more impartial or of an authority more efficacious than the vicar of Christ. In fact, the pope sometimes recalled a people to obedience toward their prince, sometimes he recalled a prince to a respect for justice toward his people. One of the first rights of a Christian nation was to obey only a Christian prince, and the observance of the laws of God were the best guaranty of the observance of justice toward men; therefore the popes freed peoples from their oaths of fidelity toward princes unfaithful to their own oaths of fidelity toward God.

To say that the popes did not let the caprice of their own wish or the calculation of their personal interests intervene in this high government of Christendom, would be to misunderstand the conditions of human nature and the facts of history. But we must also recognize that often the sense of the

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Otto von Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted by Goyau, *La papauté et la civilisation*, pp. 61 f.



frightful responsibility resting on the supreme head of the Church was a safeguard for him and that, in compensation for a few abusive interferences, the papacy of the Middle Ages spared Christendom more than one war and more than one revolution.

On the terrain of private law, the commentators of the *Decretals* were likewise in opposition to the commentators of the *Pandects*. The Roman law, revived by the legists, lowered the woman and the child under the despotic authority of the head of the family and of the state, considered ownership as an absolute right, admitted, in contracts of sale and in the hiring of human labor, a struggle without mercy. The law elaborated by the popes under the influence of the Christian idea and codified by Gratian elevated, on the contrary, the dignity of women and children, considered ownership as a social function, did not admit that the wills of parties to a contract could be freely exercised apart from any consideration for human dignity and the general good.

The dignity of woman was elevated by several juridical institutions, such as the dower, assured by the husband to his wife when marrying her, guaranteeing to her, at the end of his life, an honorable existence. She was also favored by the encouragements given to the regime of joint possession which closely associated the husband and wife for loss and for gain. The suppression of the diriment impediment resulting from the lack of consent by the parents in the case of marriage (an impediment admitted by Germanic law and by Roman law) was prompted by respect for the freedom of the children of a family. The theory, then expressed by numerous canonists and theologians, which placed the essence of marriage in the consent of the persons entering matrimony, came from the same inspiration. As to the multiplication of marriage impediments between relatives, a multiplication that now seems to us excessive at first glance, it had a twofold aim, suggested

by lofty moral and social considerations: to favor mutual reserve by the young people in a single family group, and to appease the hatreds in the hostile family groups. The Christian legislation defended especially the indissoluble and sacred character of the marital bond, rejecting out of the family all natural children, and opposing divorce without compromise.<sup>37</sup>

The regime of ownership also profited greatly by the intervention of the canon law. The feudal conception, which did not comprehend possession of land without duties of homage to a suzerain, of protection for a vassal, of justice and charity toward the inhabitants of the domain, happily seconded the Christian idea of fraternal solidarity between men, of deference toward benefactors, and of compassion toward the weak, which inspired the ecclesiastical law. Canonists and theologians founded, with St. Thomas, the right of individual ownership on social usefulness and taught that almsgiving, for the rich, is a strict obligation. Several juridical institutions likewise contributed to moderate the property regime: such as the admission of prescriptions over a long period, the legal character recognized in those fictitious persons whom the canonists began to call "moral persons," the principle of the right to make a will which the Germanic law did not recognize.

A like influence was exercised on the regime of contracts, which were no longer conceived as a contest between two selfish interests, but as agreements subordinated to the moral law and to the social interest. In sales contracts, the Church wished account taken of the "just price" and, in labor contracts, of the "just wage." The frequent intervention of the oath, that is, the attestation of God to guarantee the man's promise, accustomed the contracting parties to respect for a man's pledged word.

The influence of canon law was felt in the civil and criminal

<sup>37</sup> See Brissaud, *Manuel d'histoire du droit privé*, p. 8; Esmein, *Le mariage en droit canonique*; Bonucci, *La derogabilità del diritto naturale nella scolastica*.

procedure. Although the Inquisition in the thirteenth century, in the presence of the great peril which threatened the Church and society from the heresies of the time and from the need to remedy it effectively and speedily, borrowed the use of torture from the civil legislation of the period, which derived it from the Roman law,<sup>38</sup> we must recognize that it used it with the greatest precautions, reserving it for very grave cases, when presumption of guilt was already very serious and when all the other means of investigation were exhausted.<sup>39</sup> "We should also grant the canonists this merit, that they strove against legal combats, granted the accused a defender, and adopted secret and written legal inquiry. Lastly, thanks to them, the repression was not conceived as a family vengeance, but as an attribute of the public power having the right and duty to maintain the order willed by God. The judge was to consider less the material element of the offense than the intention of the guilty person. The penal law was transformed."<sup>40</sup>

We would have to take up one by one all the legal topics if we wished to make a full study of the immense influence of canon law on the institutions of the Middle Ages and thereby on modern society. In fact, canon law was not merely the sole law

<sup>38</sup> Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*.

<sup>39</sup> T. de Cauzons, *Histoire de l'Inquisition en France*, II, 237. "In the Midi of France, where the Inquisition was so active in the thirteenth century and at the beginning of the fourteenth, torture was employed so rarely that the enemies of the Church have, without offering any proof, supposed that the use of torture was mentioned in special registers which are now lost" (Guiraud, art. "Inquisition" in the *Dict. apol. de la foi*, II, 874).

<sup>40</sup> Dufourcq, *L'avenir du christianisme*, VI, 396. The Church had to take a hand also in the great transformation that in the thirteenth century affected social economy which, under the influence of the rapid development taken by commerce and industry from the middle of the twelfth century, spread quickly. From agricultural and local economy, it became a financial, industrial, and commercial economy. The monasteries, which already were agricultural centers, often became lending banks. See Génestal, *Rôle des monastères comme établissements de crédit*. On the part taken by the Church in the social economy of the Middle Ages, see Janssen, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, Bk. III. On the ecclesiastical tithe in the Middle Ages, see Viard, *Histoire de la dîme ecclési. dans de roy. de France aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*.

applicable before the ecclesiastical courts; it was also applied before the secular tribunals in consequence of three distinct causes: 1. at an early date it was admitted that the canon law would be exercised over all the institutions which the Church had taken under her special protection and over all cases that involved the salvation of souls; 2. when the old feudal procedure was altered and then disappeared, the canon law was what furnished the secular courts with the principal rules replacing it; 3. the authority of the Church, the eminent place taken in the universities by the teaching of canon law, and the habit which secular magistrates adopted of taking their degrees *in utroque jure*, likewise contributed to the transition from theoretical study to practical application.

We should also note that the care with which the canonists had to temper the written law by custom, and justice by equity, gave their doctrines an ease of adaptation permitting them, more than the other jurists, to meet unforeseen cases, political, economic, and social modifications which the movement of the world then brought about. Thus the faculties of canon law, in particular the brilliant faculty of the University of Bologna, may be considered as having been civilizing agents of the first rank in the society of the Middle Ages.

### The University of Oxford

If the great Italian university rightly glories in having been the scene of the revival of legal studies in the thirteenth century; if the Paris University prides itself on having given a chair to the greatest of theologians, St. Thomas Aquinas, Oxford claims the honor of having trained the greatest scientific genius of the Middle Ages, Roger Bacon.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> In 1914 the University of Oxford, with solemn festivities and the erection of a statue, celebrated the seventh centenary of the birth of Roger Bacon.

The University of Oxford, which in its origin was connected with the ecclesiastical schools founded by Alcuin and Alfred the Great, did not develop its final organization and its great prosperity until the middle of the thirteenth century. Many teachers and students of the University of Paris, following disturbances that agitated the Paris schools at that period, had gone to England and brought there methods of teaching and of studies which the Oxford professors hastened to profit by.<sup>42</sup> Claim has been made that at that time the number of those who attended the great school of Great Britain, if we include the servants of the teachers and students, rose to 30,000.

About 1235, among the most assiduous listeners who gathered about the numerous professorial chairs of the University of Oxford, was a young man whose keen mind, personal qualities, universal curiosity in study, persistence in work, distinguished manners, and honest, sincere piety soon attracted the attention of his teachers and fellow students. His name was Roger Bacon. He was born about 1214 of a noble and powerful family which subsequently took the side of the English King against the rebellious barons. The young lord, as Abelard had done a century earlier, renounced the glory of arms and devoted himself to study. A few years later he renounced his personal fortune and his inheritance so as to embrace the poor life of the sons of St. Francis. But he never abdicated anything of his powerful and original personality. Under the coarse robe of a Friar Minor, Brother Roger Bacon remained one of the most characteristic personifications of the genius of England, "of its religious and practical spirit, which seeks to maintain the past while building up the future."

Encyclopedic minds, equally inquisitive in theology, grammar, history, and linguistics, in pure mathematics and natural sciences, had not been lacking in the Church. Sylvester II and

<sup>42</sup> Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis parisiensis*, I, 169, 189.

Albert the Great had been the most celebrated representatives of this spirit. At Oxford, Roger Bacon met several teachers who were able to lead him far ahead in all sorts of studies. He himself mentions Master Hugh, perhaps Hugh of St. Cher, who explained to him the Aristotelian theory of demonstration; John of London, one of the two greatest mathematicians of that period; Adam of Marino, who, by his knowledge of foreign languages, could be compared, said Bacon, with Aristotle and Solomon; and Robert of Lincoln called Robert Grosseteste, of whom we still possess a curious treatise on the transmission of power, on the laws of reflection and refraction. Roger Bacon speaks also of a group of English naturalists opposed to the Paris naturalists on a question of capital importance, the generation of the humors by the elements, and that of inanimate beings, of vegetables, of animals, and of men by the humors. At Paris, where the studious pupil went to perfect his studies, he heard Alexander of Hales and Albert the Great. There he knew also St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure.

At an early date Roger Bacon published the result of his observations and reflections. His first works have not come down to us, but what remains constitutes an immense work. In philosophy, without departing from the Scholastic method, he shows himself independent. The master whom he preferred seems to be St. Augustine. He knew and wished to have studied the foreign languages: Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic. He is regarded as one of the founders of the science of language, of comparative philology. But the natural sciences are the field where he excels. He laid down the laws of the experimental method. Having a positive and scientific mind, he recognized two foundations for science: 1. an attentive and repeated observation; 2. reasoning, but the exact and rigorous reasoning of mathematics, not that of sophistry, not that which pretends to deduce science from an alleged philosophical principle. Such are the rules he gives in his *Opus majus* and in his *Opus ter-*

tium.<sup>43</sup> The results which he personally reaped from this method are marvelous. "The illustrious doctor seems to have anticipated by six centuries the astounding flowering of modern science. His short work *De secretis operibus artis et naturae* is full of these glimpses of the future. The steamboat, railroads, balloons, the pulley, diving-suits, the telescope, the microscope, the terrible effects of gunpowder, all these are indicated almost in so many words." But the study of the material world did not withdraw Bacon from the contemplation of the mysteries of religion. He defended the truth of the dogmas of the Christian religion with tender piety and with a feeling and eloquence that came from the heart. This scholar's style everywhere possesses remarkable clearness and vivacity. He himself uses a fine comparison to express the relation of the art of good speaking with the art of reaching the truth: "Science without eloquence is like a sword in the hands of a paralytic; eloquence without science is like a sword in the hands of a madman."<sup>44</sup>

### Secondary and Primary Education

This great man cherished the thought of popularizing all knowledge, of teaching in a single year to a docile child what he had taken twenty years to learn, of transmitting orally to an attentive man, in a quarter of a year, as he said, what he had discovered as certain in the science of optics. Bacon's worth as a teacher we do not know. Several summaries, drawn up in the form of summas or manuals, which he composed to spread the results of his studies, have not come down to us. But what we can state is that the concern of the great Franciscan was that of the whole Church of his time.

We cannot here describe in detail the functioning of second-

<sup>43</sup> *Opus majus*, Part I, chap. 10; Part IV, dist. I, chap. 3; *Opus tertium*, chaps. 13, 29-37.

<sup>44</sup> *Opus tertium*, chap. I.

ary education in the Middle Ages. This work has been done in the scholarly studies of the *Histoire littéraire* and in numerous monographs. The canons directing every bishop to open a school beside his episcopal palace, and every abbot in his monastery, remained in force. The case of St. William, regulating the forty schools in the forty abbeys that were reformed by him, is a proof that these prescriptions were observed. And we are certain that these episcopal and monastic schools gave instruction corresponding to what we call secondary education. Little children could not be taught the seven arts of the *Quadrivium*, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, and, besides, law, architecture, and other subjects, which figured in the program of many of these schools.

The primary schools were likewise widespread. We readily understand that the history of these village schools and the schools in different sections of the cities has not been recorded with the same exactness as that of the universities. But the synodal statutes, the official records of episcopal visitations, testify to their presence. At Paris in 1292 there were twelve schools for a population of 40,000. In many cities (for example, Brest, Autun, Chalon-sur-Saone, Dijon) the primary teachers were organized as corporations, an evidence not only that they existed, but that they were numerous. "It is not only in the nineteenth century," says Leopold Delisle, "that schools were established in country districts. The idea of this institution goes back to the Middle Ages. At least for our province, we have indisputable proofs of this fact."<sup>45</sup>

### Preaching

These schools were placed under the control of the clergy; therefore the religious teaching in them must have had a notable

<sup>45</sup> Delisle, *Etudes sur la condition de la classe agricole en Normandie au Moyen Age*, p. 175.



place. But religious instruction was given to the people especially by the priests themselves, by means of preaching.

In the time of St. Louis a sermon must have been a picturesque thing. At first the preaching was done somewhat everywhere, in the chapels, in the schools, at crossroads, even along the highways. The ordinary place for preaching was the church. The bishop of the place or a priest, a Friar Minor or a Friar Preacher, a canon of St. Victor or of Prémontré, or in addition a deacon, ascended, at the entrance into the choir of the church, a stairway constructed within the wall itself, and he then came into view in a sort of niche having a corbeled balcony.<sup>46</sup> The audience was usually very numerous, separated into two groups: the men on one side, the women on the other. The noble ladies sat on folding-chairs or cushions brought by their servants. The clergy had reserved places in the choir stalls. The rest of the people sat on stone benches, running along the side of aisles or chapels, or on benches and chairs in the main part of the church.

The subject of the sermons was sometimes a doctrinal exposition, sometimes an exhortation on the day's feast, sometimes a commentary on some pious reading. There were also occasional sermons connected with a local or national event, a disaster, a victory. In such event, or even when a famous preacher who chanced to be in the city was invited to preach, the church would prove to be too small, or perhaps they would not even think of going there for the purpose. St. Anthony of Padua, Philip Berruyer, Hugh of Digne drew vast multitudes after them to the public squares, in the ancient arenas, and on the highways. Some preachers even preached in the midst of the markets and fairs.

The thirteenth-century orator always spoke in the vulgar tongue. He used Latin only when addressing an audience made up exclusively of the clergy. The preacher's words and the atti-

<sup>46</sup> Wooden pulpits date only from the fifteenth century.

tude of the audience did not have that solemn and somewhat conventional character which we see in the modern period. Everything was more vivacious, more simple, more spontaneous. The sacred orator denounced vices, faults, irregularities, described them, flayed them. When he was explaining a truth, he endeavored to make it understood by comparisons and by examples taken from daily life. One of the listeners, not grasping the meaning, would interrupt him and thus provoke a fresh explanation. At other times, by a low murmur of approval or disapproval, the people showed their feeling. Then the priest would exclaim: "Very well. I see that you condemn what I am condemning." or: "What now? What is the meaning of these grumblings?" We can understand that, under such conditions, a real orator could establish, between his audience and himself, that communication of mind to mind, which enables a speaker to imbue his audience with his thought, to thrill them, to accomplish that supreme triumph of eloquence, when speaker and audience, carried away by one and the same breath, mutually aroused by the reciprocal reverberation of their feelings and passions and enthusiasm, seem to have but a single thought, a single soul. Often St. Bernard and Foulques of Neuilly had given this spectacle; St. Dominic and St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua and Hugh of Digne repeated it in the thirteenth century. In large part, it was by the power of the spoken word that the Church aroused Christendom for the Crusades; it was also largely by the spoken word that she freed Christendom from the Manichæan heresy.

### The Liturgy

The spoken word of the priest was not the only preaching. The Church, that great educator, knows that teaching and exhortation reach the soul by what it beholds as well as by what it hears. In the Middle Ages, in that thirteenth century when

the nations' confidence gave her a social power never known before, she endeavored to make a preaching of her liturgy and of her temples, where all the arts vied with one another in praising and preaching the religion of Christ.

St. Bonaventure, in a little treatise on the mass, sets forth the symbolism of the priest's vestments at the altar and of all the ceremonies of the holy sacrifice.<sup>47</sup> The ceremonies very closely resembled those of today. We will note merely the modifications which the thirteenth century introduced. The priest no longer celebrated mass, as in the time of Charlemagne, facing the congregation. Clergy and people are respectfully ranged behind him, and the looks of all converge upon the altar. The offering of bread and wine by the faithful, simply optional at the beginning in the eleventh century, is on the road to disappear in the thirteenth. The elevation of the body and of the blood of Christ by the hands of the celebrant after the consecration, becomes a general practice in the time of Innocent III and St. Louis.<sup>48</sup> William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris, introduced at Paris about 1240 the pious practice, already general in the diocese of Reims, of notifying the people by the sound of the bell, at the moment of the elevation, "so that they might then prostrate themselves and ask God's pardon for their sins."<sup>49</sup> And in the thirteenth century we see the appearance of the practice for the faithful to receive communion kneeling down, as they do today, with their hands joined, while the priest places the sacred host on their tongue. Until that time holy communion had been received standing. The people no longer receive communion under the species of wine. St. Thomas consoles them by

<sup>47</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Expositio missae*. St. Thomas gives a fine commentary on the ceremonies of the mass in his *Summa* (IIIa, q.83, a.4).

<sup>48</sup> The elevation of the host after the consecration was not introduced by way of protest against the heresy of Berengarius, but as a protest against the opinion of two theologians, Peter Comestor and Peter the Chanter, who taught that the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of our Lord does not take place until after the consecration of the chalice.

<sup>49</sup> Corblet, *Hist. de l'Eucharistie*, II, 159, 360.

recalling that Christ is whole and entire under each of the two species:

*Caro cibus, sanguis potus;  
Manet tamen Christus totus  
Sub utraque specie.*

After distributing holy communion, the priest, according to a practice that goes far back and which became general in the thirteenth century, placed the reserved species in a suitable receptacle hanging over the altar, or in a wrought crosier secured in the masonry, in such a way as to draw the attention of the faithful and arouse their adoration. The celebrant, before leaving the altar, blessed the congregation. This was a rather recent ceremony in the thirteenth century. Until the ninth century, only the bishop blessed. But, for two centuries preceding the time we are speaking of, this blessing had so entered into the ceremonial of the holy sacrifice that the priests could no longer omit it without grave scandal. Says St. Bonaventure: "This blessing is the image of that blessing which Jesus Christ will give his faithful at the last judgment, when He invites them to enter into the abode prepared for them."<sup>50</sup>

### Religious Architecture

The Church wished to make the cathedral itself a sermon. Victor Hugo, in one of the chapters of *Notre Dame de Paris*, writes: "In the Middle Ages mankind had no important thought which he did not write in stone." The assertion is quite correct. But the poet is wrong when he adds: "The architectural book no longer belonged to the priesthood, to religion, to Rome; it belongs to the imagination, to poetry, to the people." This is utterly false: the teaching that comes from the architecture and sculp-

<sup>50</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Expositio missae*, chap. 4.

ture of the cathedrals is religious and Catholic. Lamennais eloquently expresses the deep religious significance of "those lofty vaults, which are rounded like those of heaven, expressing, by their deep shadows and the sadness of the dim light, the weakness of the universe darkened since its fall"; of "that ascending movement of each part of the temple, symbolizing the eternal aspiration of the creature toward God, its principle and its end"; and of "the cruciform plan, presenting the image of the instrument of eternal salvation."<sup>51</sup>

After the enlightening proofs of Emile Mâle,<sup>52</sup> no one can doubt that the poetic symbolism of the cathedrals was regulated by the ecclesiastical authority. In 787 the fathers of the Second Council of Nicaea expressed themselves in these terms: "The making of the religious images is not left to the initiative of the artists: it must accord with the principles laid down by the Catholic Church and by religious tradition." And further on: "The art alone belongs to the painter; the ordering and disposition belongs to the fathers."<sup>53</sup> No century more faithfully observed these prescriptions than did the thirteenth. While St. Thomas Aquinas was coordinating all the theological science of his time, and Roger Bacon all the positive sciences,<sup>54</sup> a man of less profound genius, but of vaster erudition, the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais, was giving an exposition of universal science. His work was divided into four parts: the mirror of nature, the mirror of science, the mirror of morality, and the mirror of history. These were the four mirrors that served as a rule for all the symbolism of the cathedrals. The builders of those great religious edifices had to conform to them exactly. The Church left to their fancy only the parts that were purely

<sup>51</sup> Lamennais, *De l'art et du beau*, chap. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*.

<sup>53</sup> Labbe, *Concil.*, VIII, 831.

<sup>54</sup> During this same period William Durandus of Mende made a summary of liturgical science, and Jacopo de Voragine collected the finest legends of the saints.

decorative. The rest was merely the reproduction, by architecture and painting and stained-glass, of the encyclopedic work of Vincent of Beauvais.

Thus the cathedral was for the people a Bible in stone, where they admired the wonders of nature and science, studied their duties, surveyed the history of mankind since the creation, having as its center the incarnation of the Son of God and His death on the cross for men's salvation. In such a cathedral, however, without abandoning the aim of giving an encyclopedic teaching, the artist developed more particularly a chapter of Vincent of Beauvais' mirrors. In the cathedral of Amiens, the teaching is more especially messianic and prophetic. In Notre Dame in Paris, Mariology triumphs. At Lyons, it is science and erudition. Beneath the vaults of the cathedral of Sens and on the portal of that of Lyons, we admire the marvels of creation. Bourges celebrates the virtues of the saints of the universal Church, and Reims, a national basilica, reproduces, in its stained-glass windows, the portraits of all the kings of France. In Spain, in Italy, in England, and in Germany the cathedrals of Burgos, of Toledo, of Siena, of Orvieto, of Westminster, of Salisbury, of Bamberg, and of Freiburg give similar teachings. In the smallest village, a church arose, with its slender spire, which seems a raised finger pointing to heaven.

The Romanesque art gave way to Gothic art. This is not the place for a technical account of the two arts. The Gothic style has three chief elements: the pointed arch, the flying-buttress, and a special ornamentation. The archeologists have definitely eliminated from the characteristics of the Gothic the broken arch, which was already in use in the Romanesque art of Burgundy, Provence, and Perigord. The Gothic style, which in a way sprang from the Romanesque style, since it brought the solution of the inquiries that engaged the masters of Romanesque works, "has made possible the erection of structures that are light, well illumined, spacious, and firm, although

vaulted; it carried to the highest point the principle of equilibrium by the opposition of forces, the predominance of empty spaces instead of solid parts";<sup>55</sup> and by this means the Gothic church exercised over the people, and still exercises over the visitor, even more over those who come there to pray, an influence of elevation and purification. A certain writer has truly said: "You cannot enter the great nave of Amiens without feeling purified. The church, merely by its beauty, acts in some way like a sacrament."<sup>56</sup>

To render more penetrating and effective the voice of "the Bible in stone," all the arts were requisitioned. By the rich sculptures of the portals, by the splendid windows of the churches of the North, by the enchanting frescoes of the Italian basilicas,<sup>57</sup> by the voice, now joyous, now sad, of the bells, by the sweet, majestic harmonies of the organ, by the accents of a whole people singing in unison the traditional hymns, by a poetic inspiration which gave the world these pure masterpieces: the *Salve Regina*, St. Thomas' office of the Blessed Sacrament, the *Stabat Mater* of Jacopone da Todi, and the *Dies irae* of Thomas of Celano, sculpture, painting, music, poetry, all lent their concurrence to architecture and made of the Christian church the sanctuary of religion and the temple of art.

All classes of society labored in building the church. "The artist gave his genius; the baron, his land; the merchant, his money; the man of the people offered what he had, his robust arms; he harnessed himself to the carts; he carried the stones on his shoulders. For more than two centuries, all the living forces collaborated. Hence the mighty life that radiates from those eternal works. The very dead were associated with the living. The cathedral was paved with tombstones. The old gener-

<sup>55</sup> Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française, archit. religieuse*, I, 434 f.

<sup>56</sup> Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

<sup>57</sup> Mural painting has no place in Gothic churches. But in Italy, where the basilica form continues, it produces wonders, such as, for example, the mural paintings in the double church at Assisi, begun in 1228 and finished in 1252.

ations, with joined hands on their burial slabs, continue to pray in the old church. In it the past and the present are united in a single sentiment of love. It is the spirit of the community.”<sup>58</sup>

### Literature

The people of the thirteenth century loved their church above all else. “It is the blessed house where they could give expansion to their soul, oppressed by the hardness of life. The pomps, the ceremonies of the church, are their joy. They never find the service of God detaining them too long.”<sup>59</sup> The mass did not suffice for them. By its form, by its alternate chants, by the dialogue of the officiant and the clergy or faithful, the mass is a drama. The people wish to prolong it and develop it. From that desire sprang the theater of the Middle Ages. The *Mysteries* were at first merely the variation of the office of the day. At Christmas, they sang: *Quem quaeritis, pastores? Salvatorem Christum*. At Easter:

*Dic nobis, Maria,  
Quid vidisti in via?  
Sepulchrum Christi viventis,  
Et gloriam vidi resurgentis.*

Little by little this dialogue was enlarged and dramatized. Thus were formed: the drama of *The Prophets of Christ*, which was played on Christmas in the churches; the drama of *The Foolish Virgins*, that of *The Three Marys*, that of *The Representation of Adam*, the most remarkable in literary worth.

The French *chansons de gestes*, the poems of the German Minnesingers, emanated less directly from the Church. The war songs often breathed too much ferocity, and the joyous songs too much sensual softness. But even in these the Christian

<sup>58</sup> Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

<sup>59</sup> G. Lanson, *Hist. de la litt. française*, p. 186.



spirit prevailed. They were dominated by a maxim, that no one can be a perfect hero unless he protects the weak, unless he is the defender of the Church. "Make poor people your cousins," says the *Roman de Carité*; and the greatest of the German Minnesingers, Walther von der Vogelweide, whose patriotism is so fiercely jealous, sings of the dolors and the mercies of the Blessed Virgin with unequaled tenderness.

### Chivalry

Thus, under various forms, Christian doctrine and the Christian spirit entered men's souls. But sad experiences had shown the Church that nothing lasts that is not organized into a permanent institution. As the Church had endeavored to organize the political life by the institution of Christendom, it labored to organize private life. To continue at the height of the Christian ideal, the nobility had chivalry, the world of workingmen had the guild, the mass of the nation had the confraternities and the third orders.

Chivalry has been defined as "the Christian form of the military profession,"<sup>60</sup> or, "the armed force in the service of the unarmed truth." In its origin, chivalry goes back to an old custom of the Germanic countries, the "giving of arms," that is, the investiture given to the noble's son when he reached the age to fight. Chivalry, however, must not be confounded with the nobility. Every noble was not a knight, and every knight was not a nobleman.<sup>61</sup> The order, which was recruited by adoption, had the right of admitting to its ranks a peasant who had given proofs of courage, and at times it made use of this right. In short, chivalry in its early days formed an elite of fighting men; their whole moral tone is contained in these two traditional

<sup>60</sup> Léon Gautier, *Chivalry*, p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Nobility is hereditary; knighthood never was so. Reception into a military order does not confer knighthood.

words: "Be valiant." The valiant man is not only a brave soldier, he is a loyal and honorable soldier; he keeps his pledged word to his suzerain as to the one who has armed him, and he never strikes an unarmed enemy.

But the Church perceived that this moral principle was insufficient, that the knight was too often brutal, ferocious in battle, lacking respect for women and children after the combat. In the eleventh century the Church intervened to give knighthood a religious character and to make the knight the type of the Christian soldier.

For the training of a knight, the Church had as its model the training she gave to her clerics and her monks. "The first quality which was desirable and was exacted from a candidate for chivalry, was 'to have the vocation,' " <sup>62</sup> that is, the aptitude and the attraction for that career of noble soldier, of Christian soldier. If this vocation manifests itself from childhood, the boy is taken at the age of fourteen, even as young as seven years. As a page, he accompanies in the chase the lord charged with his education, he lets loose and calls back the falcon, he handles the spear and the sword, he performs the duties of squire, <sup>63</sup> he hardens himself to fatigue, he nourishes his mind on accounts of the great battles or the songs of the troubadours celebrating the exploits of Charlemagne and Arthur. If the page shows himself ever brave and loyal, and a good Christian, he can be made a knight when he comes of age. In the thirteenth century this was fixed at twenty-one years.

The rite of knighting a page was most solemn. In the thirteenth century it had an altogether religious character and constituted a sort of eighth sacrament. The candidate prepared for his initiation by symbolic ceremonies. He took a bath, which signified the purity of body and heart that he should keep when under arms. He passed a night in prayer in the church; this was

<sup>62</sup> Gautier, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>63</sup> On the duties of a squire, see Gautier, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

the "vigil of arms." He went to confession, heard mass, and received communion. Then he was dressed in a garment of white linen, another symbol of moral purity. Valiant knights, his sponsors, soon dub him, that is, invest him with the various pieces of his armor: the gilded spurs, the coat of mail, and the helmet. In the thirteenth century the Church reserved to the priest the essential part of the dubbing that made the young page a knight. This ceremony took place before the altar. The priest blessed a sword, as he recited the following prayer: "Lord, we beseech Thee, hear our prayers and deign to bless this sword, with which Thy servant desires to be armed, that he may be able to defend and protect the churches, widows, orphans, and all the servants of God." Then he girded the kneeling candidate with the sword, saying to him: "Receive this sword, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." The candidate rose up a knight.

Thenceforth he was subject to military and religious prescriptions that he could not violate without making himself guilty of felony, without exposing himself to the penalty of degradation. We may reduce the obligations of a knight to these ten: 1. Thou shalt believe all that the Church teaches and shalt keep her commandments; 2. thou shalt protect the Church; 3. thou shalt respect and defend all the weak; 4. thou shalt love the place of thy birth; 5. thou shalt not retreat before the enemy; 6. thou shalt make ceaseless war on the infidels; 7. thou shalt perform with exactness thy feudal duties; 8. thou shalt not lie and shalt be faithful to thy word; 9. thou shalt be liberal to all; 10. thou shalt endeavor to do all that is good and to combat all that is evil.

It has been said that this code outlines an ideal that was never realized except in the *chansons de gestes*. But Leon Gautier notes that often the history of chivalry has been more beautiful than legend. St. Louis, in his prison, was more admirable than was William of Orange on the battle field of Aliscans. Du-

guesclin, for whose ransom "all the women of France worked at their spinning-wheels," is greater than Renaud, the eldest of the sons of Aymon. What epic hero equals Bayard? And does not the Joan of Arc of history surpass all the heroines of romance?

It has also been said that chivalry was a passing institution. At least, when it disappeared, it left posterity a heritage of sentiments that were almost unknown before it and that the modern nations have not yet seen disappear everywhere from their midst: the cult of honor and all those ways of feeling and acting, so noble, lofty, and delicate, which we can call by no other name but this consecrated expression, the knightly spirit.

### The Guilds

While concerned with ennobling the soldier, who defended the country with his sword, the Church did not forget the workman, who made it prosperous by his labor. Concern for the workingman was an old tradition in the Church; but the thirteenth century was perhaps the epoch when her solicitude was the most active and effective. This solicitude was especially manifested by the organization of the guild.

A discussion that has gone on for a long time has sought to assign a single origin for the guild. The trade unions of ancient Rome (*collegia opificum*), the Germanic gildes, and the Christian religious confraternities were, in various respects, rough outlines of the craftsmen's guilds. The foundation of these "new cities" in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which grouped in a single city the craftsmen scattered in the *villae* or on the estates; the "peace associations" that showed the advantages of solidarity for the undertaking of a common work; the municipal movement, which was its consequence; the vast works undertaken for the construction of the cathedrals, which grouped more closely together the artisans of a single specialty,

were all successive or concurrent causes which had an influence that we cannot accurately measure in each case. But, "if the origin of the guild corporation is previous to the thirteenth century, not until that period did the institution appear finally organized."<sup>64</sup> The organization of the guilds was accomplished, at that time, by a man whose name remains attached to the history of French industry, the author of the *Livre des métiers*,<sup>65</sup> Stephen Boileau.

We know little about his life. He was born about 1200, accompanied the King to the Crusade, was taken prisoner in 1250 and was held for ransom. In 1258 he was called by St. Louis' confidence to the provostship of Paris, and thus became the chief magistrate of the city, the immediate representative of the royal authority. According to contemporaries, he was an upright, austere man, of incorruptible honesty. Under the inspiration of the holy King, he undertook to gather together, in a single codification, all the usages and regulations in force in the crafts of Paris. His *Livre des métiers* enables us to reconstruct the life of a workingman in the thirteenth century. It contained three chief elements: the organization of labor, the life of the family, and the intervention of religion in the laboring and family life.

The historian of the guilds says:

The guild, taken as a whole, had at its base the division of all craftsmen into three classes: apprentices, journeymen, and masters; those who were being trained, those who served, those who commanded. To each of these three degrees corresponded rights and duties of a particular nature, the list of which was found in the statutes of the craft. Thus the apprentice was not left without protection to the whim of the master. The latter must exercise toward him a moral and professional protection. He has charge of souls. If he failed to

<sup>64</sup> E. Martin-Saint-Léon, *Histoire des corporations*, p. 79. Cf. Levasseur, *Hist. des classes ouvrières*.

<sup>65</sup> The term "corporation" is of modern origin.

keep his solemn engagement, which he contracted toward his pupil, the guild intervened to remind him of this obligation.

After the apprentice had grown up and become a man, after he had finished his apprenticeship, sometimes he became a master at once. Not until the fourteenth century do we find a new term of probation, the journeyman stage, imposed on a candidate for the status of master. But, even in the thirteenth century, more often than not the apprentice attained the status of master only after being a servant. Thereafter he definitely belonged to the guild. The servant was no longer, like the apprentice, bound to the service of a single master. His personality was no longer thus confined. He was free to choose the master for whom he would work; he had the right to discuss the clauses of his agreement. Besides, he had an influential part in the administration of the community; often he had something to say in the choice of his magistrates; he was a participating member of the confraternity and, as such, had a right, in case of need, to the assistance of the society. In short, although, for the performance of his work, he was dependent on the master who engaged him, yet he remained a free man, with a dignity that was always respected.

At the top of the hierarchy was the master. A former apprentice, often a former servant, at last he labored for his own profit, whether he succeeded his father or whether he amassed the necessary resources to have a shop of his own. For this he had to pay certain dues to the craft confraternity, sometimes to the king, and to the master of the craft, if his guild had one. Then generally he engaged one or two servants, took an apprentice, and exercised the rights connected with the rank of master. He attended the meetings, at which he had a vote; he took part in the election of the magistrates, jurymen, or skilled craftsmen, who managed the guild, and he himself might be called upon to hold these offices.

Every collective organization supposes a superior authority whose office is to settle disputes and to enforce respect for the regulations. That authority was confided, in the guild, to sworn councillors, chosen from the masters, generally by election, on condition that the choice be ratified by the provost of Paris. These officers had many duties; some of a financial sort, some connected with the maintenance of

public order. . . . By their office they were the protectors of the apprentices. And they exercised a sort of semi-official authority in all cases involving the security of their subordinates or the general welfare of the craft. Their tenure of office was for a limited time and they had to make their reports to the assembly of the masters.<sup>66</sup>

The principle of the family life was the basis of every workshop; it also became the source of many advantages for the apprentices or servants. "They took their meals with the master. On these occasions minds and hearts easily opened to one another and derived strength from that reciprocal affection. No antagonism. No lodging in the city. No occasion to frequent evil places. The patron's home was the sanctuary guarding the members of the workshop from dangers, from the almost inevitable falls to which the workmen of today are fatally exposed."<sup>67</sup> The apprentice and the servant had in the master's house not only food and lodging, but also fire, light, and laundering. The master was obliged to perform toward them the duties of a father. Under penalty of a fine, he must watch over their morals as well as their work; he must not, for example, allow them to remain out at night later than a fixed hour.

Sharing this family life in the master's home, the workman easily found his life-companion. Often he married the master's daughter. Then he enjoyed the same privileges as the sons of the master. Then the day of his admission to the status of master was not only a grave solemnity, which the guild considered with almost as much respect as the accolade of a knight, as the conferring of the doctorate upon a scholar, or even as the ordination of a cleric; it became a joyous family feast, the starting-point of a new organization of family workshop, where the new master would hand down the principles of morality that he received during his probation as a workman.

<sup>66</sup> Martin-Saint-Léon, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-85.

<sup>67</sup> Hippolyte Blanc, *Corporations de métiers*, p. 198.

As the Church inspired all these practices, of course it gave religion the first place in the family workshop. The master's chief duty was to imbue his apprentice with the fear of God. "Morning and evening," says an old document quoted by Janssen, "and also during his work, the apprentice should ask for God's protection and aid, for without God he can do nothing. The apprentice should attend mass and hear the sermon on Sundays and feast days, and learn to love the reading of good books. During his work he should be industrious and should seek his reputation only in the glory of God. If he sins against the fear of God and obedience, his master should punish him severely: this will do good for his soul; often the body must suffer so that the soul will behave the better." <sup>68</sup>

The performance of religious duties found great help in the confraternity. Frequently, especially at the beginning, the administrative members of the confraternity were the same persons as the officers of the guild. There masters and servants and apprentices mingled in striking equality. The confraternity was the religious and charitable form of the craft. It had two aims: to sustain the members in the practice of their religious duties and to procure assistance for them in their needs. Each confraternity was placed under the patronage of a saint, the patron of the guild, whose image was painted on the banner that was carried on solemn feast days. The metal-workers marched under the banner of St. Eligius (Eloi); wood-workers, under that of St. Joseph; the shoemakers had the image of St. Crepin and St. Crepinian painted on their banner; the bakers, that of St. Honore. A considerable number of confraternities had their own chapel. At Paris, the great butchers' corporation had a magnificent chapel. That of the goldsmiths was very rich. The shoemakers every Monday had a service celebrated at Notre Dame before the images of St. Crepin and St. Crepinian, for

<sup>68</sup> *Exhortation chrétienne*, quoted by Janssen, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*.



the intentions of their members. The flower-girls went to St. Leufroi; the pork-butchers, to the Augustinians.

The confraternity was also a mutual assistance society. The funds were supplied by regular assessments upon its members, varying according to the prosperity of the craft, and by fines incurred, sometimes by the revenues from property owned by the confraternity. The funds were used chiefly for the relief of sick, infirm, and aged workmen, or those who were under the blow of any misfortune. At Paris the confraternity of goldsmiths owned a hospice for the aged and members who were no longer able to work. There they received whatever was required for a decent existence. In return only two things were asked of them: their prayers and their good advice to the young men in the craft.

From St. Louis to Louis XVI, the confraternities lived in dignified pride, without borrowing from anyone. They even made generous offerings outside. Every year the goldsmiths gave a meal to the poor in the Hotel-Dieu. The drapers also made them an annual offering. They gave, besides, a "quarter" of wine and piece of meat to the prisoners of the Châtelet. And the craftsmen were not niggardly in the offerings to the sanctuaries. Most of the stained-glass windows of the Bourges cathedral were offered by confraternities of craftsmen.

The confraternity was always distinct from the guild, and often quite separate from it. In some instances its membership was more limited: some confraternities were composed exclusively of patrons and some of workmen. In other cases it included members of various trades, or even persons belonging to no manual trade. In the great confraternity of Notre Dame, at Paris, were to be found the king, the queen, the princes of blood royal, as well as the smallest tradesmen. Louis XI, a member of this confraternity, was not loath to dine in the home of a member who was a small merchant of the faubourg St. Antoine.

Under the title of confraternities or fraternities, religious

and charitable groups were organized for various special purposes in all parts of Christendom. In the Netherlands, Lambert le Bègue founded "beguinages," whose members, for their own sanctification, bound themselves to certain penances and prayers. "At Paris, Doctor William, with his students and some friends, founded a common house, that they might better realize the Gospel ideal: it was called the Val des Ecoliers. At Le Puy-en-Velay, the Blessed Virgin appeared to a carpenter named Durand Dujardin, and ordered him to go to the bishop for the foundation of a confraternity that would have as its duty the promotion of peace. The 'hooded' swore to go to confession, not to gamble, not to blaspheme, not to frequent the taverns. Similar confraternities were formed in Auvergne, in Berri, in Aquitaine, in Gascony, and in Provence; their members were called 'the peaceful,' or simply 'the sworn.' In Italy phenomena of the same sort were to be seen. Bonfilius dei Monaldi and his friends of Florence distributed their goods to the poor and devoted themselves to penance. The 'humiliati' of Lombardy agreed to associate together for work, prayer, and preaching. Rejected by Alexander III, they persisted and finally were recognized by Innocent; they were authorized to preach morality and piety, but were forbidden to treat of faith and the sacraments."<sup>69</sup>

### Piety

Just as the confraternities extended beyond the crafts, so the works of charity extended beyond the confraternities. Besides the charitable works of the monasteries, which continued to give hospitality to pilgrims and travelers and made regular distributions of assistance to the poor, works were founded to aid the poor in general, the lepers, women and children, and the aged. The hospice of Biloque at Gand dates from 1227; the

<sup>69</sup> Dufourcq, *op. cit.*, VI, 267.

Maison-Dieu of St. Malo, from 1252; the Holy Ghost at Hanover dates from 1252; the Quinze Vingts at Paris belongs to the same period. In the West, at the close of the thirteenth century, there were between 15,000 and 20,000 leper-houses. The asylum of the Filles-Dieu at Paris, that of the Six-Vingts at Chartres, that of the foundlings at Lille, the old people's homes founded at Valence, Tournai, the Norman "charities" of Evreux, the houses for women in confinement, and the societies founded for the burial of the dead grew in number in France, Italy, and Germany.

Among all these associations, these groups of charity and piety, one form little by little tended to prevail. These were the third orders. We have already noted their origin.<sup>70</sup> In the thirteenth century, thanks to the third orders, "the world was peopled with young women, married people, men of every rank and station, who publicly wore the insignia of a religious order and bound themselves to its practices in the privacy of their homes. Just as a person belonged to a family by blood or to a society by the service in which he was engaged, so, out of voluntary devotion, they wished to belong to one of the glorious militias that were serving Christ by word and by penance. People wore the liveries of St. Dominic or of St. Francis, frequented their churches, took part in their prayers, followed as nearly as possible the footsteps of their virtues. The history of this institution is one of the most beautiful things we can read. It produced saints in every rank of human life, from the throne to the footstool, with such an abundance that the desert and the cloister were able to be jealous of them. Who has not heard of St. Catherine of Siena and St. Rose of Lima, those two Dominican stars who enlightened the two worlds? Who has not read the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the Franciscan? Thus the spirit of God proportioned His miracles to a multitude of dis-

<sup>70</sup> See *supra*, p. 247.

tressful needs. After flourishing in the solitudes, it spread out over the highways.”<sup>71</sup>

### The Christian Century

In his encyclical *Immortale Dei*, Pope Leo XIII recalls to our minds the time when the influence of the Christian religion and its divine power penetrated the laws and institutions and customs of the nations. The Pope is referring to the period we have been considering. His assertion may appear strange to those who have in mind the schisms and heresies, the oppositions of princes and the weaknesses of clerics, which we have so frequently related in the course of the three centuries we have been studying. But to take scandal from this would be to fail to recognize that the conduct of the most virtuous men never attains the ideal by which they are inspired; this is even truer when we are considering the conduct of a whole society. What is undeniable is that an ideal of life and of Christian perfection reigned over the Middle Ages; that from the eleventh to the thirteenth century it continued to grow; that it entered more and more into the law, the institutions, and the morals, and that it produced marvels. The century of St. Francis of Assisi and of St. Louis, the century of the Gothic cathedrals and the Christian guilds, of chivalry and of the mendicant orders, was truly a century of faith and of charity. Montalembert, in the Introduction to his *Histoire de sainte Elisabeth*, writes: “We know only too well all the sufferings and griefs and crimes there were in the centuries we have been studying. But we believe that, among the evils of these centuries and those of our own century, there were two incalculable differences. At first the energy of the evil everywhere encountered an energy for good, which it seemed to make stronger by provoking it to the combat. Then these evils, from which the world was suffering, were material

<sup>71</sup> Lacordaire, *Vie de saint Dominique*, chap. 16.

rather than moral. An immense moral health neutralized all the ills of the social body. The faith, which had penetrated the world, which laid claim to all men without exception, filtered into all the pores of society like a health-giving sap.”<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Montalembert, *Œuvres*, VII, 146-48.

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## Index

- Aachen: Conrad crowned at, 251; Barbarossa crowned at, 457 f.
- Abbeville, John of (bishop of Sabina), 587
- Abbo (abbot of Fleury), 79
- Abd-er-Rahman (caliph), Otto I and, 22
- Abelard, Peter, 369 f., 570
- Celestine II pupil of, 417
- At Cluny Abbey, 433
- Conference with St. Bernard, 431 f.
- Council of Sens condemns, 432
- Death of, 433
- Errors of, 430-33: condemned, 371
- Historia calamitatum* by, 349
- Hymns, 498
- Innocent II condemns, 432
- Introductio ad theologiam* by, 430
- Sabellianism of, 370 f.
- Sic et Non* by, 433, 441, 495
- Theologia christiana* by, 430
- Tractatus de unitate et trinitate divina* by, 371
- And William of Champeaux, 349
- Absolution, Form of, 380
- Absolutism, Royal, 638
- Achard of St. Victor, 498
- Achrida (Bulgaria), Crusaders at, 296
- Acquapendente, Hildebrand at, 128
- Acre (Palestine). *See* St. John of Acre
- Ad Nymphas*, Alexander III consecrated, 471
- Adalbero (archbishop of Reims): Gerbert and, 38, 53, 56; Holy Roman Empire, 38; Hugh Capet, 47
- Adalbero (bishop of Laon)
- Attack on Charles of Lorraine, 61
- Character of, 60
- Charles of Lorraine plotted against by, 61
- Death of, 62
- Gerbert teacher of, 60 f.
- Louis of Lorraine and, 61
- Monasticism disparaged by, 60
- Odilo disparaged by, 60
- Poem of, 60
- Robert the Pious and, 60
- Sylvester II and, 62
- Adalbero (bishop of Würzburg), 245
- Adalbert (archbishop of Bremen), Henry IV and, 210
- Adalbert (archbishop of Hamburg), Jurisdiction of, 123
- Adalbert (archbishop of Mainz): becomes archbishop, 328; election of Emperor Lothair, 394; tool of Henry V, 328
- Adalbert, St. (apostle of Prussia), 44: relics at Gnesen, 66
- Adalbert (son of Berengarius II), 23: Death of, 29
- Adalbold (bishop of Utrecht), 106 note 39
- Adam of St. Victor (poet), 497 f.: Innocent III and, 497
- Adela of Blois (countess), 338
- Adelaide (German empress). *See* Praxedes
- Adelaide, St. (empress)
- Berengarius II and, 220
- Coronation of, 13
- In Italy, 34
- Kindness to daughters of Berengarius, 33
- Otto I husband of, 12, 33
- Otto II son of, 33 f., 37
- At Pavia, 41
- Theophano and, 34, 48
- Adelheid. *See* Adelaide
- Ademar of Chabannes (annalist), 44
- Ademar of Monteil: at Constantinople, 297; crusade legate, 296 f., 284; Death of, 300; First Crusade, 283 f.; *Salve Regina*, 296 note 152
- Adolphus of Nassau, 625
- Adrian IV (pope), 458-60
- At Anagni, 469
- Arnold of Brescia, 460
- At Benevento, 461
- Bishop of Albano, 459
- Conflict with Barbarossa, 468 f.

- Adrian IV (*continued*)  
 Death of, 469  
 Election of, 458  
 Eugene III, 459  
 Letter to Barbarossa, 462  
 Meeting with Barbarossa, 460  
 Roland Bandinelli and, 469  
 Treaty with William of Sicily, 461  
Adrian V (pope), 622  
Adrianople: Crusaders in, 289; Crusaders defeated at, 428  
*Adversus simoniacos* by Cardinal Humbert, 170  
*Aeterni patris*, encyclical of Leo XIII, 634  
Africa, Caliphate of Cairo and Northern, 277  
Agnes (empress): Clement II crowns, 133; at Council of Rome (1076), 215; Henry IV son of, 167, 210  
Agnes de Meran: Death of, 559; Philip Augustus dismisses, 558; Philip Augustus marries, 514  
Agrigente. *See* Girgenti  
Aigues Mortes, St. Louis sails from, 607  
Aimoïn (archbishop of Bourges), formation of commune, 378  
Aix (*see*), 167  
Alaric, *Breviarium of*, 310  
Alba, Benzo bishop of, 127  
Albano, Nicholas Breakspear bishop of, 459  
Alberic II (duke of Spoleto): John XII son of, 10; *Princeps*, 10; *Senator omnium Romanorum*, 10  
Albert II (count of Parma), and the Crusade, 313  
Albert (antipope), 319 f.  
Albert (copyist), 355  
Albert the Great, St.: St. Thomas on, 632; teacher of St. Thomas, 633  
Alberto di Morra (Gregory VIII), 504  
Albi: Albigenses at, 526; Manichaeans at, 526  
Albigenses  
 At Albi, 526  
 Boldness of, 527  
 At Carcassonne, 526  
 Diego de Acebes and, 528  
 Doctrine condemned, 573  
 Innocent III, 529  
 Lateran Council condemns, 573  
 Origin of name, 526  
 Philip Augustus, 530  
 Raymond Roger, 531  
 Raymond VI of Toulouse and, 529  
 St. Dominic, 528  
 At Toulouse, 526  
Albigensian crusade, 530 ff.: Carcassonne taken, 532; Innocent III, 535; Simon de Montfort, 532-36  
Alcantara, Order of, 586  
Alcuin, 72, 78  
Aleppo, Turks at, 342  
Alessandria: Alexander III builds, 479; Barbarossa attacks, 479  
Aleth of Montbard, mother of St. Bernard, 362  
Alexander II (pope), 181-85  
 Beatrice friend of, 182  
 Camaldolese Order approved by, 117  
 Character of, 181  
 Clerical life, 347  
 Death of, 185  
 Election of, 181  
 Godfrey of Tuscany friend of, 182  
 Harold (king of Norway), 184  
 Henry IV (emperor), 184  
 Hildebrand counselor of, 182  
 Lanfranc teacher of, 181  
 Lay investiture, 183  
 Peter Damian counselor of, 182  
 Philip I of France, 184  
 Reform measures, 183  
 Reggio birthplace of, 181  
 Roger of Sicily encouraged by, 184  
 Sweyn (king of Denmark), 184  
 William of Normandy, 184  
Alexander III (pope), 469 ff.  
 Alessandria built by, 479  
 Antipope Paschal submits to, 480  
 Barbarossa in conflict with, 471 f.  
 Barbarossa makes peace with, 479 f.  
 Born at Siena, 470  
 At Bourges, 475  
 Canonizations by, 491  
 Carthusians favored by, 491  
 Character of, 470  
 Conflict with Barbarossa, 476 f.  
 Conrad (bishop of Salzburg) loyal to, 477  
 At Council of Tours, 475  
 Death of, 499  
 Election of, 470 f.  
 Entry into Rome, 477  
 Flight from Rome, 478

- Alexander III (*continued*)  
 In France, 474  
 Henry II of England, 487 f.  
 Lateran Council, 490 ff.  
 Louis VII of France extends hospitality to, 475  
 Manuel Comnenus' attempt to bargain with, 475  
 Missions in Asia, 491  
 Murder of St. Thomas à Becket, 489  
 Negotiations with Manuel Comnenus, 491  
 Policy toward heretics, 494  
 Raymond V of Toulouse, 527  
 Reform measures, 491  
 Repression of heresy, 495  
 St. Thomas à Becket and, 487  
 At Sens, 475  
 At Tours, 475  
 Treaty of Venice, 480  
 Universities, 491  
 Alexander IV (pope), 612: Paris University, 631  
 Alexander of Hales (theologian), 631 f.  
 Alexius I Comnenus (emperor)  
 Attitude to the Crusade, 297  
 Church union, 233  
 Crusade project, 274  
 First Crusade rescued by, 291  
 Kumans at war with, 278  
 At Nicaea, 298  
 Normans at war with, 278  
 Petchenegs at war with, 278  
 Turks at war with, 278  
 Alexius III (emperor), Fourth Crusade, 540 f.  
 Alexius IV (emperor): Boniface of Montferrat, 540; Fourth Crusade, 541; Innocent III, 541; Murder of, 542  
 Alexius V (emperor), Fourth Crusade, 542  
 Alexius Ducas. *See* Alexius V.  
 Alfonso I (king of Aragon), Innocent II and, 408  
 Alfonso VI (king of Castile): Gregory VII, 230; Moors at war with, 230, 266, 268  
 Alfonso VII (king of Castile): Innocent III, 408; Moors, 550; Navas de Tolosa (battle), 551  
 Alfonso X (king of Castile), 587  
 Alfonso IX (king of Leon): Death of, 587; excommunicated, 514, 552; Marriage of, 514; marries Berengaria, 514; Moors and, 551  
 Alfonso II (king of Portugal), 551  
 Al-Hakim (caliph), 92: Jews and, 94 note 15  
 Alix of Champagne (queen of Cyprus), 584 f.  
*Alleluia* (in mass chant), 82  
 Allucingoli, Ubaldo (Lucius III), 499  
 Almohades (dynasty), 586 and note  
 Almoravides (dynasty), 586 and note: in Spain, 267 f.  
 Alps, St. Bernard monastery, 45  
 Altmann (bishop of Passau), 245: at Assembly of Tribur, 218; reform measures, 193  
 Amalfi: Destruction of, 414; Normans' possession of, 226; Power of, 414  
 Amalric (king of Jerusalem), 506  
 Amalric of Bena: Aristotle, 595; Doctrine condemned, 573; Errors of, 571  
 Amatus (bishop of Oloron), papal legate, 208  
 Amaury. *See* Amalric  
 Ambresbury, Council of (979), 38  
 Amiens: birthplace of Peter the Hermit, 285; Cathedral of, 652; Philip Augustus married at, 513  
 Anacletus II (antipope), 400, 402 ff.  
 Anagni: Adrian IV at, 469; Gregory IX at, 583  
 Anastasius IV (pope), 458  
 Anastasius (monk), legate of Gregory VII, 199  
 Anathema. *See* Excommunication  
 Anazir (king of Mauretania), Gregory VII and, 231  
 Ancona, March of, 65: Barbarossa attacks, 479; Papacy and, 580; Papal States, 68; taken from Turks, 342  
 Andalusia, Moors in, 550  
 Andrew (king of Hungary), 200, 561, 563: Leo IX and, 160  
 Andronicus II (emperor), Eastern Schism resumed by, 623  
 Angers: Council of (1096), 285; Eusebius Bruno bishop of, 148; Robert of Arbrissel professor at, 314; University of, 630 note 20  
 Anna Comnena: on the crusaders, 295; on number of the crusaders, 293

- Anno (archbishop of Cologne):  
     Henry IV and, 210; tutor of Henry IV, 183
- Anselm, St. (archbishop of Canterbury), 261-66  
     Abbot of Bec, 262  
     At Bec Abbey, 303 f., 308  
     Born at Aosta, 262  
     Chester Abbey founded by, 262  
     Consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, 263  
     At Council of Bari, 265  
     *Cur Deus homo* by, 306  
     At deathbed of William Rufus, 262  
     In exile, 338  
     Henry I of England, 339  
     Henry I recalls, 336  
     Lanfranc teacher of, 262  
     *Meditations* by, 306  
     Method of, 304 f.  
     *Monologium* by, 305 f.  
     *Prologium* by, 306  
     Protestantism and, 307 note 175  
     At Rockingham Assembly, 264  
     At Rome, 265  
     Scholastic method, 305  
     Scholasticism, 302  
     Study of theology, 306  
     William Rufus in conflict with, 263
- Anselm (archbishop of Milan), Conrad crowned by, 251
- Anselm (bishop of Lucca), 181, 237 note 1  
     Canon law collection, 309 f.  
     *Collectio canonum*, 147  
     Gregory VII and, 238  
     Patari encouraged by, 223  
     On punishment of heretics, 493
- Anselm of Baggio (priest), reform movement, 172
- Anselm of Laon and Abelard, 370
- Anselm of Paris (canonist), 449
- Ansfried of Louvain, Otto I and, 15
- Anthony of Padua (St.), Preaching of, 647
- Antioch: Crusaders besiege, 299; Crusaders decimated at, 508; Latin state of, 340; Patriarch of, 424; Peter III patriarch, 154
- Antipopes, List of  
     Albert, 319 f.  
     Anacletus II, 400  
     Benedict X, 174, 176
- Boniface VII, 35
- Burdinho (Gregory VIII), 330, 333
- Cadalous (Honorius II), 182 f., 191, 214
- Callistus III, 479
- Clement III, 191, 228, 318
- Gregory VIII, 318, 331
- Guibert, 209, 226, 318
- Guido of Crema, 476
- Honorius II, 182 f.
- John XVI, 52
- Leo VIII, 23
- Maginulf, 322, 328
- Mauricio Burdinho, 331
- Octavian Maledetti, 471
- Paschal III, 476
- Sylvester III, 124
- Sylvester IV, 322, 328
- Theodoric, 319
- Victor IV, 409, 471
- Aosta: St. Anselm born at, 262; St. Bernard pass, 45
- Apameia, John Zemisses takes, 39
- Apologia* by St. Bernard, 453
- Apprentices, 659-61
- Apulia (duchy), 135, 410 note 32  
     First Crusade in, 295  
     Honorius II and, 398  
     Interdicted by Council of Pisa, 408  
     Norman sovereignty, 176  
     Roger of Sicily in, 412  
     William duke of, 461
- Aquilaia, Sieghart bishop, 218
- Aquinas, St. Thomas. *See* Thomas
- Arabic language, Paris University, 624
- Arabs: Otto I and, 22; John Zemisses at war with, 39
- Aragon: Languedoc and, 534; war on Moors, 266
- Architecture: Gothic, 652 f.; Lamennais on religious, 651; Religious, 650-54; Romanesque, 79 ff., 652; Victor Hugo on medieval, 650
- Arci, Theophylactus family, 69
- Arduin (king of Italy), 94  
     Abdication of, 99  
     At Fruttuaria Abbey, 100  
     Death of, 100  
     Henry II and, 98  
     Henry II at war with, 98  
     Ivrea castle, 99
- Aremberge, St. Hugh son of, 200

- Arialdo: excommunicated, 173; origin of the Patari, 172; Stephen IX, 173
- Aristotle: Authority of, 595; St. Bonaventure, 635; St. Thomas Aquinas, 635; Study of, 595 f.; universal ideas, 366 note 126
- Arles (kingdom of) separates from the Empire, 611. *See also* Burgundy
- Armagh, St. Malachy archbishop, 451
- Armenia: Gregory VII and, 230; Kingdom of Lesser, 510
- Army, Pestilence in, 478
- Arnaldistae condemned, 501
- Arnold Amalricus (abbot of Grand-selve), 525
- Arnold of Brescia, 412, 415-17
- Abjuration of, 422
- Adrian IV and, 460
- Anticlericalism of, 421
- Doctrines of, 419
- Eugene III confers with, 421
- Execution of, 423
- Lateran Council (1139), 416
- Papacy and, 422 f.
- At Rome, 423
- St. Bernard and, 421
- Arnulf (archbishop of Reims)
- Adalbero's plot against, 61
- Charles of Lorraine and, 53
- Deposed, 53
- Gregory V and, 62 f.
- Hugh Capet defends, 54
- Imprisoned, 61
- Lothair father of, 53
- Restored to see of Reims, 54
- Robert the Pious and, 54
- Sylvester II and, 62 f.
- Sylvester II reinstates, 63
- Arpads (Hungarians), 560
- Arras (Council of), Manichaeans condemned, 115
- Art, Council of Nicaea (787) on religious, 651
- Arthur of Brittany, Assassination of, 553
- Ascelin (bishop of Laon). *See* Adalbero
- Asceticism, St. Bernard, 443 ff.
- Asia, Missions in, 491
- Asia Minor, Crusaders in, 428 f., 508
- Assizes of Clarendon, punishment of heretics, 494
- Astericus (bishop of Kalocsa), Sylvester II and, 66
- Astronomy, Sylvester II, 74
- Atabeks (Turkish rulers), 425, 506
- Augustine, St. (of Hippo), Roger Bacon's preference for, 644
- Aurillac, Gerbert of (Sylvester II), 56
- Ausona. *See* Vich
- Austrians join the Crusade, 290
- Autun: Urban II at, 276; Elementary schools at, 646
- Autun, Council of (1055), St. Hugh at, 200
- Autun, Council of (1077), lay investiture, 208
- Autun, Council of (1094), Philip I's divorce, 258
- Auvergne, Peter the Venerable born in, 357
- Avellana (monastery), Guido abbot, 120
- Aventine Hill, Otto III besieges, 69
- Averroes, Commentaries of, 596
- Aversa, Normans at, 135
- Avis, Order of, 586
- Azzo (count of Canossa), 135
- Baalbek, John Zemisses takes, 39
- Bacon, Roger: at Oxford University, 630, 643; *De secretis operibus artis et naturae*, 645; *Opus majus*, 644 f.; *Opus tertium*, 644 f.
- Bagdad, Caliphs of, 424
- Bagdad, Caliphate of: Cairo and, 277; Syria dominated by, 277
- Baldwin II (emperor): deposed, 616; Frederick II and, 585
- Baldwin I (king of Jerusalem), 341
- Count of Edessa, 341
- Crusader, 292, 299
- Description of, 294
- Marriage of, 299
- And Templars, 345
- Baldwin III (king of Jerusalem), Second Crusade, 429
- Baldwin (count of Flanders): Fourth Crusade, 538 f.; proclaimed Eastern emperor, 543
- Baldwin de Mons (count of Hainault), crusader, 292, 299
- Bamberg: Assembly at, 521; Cathedral of, 652
- Bamberg (Diet of), St. Bernard at, 408
- Bamberg (see of): Papal jurisdiction, 161; founded, 90, 98
- Bandinelli, Roland (Alexander III), 463; Adrian IV and, 469; becomes

- Bandinelli, Roland (*continued*)  
     papal chancellor, 470; elected pope, 469 f.; esteemed by Eugene III, 470;  
     *Sententiae* by, 470; *Stroma* by, 470  
 Bantono, Urban II at, 249  
 Barcelona (Council of, 1068), reform measures, 196  
 Bari, Knights of St. John at, 344  
 Bari (Council of, 1098): St. Anselm at, 265; Urban II at, 265  
 Baronius, Liutprand and, 32  
 Barral des Baux, podesta of Milan, 614  
 Bartholomew (bishop of Laon), St. Norbert and, 352  
 Bartholomew Peter, finding of holy lance, 299  
 Basil II (emperor), 110  
     Brindisi taken by, 39  
     Bulgarians slaughtered by, 110  
     Bulgaroktonos, sobriquet of, 110  
     Russians defeated by, 110  
     Saracens at war with, 39  
     Saracens defeated by, 110  
     Taranto taken by, 39  
 Baume Abbey, Cluny Abbey and, 198  
 Bavaria, Monasteries in, 97  
 Bavarians join the Crusade, 290  
 Beatrice (duchess of Tuscany)  
     Alexander II friend of, 182  
     Godfrey marries, 166  
     Henry III cousin of, 166  
     Henry IV nephew of, 211  
     Matilda daughter of, 161  
     Victor II and, 166  
 Beauvais, St. Ivo born in, 308  
 Beauvais (Vincent of), Studies of, 651  
 Bec (abbey): Lanfranc at, 303 f.; Lanfranc prior, 180; St. Anselm at, 303 f.; St. Anselm abbot, 262; St. Ivo abbot, 308  
 Becket. *See* Thomas à Becket  
 Beghards, Celestine III and, 514 f.  
 Bego (bishop of Clermont), Truce of God, 45  
 Bègue, Lambert le (founder), 664  
 Beguines, Celestine III and, 514 f.  
 Bela III (king of Hungary), 560  
 Belgium in the German Empire, 107 note 40  
 Belgrade, Crusaders at, 290  
 Benedict, St. (of Nursia), Leo IX, 143  
 Benedict V (pope), 26 ff.  
 Boniface Franco, 34  
 Death of, 27  
 Deposed, 26 f.  
 Election of, 26  
 The Grammarian, 26  
 Otto I, 26  
 Benedict VI (pope), 31-33  
     Death of, 35  
     Eldrad (abbot), 35  
     Frederick (bishop of Salzburg), 35  
     Imprisoned, 35  
     Reform of the Church, 35  
 Benedict VII (pope), 36-40  
     Bishop of Sutri, 36  
     Boniface VIII (antipope), 36  
     Cluny Abbey, 40  
     Council of Ravenna (974), 36  
     Councils of Rome (974-81), 36 f.  
     Death of, 40  
     Monasticism, 40  
     Southern Italy, 39  
     Tomb of, 40  
 Benedict VIII (pope), 99 ff.  
     Council of Pavia (1018), 104  
     Cunigundis crowned by, 99  
     Death of, 109  
     Henry II, 99  
     Henry II crowned by, 99  
     Project of world peace, 101  
     Robert the Pious, 101  
     Romanus (consul), 101  
     Rudolf III of Burgundy, 101  
 Benedict IX (pope), 121 ff.  
     Abdication of, 124  
     Age of, 121  
     Bonizo on, 125 note 83  
     Death of, 125  
     Deposed, 133  
     Driven from Rome, 124, 134  
     Election of, 121  
     Grottaferrata Abbey, 125  
     St. Simeon of Trier canonized by, 123  
     Scandals, 121  
     Simony, 121, 124  
 Benedict X (antipope), 174  
     Abdication of, 176  
     At Galeria, 176  
     Hildebrand opposes, 174  
     Peter Damian opposes, 174  
 Benedict the Grammarian. *See* Benedict V  
 Benefices, 628



- Benevento, 135  
 Adrian IV at, 461  
 Battle of, 615  
 Council of (1087), 240  
 Gregory VIII born at, 504  
 Papal States, 162  
 Paschal II at, 330  
 Benezet, St. (founder), 514  
 Benzo (bishop of Alba), 127  
 Berengaria (princess of Castile), Alfonso IX marries, 514  
 Berengarius (heretic)  
 Abjuration, 152  
 Archdeacon of Angers, 148  
 Character of, 149  
 Council of Paris (1051) condemns, 151  
 At Council of Tours, 152  
 Council of Vercelli condemns doctrine of, 151  
 Doctrine of, 149 f.  
 Excommunicated, 150  
 Fulbert of Chartres, 148  
 Godfrey Martel and, 148  
 Henry I of France, 150 f., 151 note 32  
 Heresy of, 275  
 Imprisoned, 150 f.  
 St. Bruno, 203  
 Submission of, 152  
 Tours birthplace of, 148  
 Berengarius II (king of Italy)  
 Adalbert son of, 23  
 Death of, 29  
 Otto I, 12  
 Otto I besieges, 23  
 St. Adelaide, 220  
 Bernard of Clairvaux, St., 361-66, 443-46  
 Abelard's errors, 430-33  
*Apologia* by, 453  
 Arnold of Brescia, 421  
 Born at Fontaines, 361  
 Canonization of, 491  
 Celestine II, 418  
 At Châtillon-sur-Seine, 362  
 At Clairvaux, 346  
 Clairvaux monastery founded by, 365  
 Conference with Abelard, 431 f.  
 Conrad III, 419  
 At Council of Pisa, 409  
 Crusade preached by, 425  
*De consideratione* by, 450  
*De conversione* by, 450  
*De diligendo Deo* by, 444  
*De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* by, 444  
*De laude novae militiae* by, 450  
*De moribus et officio episcoporum* by, 450  
 Delegated by Council of Etampes, 401  
 At Diet of Bamberg, 408  
 Doctrine of asceticism, 443 ff.  
 Enters Cîteaux, 363  
 Eugene III's correspondence with, 421  
 In Germany, 408  
 Heretics of Cologne, 434  
 Influence of, 391  
 Innocent II, 403  
 And Innocent's election, 401 f.  
*Jesu dulcis memoria* by, 361 note 108  
 Letter to Innocent II, 407, 412 note 38  
 And Louis the Fat, 397  
 Louis VII of France, 418  
 Maxims of, 445  
 The *Memorare* by, 361 note 108  
 On monastic decline, 355 f.  
 Mysticism, 445  
 And Peter (bishop of Pisa), 411  
 Peter Lombard aided by, 441 f.  
 Peter the Venerable, 366  
 Preaches against heresy, 527  
 Preaches at Spire, 426  
 Preaches Crusade in Germany, 426  
 Roger of Sicily, 413  
 Rule of Knights Templars, 345  
 St. Hildegard, 447  
 On St. Malachy, 451  
 Second Crusade, 427  
 And Stephen of Senlis, 397 f.  
 At Vézelay, 426  
 William of Champeaux, 365  
 Bernard of Menthon, St. (abbot): Death of, 45; St. Bernard monasteries founded by, 45  
 Bernard of Pisa (Eugene III), 420  
 Bernardone (Pietro), father of St. Francis, 565  
 Bernordes Guidonis, 599  
 Berruyer (Philip), Preaching of, 647  
 Bertha of Blois, marriage to Robert the Pious, 54  
 Bertha of Holland, wife of Philip I, 256  
 Bertha of Savoy, marriage to Henry IV, 184  
 Berthold of Carinthia, Gregory VII and, 193

- Berthold of Zähringen, partisan of Henry IV, 320
- Bertrade de Montfort (countess of Anjou), Philip I marries, 256
- Bertrand (archdeacon of Mende), deposed by Leo IX, 161
- Bertrand of Toulouse in Palestine, 341
- Besançon, Diet of (1157), 463
- Bessan (see), 340
- Bézier pillaged, 531, 532 note 36
- Bill of Rights, 555
- Bishops: Lay investiture of, 17; Temporal power of, 104; in twelfth century, 382
- Bishops, election of, 336, 348, 483: Cathedral chapters in, 382; in England, 338; Henry II (emperor), 104; Henry II of England, 486 f.
- Bivar (Spain), the Cid, 268
- Blanche of Castile (queen of France), 587: treaty with Emperor, 592
- Blessed Virgin (Office of) and Urban II, 284
- Blessing at mass, 650
- Blois, Peter de. *See* Peter
- Bobbio (abbey), Gerbert abbot of, 42
- Boethius, 72: Sylvester II and writings of, 56
- Bohemia: Crusaders from, 287; Gregory VII and, 230; Henry IV founds kingdom of, 237
- Bohemund: at Antioch, 299; at Constantinople, 297; crusader, 292, 295; rivalry between Raymond of Toulouse and, 300
- Boileau (Etienne), *Livre des métiers* by, 659
- Boleslaus II (king of Poland): Gregory VII excommunicates, 230; St. Stanislaus slain by, 230
- Boleslaus Chrobry (king of Poland): Henry II and, 97; Henry II at war with, 98
- Boleslaus (duke of Poland), relics of St. Adelbert, 66
- Bollstädt, Albert. *See* Albert the Great
- Bologna, John XIII and, 30
- Bologna University, 629 f.
- Gratian teacher at, 448
- Influence of, 642
- Innocent IV teacher at, 601
- Study of law at, 465, 636
- Bonaventure, St., 634 f.: Aristotle, 635; at Council of Lyons, 620; explanation of the mass, 649; *Itinerarium mentis ad Deum*, 635
- Bonifilius dei Monaldi, 664
- Boniface VII (antipope), 35
- At Constantinople, 37
- Death of, 43
- Deposed, 36
- Enters Rome, 42
- Flees to Constantinople, 36
- John XIV and, 42
- States of the Church, 43
- Boniface (marquis of Tuscany), Henry III and, 135
- Boniface of Montferrat: Fourth Crusade, 537, 539 f.; Prince Alexius and, 540
- Boniface Franco (antipope Boniface VIII), 35: Benedict V and, 34; Council of Rome condemns, 36
- Bonizo (bishop of Piacenza): on Benedict IX, 125 note 83; Bishop of Sutri, 244; Death of, 244
- Bononius, St. (monk), Peter of Vercelli and, 92
- Bordeaux, St. Bernard at, 527
- Bordeaux (Council of, 1080), Berengarius' abjuration, 152
- Bosporus, First Crusade at the, 291
- Bossuet on St. Francis of Assisi, 564
- Botaniates, Nicephorus. *See* Nicephorus
- Bougre, Robert le (inquisitor), 598 note 32
- Bourges: Alexander III at, 475; Cathedral of, 652; Truce of God at, 378; windows of cathedral, 663
- Bourgueil, church built, 80
- Bouvines, Battle of, 548
- Braga, Burdinho archbishop of, 330
- Brancaleone (senator), Alexander IV and, 512
- Brandenburg (diocese), Slavs pillage, 37
- Brandford, Council of (964), 30
- Breakspear (Nicholas), elected pope, 458. *See also* Adrian IV
- Brescia, 135
- Breslau, suffragan of Gnesen, 66
- Brest, Schools at, 646
- Breviarium* of Alaric, 310
- Brienne, Gauthier de (knight), 520
- Brienne, Isabella of (empress), marries Frederick II, 581

- Brienne, John of, 591 : father of Isabella, 581
- Brindisi, Basil II takes, 39
- Brixen (pseudo-council, 1080) : Gregory's deposition declared, 225 f.; Guibert elected antipope, 226
- Bruno, St. (archbishop of Cologne), 32 f. : *Commentary on the Gospels* by, 32; *Lives of the Saints* by, 32; Otto I brother of, 12, 32 f.; St. Matilda mother of, 33
- Bruno (brother of Emperor Henry II), Ordination of, 98
- Bruno of Carinthia (Gregory V), 51
- Bruno of Toul (Leo IX), 140 ff. : chaplain of Conrad II, 141
- Bruno Hartenfaust, St. (abbot), 203 f. Becomes Benedictine, 204
- Berengarius of Tours, 203
- Carthusian Order founded by, 203
- At the Chartreuse, 204
- Cologne birthplace of, 203
- At Molesme, 204
- St. Robert, 204
- Urban II pupil of, 242
- Bruno, Eusebius. *See* Eusebius
- Brothers Hospitalers of the Holy Ghost, 519
- Buccaporci (Sergius IV), 91
- Bulgari (heretics), 492
- Bulgaria : Byzantine Empire, 278; Crusaders in, 294, 508; Innocent III, 562
- Bulgarians : attack crusaders, 290; Basil II massacres, 110; Revolt of, 40
- Bulgaroktonos, Basil II called, 110
- Bulls, Papal
- Parens scientiarum*, 597
- Quo elongati*, 600
- Rex pacificus*, 594
- Burchard (bishop of Halberstadt), Death of, 244 f.
- Burchard (bishop of Worms) : *Decretum* by, 309; Edict of peace, 102
- Burdinho, Mauricio (antipope), 331 : Henry V crowned by, 330; imprisoned, 333
- Burgos, Cathedral of, 652
- Burgundy (kingdom of) : separates from the Empire, 611; Waldenses in, 527
- Burial, Refusal of Christian, 323 note 20
- Byzantine Empire
- Attitude to the papacy, 279
- Bulgaria, 278
- Croatians, 278
- Dalmatians, 278
- Normans' attitude to, 279
- Rule of succession, 278
- Rumanians, 278 f.
- Serbs, 278
- Simeon (czar of Bulgaria), 278
- Venice, 279
- Cadalous (antipope Honorius II), 182 f. Emperor Henry IV, 182 f. Enters Rome, 182 Excommunicated, 183
- Guibert of Ravenna, 191
- Hugh Candidus favors, 214
- Rome attacked by, 182
- Cadiz, Ferdinand takes, 587
- Caen : St. Stephen's Church, 180; Trinity Church, 180
- Caerularius, Michael. *See* Michael
- Caesarea (in Cappadocia), Turks capture, 232
- Caesarea (in Palestine), *See* of, 340
- Caesaropapism, Eastern, 153
- Cahors, St. Bernard at, 527
- Cairo : Fatimites of, 424; Turks at, 342
- Cairo, Caliphate of, 277
- Calabria : Norman sovereignty, 176; Saracen invasion, 70
- Calatrava, Knights of, 346, 586
- Caliphs of Bagdad, 424
- Callistus II (pope), 318, 331 f. Cistercians, 365
- Concordat of London, 338 f.
- Concordat of Worms, 334
- Council of Reims (1119), 332
- Death of, 385
- Emperor Henry V, 318, 333
- And Henry V at Mouzon, 332
- Indulgences, 380
- Lateran Council (1123) convoked by, 384
- Lay investiture, 332
- Letter to Cluny Abbey, 358
- At Mouzon, 332
- Thurstan consecrated by, 396
- Callistus III (antipope), 479
- Calne, Council of (978), 38 f.
- Calojan. *See* Johannitus
- Camaldolese, Order of : approved by Alexander II, 117; Foundation of, 115 f.

- Camaldoli, St. Romuald at, 116  
 Cambrai, execution of a Patarine, 492  
 Cambridge University, 630 note 20  
 Camerino, Papal States, 166  
 Campo Santo (Pisa), 564  
 Canaporius, Johannes, 44 note 100  
 Candidus, Hugh. *See* Hugh  
*Canonicus*, Original meaning of, 348  
     note 70  
 Canonization: First papal, 44; Popes and, 491  
 "Canonization," Use of the word, 44 note 101  
 Canon law. *See* Law  
 Canons, Capitular, 381 f.  
 Canons, Cathedral, 348, 382  
 Canons of Marbach, Foundation of, 254  
 Canons regular, Gregory VII, 197  
 Canons Regular of St. Rufus, 459  
 Canons Regular of St. Victor: Foundation of, 346, 349; Rule of, 350  
 Canossa: Gregory VII at, 219 f.; Henry IV at, 220 f.; Matilda at, 220; St. Adelaide at, 220  
 Canterbury (see)  
     Dunstan archbishop, 30  
     Hubert Walter archbishop, 553  
     John de Gray archbishop, 554  
     St. Anselm archbishop, 263  
     St. Dunstan archbishop, 38  
     St. Thomas à Becket archbishop, 483  
     Theobald archbishop, 482 f.  
     Vacancy of, 261  
 Cantilena (music), 85  
 Canute III (king of Denmark), 513  
 Canute VI (king of Denmark) at Council of Soissons, 558  
 Canute the Great (king of England), Conrad II and, 113  
*Capellanus*, Office of, 129 note 96  
 Capet, Hugh. *See* Hugh Capet  
 Capetian dynasty, Origin of, 47 f.  
 Capella (Martianus), Sylvester II and writings of, 56  
 Capua, 135: interdicted, 173; St. Vincent's Church, 173; William, prince of, 461  
 Carcassonne: Albigenses at, 526; Albigensian crusade, 532  
 Cardinal-bishops, Sees of, 177 note 102  
 Cardinals in twelfth century, 383  
 Carmelites, Alexander III and beginning of, 491  
 Carroux, Council of (989), 44  
 Carthage, St. Louis at, 617  
 Carthusians  
     Alexander III favors the, 491  
     Approval of Rule of, 491  
     Lansperge on, 203  
     Rule of, 204  
     St. Bruno founder of, 203  
     Spirit of, 203  
 Cashel (Ireland), *See* of, 451  
 Casimir I (king of Poland): Mieczy-slaw II father of, 123; St. Odilo, 123  
 Cassian (John), St. Victor Abbey founded by, 437 f.  
 Castelnau, Pierre de (papal legate), Assassination of, 528 f.  
 Castelnau, Albigenses at, 527  
 Castiglioni, Godfredo (Celestine IV), 601 note 39  
 Castile: Moors threaten, 550; Origin of name, 266; war on Moors, 266  
 Catalonia, Languedoc and, 534  
 Catania (Sicily): Saracens defeated at, 269; *See* of, 269  
 Cathari (heretics), 492: condemned by Lucius III, 501; Doctrines of, 492; in Italy, 598; Lateran Council (1179) condemns, 491, 495  
 Cathedral chapters, 381 f.: in election of bishops, 382  
 Cathedrals, Art in, 451 f.  
 Cayaca, Council of (1050), 146  
 Celano (Thomas of), *Dies irae* by, 653  
 Celestine II (pope), 392, 417: Abdication of, 392; Abelard teacher of, 417; Roger of Sicily, 417 f.; St. Bernard, 418  
 Celestine III (pope), 510-15  
     Alfonso of Portugal excommunicated by, 514  
     Beghards, 514 f.  
     Beguines, 514 f.  
     Conflict with Henry VI, 512  
     Henry VI crowned by, 510  
     Intercedes for Richard I of England, 512  
     Philip Augustus' divorce denounced by, 513  
     Portugal interdicted by, 514  
     Teutonic Knights favored by, 514  
 Celestine IV (pope), 601 note 39  
 Celestine V, St. (pope), 625

- Celibacy, Clerical
  - Council of Pavia (1018), 104
  - Council of Winchester (1076), 196
  - Denmark, 196
  - Gregory VII, 196
  - Hungary, 196
  - Lanfranc, 196
  - Norway, 196
  - Rural priests in England, 196
  - Sweden, 196
- Cencius (tower of), Gregory VII im-  
prisoned in, 212
- Cencius Savelli (Honorius III), 579
- Cerami, Battle of, 269
- Cesena: Papal States, 68; Revolt of,  
68
- Chabannes, Ademar of (annalist), 44
- Chaise-Dieu, Urban II at, 276
- Charlemagne: Canonization of, 477;  
journey to Palestine, 11 note 10;  
tomb opened, 50
- Châlons-sur-Marne, Paschal II at, 324
- Chalon-sur-Saône, Elementary schools at,  
646
- Chalon-sur-Saône (Council of), reform  
measures, 167
- Champeaux, William of, 348 f.
- Chant: Guido of Arezzo, 116; Notker the  
Stammerer, 82
- Chanter, Office of, 382
- Chapters, Cathedral, 381 f.: in election  
of bishops, 382
- Chapters, Collegiate, 382
- Chapters, Ecclesiastical, 381 f.
- Charity, Works of, 664 f.
- Charles (count of Anjou)
  - Brother of St. Louis, 608
  - Conflict with Manfred, 617
  - Crusader, 618
  - King of Sicily, 613
  - Martin IV, 623
  - Peace with Rudolph of Habsburg, 622
  - Sicilian Vespers, 623
  - In Sicily, 615
  - Truce with Michael Paleologus, 621
- Charles II (king of Naples), election of  
Celestine V, 625
- Charles of Lorraine: Adalbero and plot  
against, 61; Death of, 61; impris-  
oned, 61; Reims delivered to, 53
- Charroux Abbey, Destruction of, 80
- Charta caritatis*, 365
- Chartres, Schools at, 570
- Chartreuse, St. Bruno at, 204
- Chateaufort, Commune of, 377
- Châtelet (prison), 663
- Châtillon, Renaud de, 506
- Châtillon-sur-Marne, Urban II born at,  
242
- Châtillon-sur-Seine, St. Bernard at, 362
- Chester Abbey, St. Anselm founds, 262
- Children's Crusade, 545 note 53
- Chivalry, 655 ff.
  - Code of, 657 f.
  - Feudalism, 118 note 64
  - Heroes of, 657 f.
  - Initiation ceremony, 656
  - Organization of, 655
  - Origin of, 117, 655
  - Religious character of, 655
  - Social influence of, 658
- Chorasmians seize Jerusalem, 603
- Chorepiscopi in Ireland, 451
- Christ Church (cathedral, Canterbury),  
483
- Christian burial, Refusal of, 323 note 20
- Christianity, Influence of, 3: Schlegel on,  
3
- Chrobry, Boleslaus. *See* Boleslaus
- Chrodegang (St.), Clerical life, 347
- Church, Eastern, union with Rome, 491
- Church, Greek. *See* Greek
- Church, Reform of
  - Adalbero, 60
  - Alexander II, 183
  - Alexander III, 491
  - Altmann (bishop of Passau), 193
  - Anselm of Baggio, 172
  - Arialdo, 172
  - Benedict VI, 35
  - Cluny Abbey, 60, 197 ff.
- Councils: Chalon-sur-Saône (*ca.*  
1056), 167; Compostela (*ca.* 1056),  
167; Embrun (1057), 168; Erfurt  
(1075), 193; Lateran (1057), 167;  
Lateran (1215), 574; Llandaff (*ca.*  
1056), 167; Mainz (1049), 145;  
Paris (1074) opposes, 194 f.; Pavia  
(1018), 104; Pavia (1049), 145; Pia-  
cenza (1095), 275; Reims (1049),  
145; Rome (1049), 144; Toulouse  
(1056), 167
- Eugene III, 429 f.
- Gregory VII, 192-96
- Henry IV of Germany, 192
- Hildebrand, 167

- Church, Reform of (*continued*)  
 John XIII, 29 f.  
 John (archbishop of Rouen), 196  
 Landulf, 172  
 Leo IX, 142 f., 146 f.  
 Liemar of Bremen opposes, 193  
 Monasticism, 19, 201  
 Otto I, 29 f.  
 Peter Damian, 167  
 Philip I (of France) opposes, 255  
 Ponce of Aix, 167  
 Raimbaud of Arles, 167  
 Robert the Pious, 107  
 Stephen IX, 169  
 Sylvester II, 76 f.  
 Urban II, 255  
 Victor II, 167  
 William the Conqueror, 209
- Church, Roman. *See* Roman
- Church and state: in England, 480 f.;  
 Frederick II, 584, 604 f.; Gregory IX, 584; Henry II of England, 485, 489; Innocent III, 545 f.
- Cid Campeador: Meaning of, 268 note 84; in Spanish legend, 268
- Cilicia, Crusaders in, 299
- Cistercians  
 Beginning of, 360  
 Callistus II, 365  
*Charta caritatis*, 365  
 Founding of, 314  
 Innocent III, 528  
 Life of, 363 f.  
 Strict observance, 359
- Cistertium*. *See* Cistercians
- Citeaux, Order of. *See* Cistercians
- City states in northern Italy, 413 f.
- Civil law. *See* Law
- Civilization, Monasticism and, 97
- Civita Castellana, Alexander III dies at, 499
- Civitavecchia, Innocent IV at, 603
- Civitella, Battle of, 156: Papal army defeated, 163
- Clairvaux Abbey: Founding of, 365; Influence of, 450; St. Bernard at, 346
- Clare, St., 567
- Clarendon (Assizes of), punishment of heretics, 494
- Clarendon, Constitutions of, 486 f.: annulled, 489
- Claudius of Turin, 78
- Clement II (pope), 133: Council of Rome (1047), 134; Election of, 133; Henry III crowned by, 133
- Clement III (pope), 505  
 Born at Rome, 505  
 Crusade appeal, 507  
 Death of, 510  
 Enters Rome, 505  
 Gilbert de la Porée, 571  
 Truce of God proclaimed by, 507  
 Uncle of Innocent III, 516
- Clement IV (pope), 614-18
- Clement III (antipope Guibert), 191, 228, 318
- Clergy (Education of), Lateran Council (1215), 575
- Clergy (Secular): Community life of, 347; Life of, 347; and monks, 347; Reform of, 450; rights and duties, 381
- Clerical continence, Gregory VII, 191
- Clerical immunity. *See* Immunity
- Clermont, Council of (1076), 208
- Clermont, Council of (1095), 280-85  
 Attendance at, 280  
 Crusade project, 275 f.  
 Holy Communion, 281  
 Lay investiture, 281  
 Peter the Hermit at, 285  
 Philip I's divorce, 260  
 Reform measures, 281  
 Truce of God, 281
- Cluny Abbey, 78  
 Abbey church, 354  
 Abbeys dependent on, 198  
 Abbots of, 86  
 Abelard at, 433  
 Art at, 199  
 Benedict VII, 40  
 Decline of, 354 f.  
 Devoted to the papacy, 19  
 Exemption, 18  
 Gelasius II dies at, 317, 331  
 Gregory V and, 86  
 Gregory VII, 197-200  
 Hugh II abbot, 356  
 Influence of, 18, 115, 198 f., 450  
 Innocent II and statutes of, 360  
 Leo VII, 19  
 Letter from Callistus, 358  
 Monastic habit at, 199 note 50  
 Number of monks, 354  
 Pons sacks, 358  
 Peter the Venerable abbot, 346, 356 f.

- Cluny Abbey (*continued*)  
 Property of, 86  
 Reform measures, 197 ff.  
 St. Hugh abbot, 193, 197 f., 200 f.  
 St. Majolus abbot, 86  
 St. Odilo abbot, 79, 86  
 St. Odo abbot, 19, 86  
 St. Peter Damian on, 199  
 Simony, 19  
 Stephen VIII, 19  
 Studies at, 199  
 Urban II at, 242, 276  
 Viollet-le-Duc on, 199  
 William duke of Aquitaine, 18
- Code of Justinian, 310
- Cœur de Lion. *See* Richard I of England
- Collectio canonum*, Anselm of Lucca, 147
- Collectio 74 canonum*, 147
- Collegiate chapters, 382
- Cologne: Heretics of, 434; University of, 630
- Coloman (king of Hungary), 563
- Commentary on the Gospels* by St. Bruno, 32
- Communal movement, 375 f.: and Truce of God, 379
- Communes, Origin of, 379 note 165
- Communion: Ceremonies of, 649 f.; Council of Clermont (1095), 281; Lateran Council prescribes Easter, 575; in twelfth century, 380
- Comnenus, Alexius. *See* Alexius
- Compiègne: Assembly at, 513; Hugh Capet elected king at, 48
- Compostela. *See* Santiago
- Comte (Auguste), on Middle Ages, 4
- Conceptualism of Abelard, 370
- Conclave: Origin of, 601 note 41; Council of Lyons (1274), 620, 622
- Concordantia discordantium canonum* by Gratian, 448
- Concordats: of London (1107), 338 f.; of Sutri, 326; of Worms, 313
- Confession, Lateran Council prescribes annual, 575
- Confraternities, 377-79: Craft, 662 f.; mutual benefit insurance, 663
- Confraternity: of the Assumption, 377; of St. Eloi, 377; of St. Hilary, 377
- Conrad II (emperor), 112 f.  
 Bruno chaplain of, 141  
 Coronation of, 113  
 Papacy, 113
- At Pavia, 113  
 Projects of, 112 f.  
 Simony, 113 f.
- Conrad III (king of Germany), 408, 410  
 Excommunicated, 395  
 Honorius II, 395  
 Lucius II, 419  
 St. Bernard, 419
- Conrad IV (emperor), Death of, 610
- Conrad (bishop of Salzburg), loyal to Alexander III, 477
- Conrad (count of Blankenburg), 437
- Conrad of Franconia  
 Crowned king of Italy, 251  
 Crusader, 426  
 Deposed, 318  
 King of the Romans, 251  
 Seeks refuge with Matilda, 251  
 Son of Henry IV, 251
- Conrad of Marburg, repression of heresy, 598
- Conrad of Montferrat: alliance with Saladin, 509; quarrel with Guy of Lusignan, 509
- Conrad the Red, father of Conrad II, 112
- Conrad of Suburra (bishop of Sabina), becomes Pope Anastasius IV, 458
- Conrad of Urslingen, 519
- Conradin (son of Conrad IV), 615
- Consanguinity, Impediment of, 639
- Consolamentum*, 501, 526
- Constance (empress): Innocent III and, 520; marries Henry VI, 503
- Constance, Council of (1094), Praxedes at, 252
- Constance, Treaty of, 479
- Constantine IX Monomachus (emperor), Michael Caerularius and, 154
- Constantinople  
 Crusaders attack, 542  
 Crusaders reach, 291, 294 f., 297  
 Eustathius patriarch, 110  
 First Crusade, 285  
 Latin monasteries, 154  
 Michael Caerularius patriarch, 154 ff.  
 Pillage of, 543  
 Venetians in, 279, 541 f.
- Constantinople (Council of, 869), Eastern Schism, 153
- Constantinople (Latin Empire of), decline of, 611
- Constitutions of Clarendon, 486 f.: annulled, 489

- Conti (family), Gregory IX aided by, 592  
 Conti, Lotario de' (Innocent III), 516  
 Conti, Rinaldo (Alexander IV), 612  
 Continence (Clerical), Gregory VII, 189  
 Contracts, 640  
 Copyists among Canons of St. Victor, 350  
 Corbie Abbey, Benedict VII, 40  
 Corbeil, Abelard's school at, 370  
 Cordova: Abd-er-Rahman II caliph of, 22; Arab library at, 56 note 3; Ferdinand takes, 587  
 Corporations, Workingmen's, 658  
 Corpus Christi: Feast of, 614; Office by St. Thomas Aquinas, 653  
 Corsi (family), faithful to the pope, 400  
 Corsica, Barbarossa and right to, 468 f.  
 Corvey Abbey: Cluny and, 105; Widukind monk of, 32  
 Coucy (forest), Prémontré in, 352  
 Councils, List of  
   Ambresbury (979), 38  
   Angers (1096), 285  
   Arras (1025), 115  
   Autun: (1055), 200; (1077), 208; (1094), 258  
   Barcelona (1068), 196  
   Bari (1098), 265  
   Benevento (1087), 240  
   Bordeaux (1080), 152  
   Brandford (964), 30  
   Calne (978), 38 f.  
   Carroux (989), 44  
   Chalon-sur-Saône (*ca.* 1056), 167  
   Clermont: (1076), 208; (1095), 260, 274 f., 280-85  
   Compostela (1056), 196  
   Constance (1094), 252  
   Constantinople (869), 153  
   Coyaca (1050), 146  
   Dijon (1077), 208  
   Elne (1027), 118  
   Embrun (1057), 168  
   Erfurt (1075), 193  
   Etampes (1131), 401  
   Gerona (1068), 196  
   Guastalla (1106), 324  
   Kirlington (977), 38  
   Lateran: (1057), 167; (1102), 319 f., 383; (1112), 329; (1123), 384; (1139), 411, 494; (1179), 490 ff., 495; (1215), 544, 572-77  
   Leyra (1068), 196  
   Limoges (1096), 285  
   Llandaff (*ca.* 1056), 167  
   London (1125), 396  
   Lyons: (1245), 603; (1274), 619 ff.  
   Mainz: (1049), 145; (1050), 146  
   Mantua: (1053), 161; (1064), 183  
   Melfi (1059), 176  
   Narbonne: (990), 44; (1211), 533  
   Nicaea (787), 651  
   Nîmes (1096), 285  
   Nordhausen (1105), 321  
   Paris: (1051), 151; (1074), 194 f.; (1210), 595  
   Pavia: (997), 51; (1018), 104; (1046), 131; (1049), 145; (1096), 285; (1128), 395  
   Piacenza (1095), 274-76  
   Pisa (1135), 408 f.  
   Poitiers: (1000), 101; (1078), 208  
   Reims: (924), 253 note 41; (974), 38; (1049), 145; (1119), 332 f.; (1131), 408; (1148), 374, 436, 494  
   Rome: (964), 25 f.; (974-981), 36 f.; (996), 54; (998), 55, 59, 87 note 86; (1046), 133; (1047), 134; (1049), 143 f.; (1050), 150, 346; (1057), 167, 173; (1059), 177; (1074), 190; (1075), 207; (1076), 215; (1077), 199; (1078), 224 f.; (1079), 225; (1096), 285; (1099), 318; (1102), 377  
   Ravenna (974), 36  
   Rouen (1074), 196  
   Santiago de Compostela (*ca.* 1056), 167  
   Sens (1140), 432  
   Soissons: (1092), 368; (1121), 371; (1201), 558  
   Sutri (1046), 131  
   Todi (1001), 70  
   Toulouse: (1056), 167; (1229), 597  
   Tours: (1054), 152; (1096), 260, 285; (1162), 494; (1163), 475  
   Trosly (911), 87 note 86  
   Troyes (1128), 345  
   Vercelli (1050), 150  
   Verdun (1016), 103  
   Winchester: (975), 38; (1076), 196  
 Courte Heuse. *See* Curthose  
 Cracow (*see of*): St. Stanislaus bishop, 230; Church of Poland, 123; suffragan of Gnesen, 66



- Crafts, Organization of, 658  
**Craon** (forest), Blessed Robert a hermit in, 314  
 Criminal procedure, 641  
**Crivelli, Uberto** (Urban III), 503  
 Crema, Siege of, 474  
 Cremona, league against Henry IV, 252  
**Crescentius** (family): Henry II, 98 f.; Italian faction of, 89; papal elections, 90  
**Crescentius** (John): Otto II, 34; title of Patrician, 89; ruler of Rome, 35  
**Crescentius the Younger**: Castle of Sant' Angelo, 53; executed, 53; Gregory V driven from Rome by, 52; opposes Gregory V, 51; Patrician of the Romans, 49  
 Croats, Byzantine Empire and, 278  
**Crosier**: episcopal investiture, 104; lay investiture, 17; significance, 17 note 21  
**Crusade**: Indulgence of, 284 note 121; Lateran Council (1215), 576  
**Crusade, Albigensian**, 530 f.: Carcassonne taken, 532; Innocent III, 535; Simon de Montfort, 532-36  
**Crusade, First**  
   At Achrida, 296  
   Ademar of Monteil: joins, 283 f.; papal legate, 296  
   Alexius Comnenus rescues, 291  
   Alexius Comnenus' attitude, 297  
   Attacks upon, 290  
   Austrians join the, 290  
   Baldwin de Mons leader, 292, 299  
   Bavarians join the, 290  
   At Belgrade, 290  
   Bohemund leader, 292, 295  
   At the Bosphorus, 291  
   In Bulgaria, 294  
   Bulgarians attack, 290  
   In Cilicia, 299  
   Constantinople, 285  
   Contingent from Bohemia, 287  
   Contingent from Saxony, 287  
   Daimbert, papal legate, 301  
   In Dalmatia, 295 f.  
   Disorders, 287  
   Dorylaeum (battle), 298  
   At Edessa, 299  
   Eustace of Boulogne, 301  
   Folkmar goes on, 287  
   Folkmar's soldiers massacred, 288  
   France in, 292  
   Franconians join the, 290  
   Gauthier de Poix joins, 289  
   Germans in, 292  
   In Germany, 294  
   Godfrey of Bouillon leader, 292 ff., 301  
   Gottschalk goes on, 287  
   Henry IV and, 320  
   Hugh (count of St. Paul), leader, 292  
   Hugh of Vermandois leader, 294  
   Hungarians attack the, 290  
   In Hungary, 289, 294  
   Innocent II, 424  
   Jerusalem besieged, 300 f.  
   Jews massacred, 288  
   Jews pillaged, 287  
   Lombards join the, 290  
   In Lombardy, 295  
   Lorraine contingent, 292  
   Massacre at Jerusalem, 301 f.  
   At Merseburg, 288  
   Motives, 286 f.  
   Nicaea taken, 298  
   Normans in, 292, 295  
   Pannonia traversed by, 288  
   Petchenegs attack, 290  
   Peter the Hermit, 292 note 141: at Jerusalem, 301; preacher of, 285 f.  
   Popular enthusiasm, 286  
   Procession to Mount of Olives, 301  
   Raymond of Toulouse leader, 292, 295 f., 301  
   Reaches Constantinople, 291, 294 f., 297  
   Robert of Arbrissel preacher of, 286  
   Robert Curthose leader of, 294, 301  
   Scene at the Nichava river, 290  
   Semicho goes on, 287  
   Semicho's soldiers massacred, 288  
   Siege of Antioch, 299  
   In Slavonia, 296  
   Stephen of Blois leader of, 294  
   Swabians join the, 290  
   Tancred leader of, 292, 295, 299, 301  
   Urban II, 243  
   William the Chamberlain goes on, 287  
   William of Tyre's account, 292  
**Crusade, Second**  
   Adrianople (battle), 428  
   In Asia Minor, 428 f.  
   Assembly at Vézelay, 426  
   Baldwin III king of Jerusalem, 429  
   Conrad (emperor), 426

- Crusade, Second (*continued*)  
 Damascus attacked, 429  
 Defeated at Dorylaeum, 428  
 Difficulties of, 427  
 Eleonora (queen of France), 428  
 Eugene III proclaims, 425  
 Eugene's regulations, 427  
 French army, 428 f.  
 German army, 428  
 Louis VII of France, 425  
 Manuel Comnenus defeats, 428  
 Number of crusaders, 426  
 St. Bernard preacher of, 425  
 In Thrace, 428  
 Zenki, 427
- Crusade, Third, 505-10  
 At Antioch, 508  
 Conrad of Montferrat, 509  
 Epidemic at Antioch, 508  
 Frederick Barbarossa, 508  
 Frederick of Swabia, 508  
 German army, 508  
 Germans, 510  
 Guy of Lusignan, 509  
 Philip Augustus, 508: returns to France, 509  
 Richard I of England, 508 f.  
 Routes, 508  
 St. John of Acre besieged, 509  
 "Saladin tithe," 507  
 Tithes, 507
- Crusade, Fourth, 536-45  
 Alexius III of Constantinople, 540 f.  
 Baldwin of Flanders, 538 f., 543  
 Boniface of Montferrat, 539 f.  
 Constantinople: attacked, 541-43; taken, 541  
 Dandolo (doge), 539, 541  
 Foulques de Neuilly preacher of, 538  
 Geoffroi de Villehardouin, 538  
 Ghibellines' plan, 537  
 Innocent III, 536-45  
 Isaac Angelus, 541  
 Louis de Blois, 538  
 Martin abbot of Pairis, 539  
 Peter of Capua (legate), 539  
 Peter the Chanter preacher of, 538  
 Peter Comestor preacher of, 538  
 Preaching of, 538  
 Simon de Montfort, 538  
 Thibaut de Champagne, 538 f.  
 Venetians, 539 f.
- Crusaders, Number of, 293, 295, 298
- Crusades  
 Acre, 618  
 Alexius Comnenus and project of, 274  
 Benefit of, 243 f.  
 Charles of Anjou, 618  
 Children's, 545 note 53  
 Edward I of England, 617 f.  
 Frederick II, 583 f.  
 "God wills it," 282 f.  
 Gregory VII, 272  
 Gregory VII and project of, 232  
 Meaning of, 273  
 Motives of, 272 f.  
 Peter the Hermit and origin of, 274  
 St. Francis of Assisi, 589 f.  
 St. Louis, 588 f., 606-10, 617  
 Sylvester II, 67, 272  
 Thibaut IV of Champagne, 588  
 Urban II and origin of, 274  
 Urban II's project of, 271 f.  
 Victor III and, 272
- Cunigundis, St., 106 note 39: Coronation of, 99; St. Henry II husband of, 96; Sigfrid father of, 96
- Cur Deus homo* by St. Anselm, 306
- Curthose (Robert): crusader, 294; at Jerusalem, 301
- Cyprus  
 Alix of Champagne queen of, 584  
 Frederick II seizes, 584  
 Kingdom of, 510  
 St. Louis at, 607  
 Taken by Richard I of England, 509  
 Third Crusade, 509
- Dagsburg, Count of, 140
- Daimbert: papal legate with Crusade, 301; patriarch of Jerusalem, 340
- Dalmatia: Crusaders in, 295 f.; Gregory VII and, 230
- Dalmatians, Byzantine Empire and, 278
- Dalmatius, St. Hugh son of, 200
- Damascus: Crusaders attack, 429; Frederick II, 585; Sultan of, 424; Turks at, 342; Zemisses and emir of, 39
- Damasus II (pope), Death of, 134
- Damian, Peter. *See* Peter
- Damietta: St. Francis at, 589; St. Louis at, 607
- Dandolo (doge), Fourth Crusade, 539, 541
- Danes: Otto I at war with, 12; Otto II at war with, 34

- Daniel (king of Galicia), 563  
 Dante on St. Francis of Assisi, 564  
 Danube, Third Crusade via the, 508  
 Dauphiné, Waldenses in, 527  
 David of Dinant, 595  
*De consideratione* by St. Bernard, 450  
*De contemptu mundi* by Innocent III, 516  
*De conversione* by St. Bernard, 450  
*De corpore et sanguine Domini* by Gerbert, 73  
*De corpore et sanguine Domini* by John Scotus, 151  
*De diligendo Deo* by St. Bernard, 444  
*De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* by St. Bernard, 444  
*De ignoto cantu* by Guido of Arezzo, 120 note 67  
*De laude novae militiae* by St. Bernard, 450  
*De modorum formulis* by Guido of Arezzo, 120 note 67  
*De moribus et officio episcoporum* by St. Bernard  
*De numerorum divisione* by Sylvester II, 74  
*De rationali et rationi uti* by Sylvester II, 73  
*De sacrificio missae* by Innocent III, 516  
*De sacramentis* by Hugh of St. Victor, 441  
*De secretis operibus artis et naturae* by Roger Bacon, 645  
*De sex principiis* by Gilbert de la Porrée, 436  
*De Trinitate* by Richard of St. Victor  
*De vanitate mundi* by Hugh of St. Victor, 439  
 Dean of a chapter, 382  
*Decretals*, collection of Gregory IX, 594  
*Decretum*: by Burchard, 309; by Gratian, 147, 448; by Ivo of Chartres, 310  
 Denmark, Clerical celibacy, 196  
 Deodatus (bishop of Rodez), Truce of God, 45  
 Desiderius (abbot of Monte Cassino), 237 f.  
     Becomes Pope Victor III, 238  
     Cardinal, 239  
     Gregory VII, 226  
     Hildebrand friend of, 167  
     Nicholas II, 176  
 Dialectics, Development of, 304  
 Diaz, Rodrigo. *See* Rodrigo  
 Die, Hugh bishop of, 194 f., 208  
 Diego de Acebes (bishop of Osma), Albigenses and, 528  
*Dies irae* by Thomas of Celano, 653  
 Diets: Bamberg, 408; Besançon, 463; Roncaglia, 466 f.; San Germano, 520; Würzburg, 476  
 Digne (Hugh of), Preaching of, 647  
 Dijon: Council of (1077), 208; Elementary schools at, 646; Bénigue Abbey, 111  
 Dinant, David of, 595  
 Disibodenberg (convent), 447  
 Dispensations, Ivo of Chartres on, 311 f.  
 Dithmar (bishop of Merseburg), historian, 105: Death of, 106 note 39; on death of Otto II, 41 f.  
 Divorce of Philip Augustus, 513  
 Dmitri Isaiaaslaf, Gregory VII and, 230  
 Doge, Office of, 414  
 Dominic, St., 569  
     Albigenses, 528  
     Appearance of, 528  
     Character of, 528  
     Innocent III and, 570  
     In Languedoc, 528  
 Dominicans: Founding of, 569; Gregory IX and, 599; Honorius III approves, 570; Innocent III and, 570  
 Donnus, supposed pope, 36 note 75  
 Donus, supposed pope, 36 note 75  
 Dorylaeum, Battle at, 298, 428  
 Dower in Christian law, 639  
 Down, St. Malachy bishop of, 451  
 Drama, Medieval, 654  
 Drontheim. *See* Trondheim  
 Ducas, Alexius. *See* Alexius V  
 Dueling, forbidden, 575, 604  
 Duns Scotus, 635 note 32  
 Dunstan, St. (archbishop of Canterbury), 38  
 Duranne (copyist), 355  
 Durham, Rannulf Flambard bishop, 261  
 Dyrrachium, Hugh of Vermandois at, 295  
 Easter communion, Lateran Council prescribes, 575  
 Eastern Church. *See* Church, Eastern  
 Eastern Schism. *See* Schism  
 Eberhard: bishop of Merseburg, 105; bishop of Trier, 142 f.  
 Eberhard (count of Nellenburg), Patari denounced by, 212

- Eckhard (margrave of Meissen), 95: Assassination of, 96  
 "Ecumenical," Title of, 110  
 Edessa: Crusaders at, 299; Fall of, 423, 425; Latin state of, 340, 510; Mosul and, 506  
 Edgar I (king of England), John XIII and, 30  
 Education: Gerbert's methods, 57; study of classical authors, 57; in thirteenth century, 629. *See also* Schools, Universities  
 Edward I (king of England), crusader, 617 f.  
 Edward the Confessor: banished from England, 159; Leo IX and, 156, 158; Vow of, 158; Westminster Abbey built by, 159  
 Edwin (king of England), antireligious laws, 30  
 Edwy. *See* Edwin  
 Egypt, Caliphate of Cairo dominates, 277  
 Eichstätt, Gebhard bishop, 165  
 Einsiedeln Abbey, restoration of Hirschau Abbey, 202  
 Ekkehard on Concordat of Sutri, 326  
*El Setenario* (code of laws), 587  
 Eldrad (abbot of Vézelay), Benedict VI and, 35  
 Election of German emperor, 394 note 6  
 Elections, Papal. *See* Popes, Election of  
 Eleonora (queen of France) in the Crusade, 426, 428  
 Elevation at mass, 380, 649 and note  
 Elementary schools, 646  
 Elias (Brother), 600 note 35: on poverty, 599 f.  
 Eligius, St. (patron of metal workers), 662  
 El-Khamil (sultan of Egypt), 585: St. Francis and, 589 f.  
 Elne (Council of), Truce of God, 118  
 Eloi. *See* Eligius  
 Elster (river), 224  
 End of the world in the year 1000, 87 note 86  
 England: Church and state, 480 f.; Innocent III interdicts, 554; lay investiture, 336-38; Robert of Normandy invades, 337  
 En-Nasir (caliph), 551  
 Enzo (son of Frederick II), 593: captured, 609  
 Embrun (Council of), simony denounced, 168  
 Embrun, *See* of, 168  
 Emesa, John Zemisses takes, 39  
 Emmerich (king of Hungary), 560  
 Empire, Holy Roman. *See* Holy  
 Empire (German), Papacy and, 547-49  
 Emperor (German), Rights of, 467  
 Emperor (German), Election of, 394 note 6, 521: Papacy and, 522  
 Epic poetry, 85  
 Episcopacy. *See* Bishops  
 Episcopal schools, 570, 645 f.: Paris, 630; Reims, 56 f.  
 Erchembald (archbishop of Tours), suspended, 55  
 Erfurt (Council of), reform measures, 193  
 Erfurt University, 630 note 20  
 Eric. *See* Heiric  
 Erigena, Doctrine of, 151 note 33  
 Estridson, Sweyn. *See* Sweyn  
 Etampes (Council of), delegates Bernard, 401  
 Ethelred (king of England): John XV and, 44; peace treaty, 44  
 Ethelwulf (Anglo-Saxon king), 552  
 Etienne of Vendome, Children's Crusade, 545 note 53  
 Eucharist  
   Berengarius' doctrine, 149 f.  
   Council of Rome (1059), 179  
   Reservation of, 650  
   In twelfth century, 380  
   Urban IV and devotion to, 614  
 Eudes. *See* Odo  
 Eugene III (pope), 420  
   Arnold of Brescia confers with, 421  
   Bandinelli esteemed by, 470  
   At Council of Reims (1148), 436  
   Crusade proclaimed by, 425  
   Crusade regulations, 427  
   Death of, 454  
   Enters Rome, 422  
   At Farfa Abbey, 420 f.  
   Flees to Monticelli, 420  
   Nicholas Breakspear made cardinal, 459  
   Reform measures, 429 f.  
   St. Bernard's correspondence with, 421  
   St. Hildegard's visions, 447  
   At Viterbo, 421  
 Eupraxia. *See* Adelaide (empress)

- Eusebius Bruno (bishop of Angers), Berengarius friend of, 148  
 Eustace (count of Boulogne), 293: at siege of Jerusalem, 301  
 Eustathius (patriarch of Constantinople), 110 note 48: "Ecumenical," 110  
 Everwin (provost of Steinfeld), 434  
 Excommunication, 502  
     And Christian burial, 323 note 20  
     Meaning of, 258 f.  
     Moderated by Gregory VII, 259 note 61  
     Regulations of, 245 f.  
     Urban II and rules of, 245 f.  
 Exemption, Cluny Abbey, 18  
 Expectatives, 605
- Faranol, 78  
 Farfa (abbey), Eugene III at, 420 f.  
 "Father of Scholasticism," 305  
 Fatimites: of Cairo, 424; caliphs of Egypt, 92; Persecution by, 92  
 Fecamp, church built, 80  
 Felix of Valois, St. (founder), 572  
 Ferdinand III, St. (king of Castile), 586  
     Becomes king of Leon, 587  
     Declines imperial dignity, 592  
     Leo IX and, 146  
     Moors and, 587  
     Repression of heresy, 598  
 Fermo (march of), Normans' possession of, 226  
 Ferrand (count of Flanders), Otto IV and, 548  
 Ferrara, 135  
 Fervaques (convent), 514  
 Feudal contract, 77  
 Feudalism, 628: Chivalry and, 118 note 64; in Germany, 12, 34; Sylvester II, 77  
 Fieschi, Ottobuono de' (Adrian V), 622  
 Fieschi, Sinibaldo de' (Innocent IV), 601  
 Figeac (abbey), Cluny Abbey and, 198  
 Fingard, 78  
 Fiorentino, Frederick II's death at, 609  
 Fire, Destruction of churches by, 79  
 Flambard, Rannulf. *See* Rannulf  
 Flanders, Manichaeans executed in, 493  
 Florent (count of Holland), Bertha daughter of, 256  
 Fleury (abbey), Abbo abbot, 79  
*Fodrum* (military requisitions), 468  
 Foix (castle), 536  
 Folkmar: crusader, 287; Massacre of soldiers of, 288  
 Fontaines, St. Bernard born at, 361  
 Fontanetto (Council of), Arialdo and Landulf excommunicated, 173  
 Fonte-Avellana, St. Peter Damian at, 125  
 Fontenay (monastery), Founding of, 365  
 Fontevrault (abbey): founding of, 314; visits to church, 380  
 Forchheim, Assembly of: Henry IV and, 223; Rudolf of Swabia elected king, 223  
 Foreign missions, Gregory VII and, 231  
 Farfa, Antipope Victor IV consecrated at, 471  
 Fossanuova (abbey), St. Thomas dies at, 620  
 Foucher de Chartres (chronicler), 343  
 Foulques of Anjou, and Templars, 345  
 Foulques de Neuilly, Crusade preacher, 538  
 Fulbert of Chartres, Berengarius disciple of, 148  
 Fulbert de Nogent (abbot), 376  
 Fulcran (bishop of Lodève), Truce of God, 45  
 Fulda (abbey): Antipope John XVI at, 53; Cluny and, 105; papal jurisdiction, 161  
 France: in First Crusade, 292; Gelasius II in, 331; interdicted, 558; Manichaeans executed in, 493  
 France (Church of), lay investiture, 335  
 Franche-Comté, Waldenses in, 527  
*Franci latini*, 21 note 28  
*Franci teutonici*, 21 note 28  
 Francis of Assisi, St., 564 ff.  
     Bossuet on, 564  
     Character of, 565  
     Conversion of Saracens, 569  
     Crusade, 589 f.  
     At Damietta, 589  
     Dante on, 564  
     Influence of, 567 f.  
     Innocent III, 567  
     *Legenda prima*, 567 note 79  
     Pietro Bernardone father of, 565  
     Poor Clares, 567  
     Poverty, 599 f.  
     Rule of, 566 f.

- Francis of Assisi, St. (*continued*)  
 Spiritual testament, 599 f.  
 Sultan El-Khamil, 589 f.
- Franciscan Rule, 566 f.
- Franciscans: Gregory IX and, 599 f.;  
 Origin of, 566; Poverty, 599 f.; Spir-  
 ituals, 600; Third Order, 567
- Franco, Boniface. *See* Boniface
- Franconians join the Crusade, 290
- Frangipani (family)  
 Defection of, 400  
 Frederick II, 590  
 Frederick II buys fortresses of, 602  
 Loyalty of, 471  
 Pro-German policy of, 392  
 Urban II in castle of, 253
- Frangipani (Robert), papal election,  
 392
- Fratres Pontifices at Avignon, 514
- Fredelo (bishop of Perpignan), Truce of  
 God, 45
- Frederick Barbarossa  
 Adrian IV's demands, 468  
 Alessandria attacked by, 479  
 Alexander III in conflict with, 471 f.,  
 476 f.  
 Amalric of Jerusalem, 506  
 Ancona attacked by, 479  
 Burning of St. Peter's (Rome), 477  
 Campaign in Italy, 473 f.  
 Character of, 457  
 Conflict with Lucius III, 500  
 Coronation of, 457 f., 461, 478  
 Cruelty of, 474  
 Death of, 508  
 Defeated at Legnano, 479  
 Diet of Besançon, 463  
 Diet of Roncaglia, 467  
 Diet of Würzburg, 476  
 Election of, 456  
 Flight from Italy, 478 f.  
 Gregory VIII, 504  
 Henry the Lion, 479  
 Henry of Saxony, 458  
 Italy invaded by, 460  
 Lands of Countess Matilda, 468 f.  
 Legists honored by, 465  
 Letter from Adrian IV, 462  
 Lombard revolt, 478  
 Makes peace with Alexander III, 479 f.  
 Manichaeans, 500 f.  
 Meeting with Adrian IV, 460  
 Rainaldi of Dassel chancellor of, 462
- At Rome, 461, 477  
 St. Thomas related to, 632  
 Submission of, 480  
 Treaty of Constance, 479  
 On Third Crusade, 508  
 Treaty of Venice, 480
- Frederick II (emperor)  
 Alliance with Saracens, 578  
 Attitude to the papacy, 578 f.  
 Buys fortresses of Frangipani family,  
 602  
 Character of, 579 f.  
 Church and state, 604 f.  
 Conflict with Gregory IX, 591, 600  
 Crusade, 544, 583 f.  
 Cyprus seized by, 584  
 Death of, 609  
 Defeated at Parma, 609  
 Deposed by Council of Lyons, 604  
 Dies at Fiorentino, 609  
 Eastern expedition, 584  
 Election of, 522  
 Excommunicated by Gregory IX, 583  
 Honorius III crowns, 581  
 Hypocrisy of, 579 f.  
 Innocent III, 548, 578  
 In Italy, 602  
 At Jerusalem, 585  
 King of Jerusalem, 581  
 Last years of, 609  
 Lombardy, 580, 582  
 Louis IX, 593  
 Marries Isabella of Brienne, 581  
 In Palestine, 584  
 Peter de la Vigne imprisoned by, 609  
 St. Louis, 589  
 St. Thomas Aquinas related to, 632  
 Sardinia invaded by, 591  
 Sicily, 581  
 Treaty with Honorius III, 583  
 Treaty of Jaffa, 585  
 Treaty of San Germano, 585
- Frederick (Stephen IX), 157, 168: ab-  
 bot of Monte Cassino, 169
- Frederick (bishop of Salzburg), Bene-  
 dict VI and, 35
- Frederick (duke of Swabia), 393 f., 408,  
 410: Epidemic in army of, 508
- Freiburg (Germany), Cathedral of, 652
- Frescoes, Mural, 653 note 57
- Friars Minor. *See* Franciscans
- Friars Preachers. *See* Dominicans
- Fruttuaria Abbey, Arduin at, 100

- Galera, Theophylactus family, 69  
 Galeria, Antipope Benedict X at, 176  
 Galicia, Church of, 563: Innocent III and, 563  
 Gandersheim Abbey, 70  
 Gandersheim (convent), Hroswitha abbess, 32  
 Garin (bishop of Senlis) in battle of Bouvines, 549  
 Gascony, Cathari in, 495  
 Gauthier de Brienne (knight), 520  
 Gauthier de Poix, crusader, 289  
 Gautier (abbot of Pontoise), Gregory VII and, 195  
 Gautier (Leon), on Middle Ages, 5  
 Gebhard (bishop of Constance), 245: at Hirschau Abbey, 247; papal legate, 245, 252; Urban II, 247  
 Gebhard (bishop of Eichstätt): becomes Victor III, 165; Henry III's counselor, 165  
 Gebhard (bishop of Salzburg), 244  
 Gelasius II (pope), 317, 331: dies at Cluny, 331; in France, 317, 331; St. Norbert, 352  
 Genoa: Peace with Pisa, 507; Power of, 414  
 Geoffroi de Villehardouin (chronicler), Fourth Crusade, 538  
 Gerald (bishop of Ostia), Gregory VII and, 199  
 Gerard (Lucius II): becomes pope, 418; election of Emperor Lothair, 394; Hildebrand, 152  
 Gerard (bishop of Angoulême), 405 f.: and antipope Anacletus II, 402 f.; Death of, 407; at Lateran Synod (1112), 329  
 Gerard (bishop of Florence) becomes Nicholas II, 175  
 Gerard, Venerable (founder), Relics of, 345 note 63  
 Gerard de Tenque, 344  
 Gerard la Pucelle (canonist), 449  
 Gerbert of Aurillac (Sylvester II) Abbot of Bobbio, 42  
 Adalbero and, 38, 53, 56  
 Adalbero taught by, 60 f.  
 Becomes archbishop of Ravenna, 54  
 Becomes archbishop of Reims, 53  
 Constitution of the Church, 73  
*De corpore et sanguine Domini* by, 73  
 Educational methods, 57  
 Elected pope, 56  
 Gregory V, 54  
 Holy Roman Empire, 57  
 Hugh Capet, 47, 57 f.  
 John XIV, 42  
 Otto II engages, 57  
 Peace movement, 44  
 Preceptor of Otto III, 49  
 At St. Gerald of Aurillac Abbey, 72  
 School at Reims, 38  
 Study of classical authors, 57  
 Study of Victorinus, 57  
 Teacher of Otto III, 57  
 Theological studies, 72 f.  
 Writings of, 303  
 Gerhard (bishop of Cambrai), Manichaeans condemned by, 115  
 Gerhard of Saxony, 125 note 83  
 Germans: in First Crusade, 292; Third Crusade, 508  
 Germany  
 Crusaders in, 294  
 At death of Otto III, 94 f.  
 Feudalism in, 12, 34  
 Lorraine and, 21 note 29  
 Manichaeans executed in, 493  
 Power of nobles, 393  
 Reign of Frederick Barbarossa, 456 f.  
 St. Bernard preaches in, 426  
 Saracens invade, 70  
 Slavs invade, 70  
 Gerona (Council of, 1068), reform measures, 196  
 Ghibellines, 456: Fourth Crusade, 537  
 Ghibellines (family), 410  
 Gibelet (in Syria), Hugh bishop, 423  
 Gilbert (bishop of London), 486  
 Gilbert de la Porrée (bishop of Poitiers), 570 f.: condemned by Council of Reims, 436; Errors of, 435 f.; *De sex principiis* by, 436  
 Gilduin (abbot of St. Victor), befriends Peter Lombard, 442  
 Giordano, brother of antipope Anacletus, 419  
 Girgenti, See of, 269  
 Girolamo Masci (Nicholas IV), 624  
 Gisela (empress): St. Henry son of, 96; Rudolf III father of, 112  
 Gisors, Elm of, 507  
 Glandèves, Guido bishop of, 45  
 Globe, symbol of imperial power, 99

- Gnesen: becomes archbishopric, 66; Relics of St. Adalbert at, 66; Suffragan sees of, 66  
 "God wills it," 282 f.  
 Godfrey (archbishop of Milan), Tebaldo and, 212  
 Godfrey (duke of Tuscany): Alexander II friend of, 182; Cadalous defeated by, 182; Matilda wife of, 249  
 Godfrey the Bearded (duke of Lorraine), 292: Beatrice marries, 166; Stephen IX brother of, 169; Victor II, 166  
 Godfrey of Bouillon (duke of Lorraine), 293 f.  
   At Constantinople, 297  
   Crusade vow of, 293  
   Crusader, 292 ff.  
   Death of, 341  
   Description of, 294  
   Fights for Emperor Henry IV, 293  
   Ruler of Jerusalem, 340  
   At siege of Jerusalem, 301  
   At siege of Rome, 293  
 Godfrey of Milan (Celestine IV), 601 note 39  
 Godfrey of St. Omer, Knight Templar, 345  
 Godfrey Martel (count of Anjou), Berengarius and, 148  
 Godfrey of Vendome: on investiture, 335; Urban II aided by, 254  
 Golden Bull, 560  
 Goslar: Burchard at, 244; Hildebrand at, 173; Victor II at, 166  
 Gorze Abbey, 22 note 32  
 Gothic architecture, 652 f.  
 Gottschalk, crusader, 287  
 Gran becomes metropolitan see, 66  
 Granada, Moors in possession of, 587  
 Grande Chartreuse Abbey, 450  
 Gratian, John (Gregory VI), 124  
 Gratian, John (canonist), 448 f., 630  
   Codification by, 639  
   *Concordantia discordantium canonum*, 448  
   *Decretum* by, 245, 448  
   Gregory XIII approves *Decretum* of, 449  
   Writings of, 636  
 Gratz University, Founding of, 625  
 Gray, John de (archbishop of Canterbury), 554  
 Greek Church, union with Rome, 91  
 Greek rite in southern Italy, 270  
 Gregory V (pope), 51-55  
   Arnulf archbishop of Reims, 62 f.  
   Cluny Abbey, 86  
   Councils: Pavia (997), 51; Rome (996), 54; Rome (998), 55, 59  
   Crescentius opposes, 51  
   Death of, 55  
   Driven from Rome, 52  
   Flees to Pavia, 51  
   Gerbert and, 54  
   Marriage of Robert the Pious, 54 f.  
   Stephen (bishop of Le Puy) condemned by, 59  
   Theodard and, 60  
 Gregory VI (pope)  
   Abdication of, 132 and note  
   Charges against, 132  
   Henry III and, 131  
   Hildebrand aids, 126  
   Hildebrand secretary of, 129  
   Imprisoned, 133  
   Letter from St. Peter Damian, 125  
   Restoration of St. Peter's Basilica, 129  
 Gregory VII (pope)  
   Alfonso of Castile, 230  
   Anastasius legate of, 199  
   Anazir of Mauretania, 231  
   Anselm of Lucca, 238  
   Appreciations of, 235 f.  
   Armenia, 230  
   Attack upon, 212  
   Berthold of Carinthia, 193  
   Bohemia, 230  
   At Canossa, 219 f.  
   Character of, 187 f.  
   Charges against, at Council of Worms (1076), 214  
   Clerical celibacy, 189, 191, 196  
   Clerical life, 347  
   On Cluny Abbey, 197-200  
   Consecrated bishop, 189  
   Council of Worms (1076) declares deposition of, 212  
   Councils of Rome: (1074), 190; (1075), 207; (1076), 215; (1077), 199; (1078), 224 f.; (1079), 225  
   Crusade project, 232  
   Crusades, 272  
   Dalmatia, 230  
   Deacon, 188  
   Death of, 235



- Gregory VII (*continued*)  
 Desiderius of Monte Cassino, 226  
 Dmitri Isaiaaslaf, 230  
 Election of, 186  
 Encyclical to French bishops, 194  
 Excommunication moderated by, 259  
     note 61  
 At Florence, 219  
 Foreign missions, 231  
 Gautier (abbot of Pontoise), 195  
 Gerald (bishop of Ostia), 199  
 Guibert of Ravenna, 191, 212, 225  
 Harold of Denmark, 229  
 Henry IV, 193, 211: deposed by, 225;  
     excommunicated by, 215; summoned  
     to Rome, 213  
 Holiness of, 231  
 Hugh (bishop of Die): advised by,  
     208; legate of, 194 f.  
 Hugh of Lyons, 238  
 Hugh Candidus, 225: makes charges  
     against, 214  
 Hungary, 230  
 Imprisoned in Cencius tower, 212  
 Lay investiture, 207, 325 f.  
 Leaves Rome, 234  
 Letter from Henry IV, 215  
 On the life of canons, 197  
 At Mantua, 219  
 Matilda, 219 f., 226, 231  
 Michael III (emperor), 232  
 Monasticism, 197 ff.  
 Normans, 226  
 Odo (bishop of Ostia), 199 f., 238:  
     counselor of, 242  
 Olaf III of Norway, 230  
 Peter (bishop of Florence) deposed by,  
     202  
 Poland, 230  
 Priest, 189  
 Pseudo-council of Brixen, 225 f.  
 Pseudo-council of Rome (1084) de-  
     poses, 228  
 Reform measures, 192-96  
 Robert Guiscard's treaty with, 226  
 Rudolf of Swabia, 193  
 Russia, 230  
 St. Hugh (abbot of Cluny), 200:  
     friend of, 193, 201  
 St. Ladislaus of Hungary, 230  
 St. Peter in Chains (church), 187  
 Simony, 189-92  
 Spain, 230  
 Sweyn Estridson, 229  
 William (count of Burgundy), 232  
 William VI of Poitiers, 233  
 William the Conqueror, 196, 209  
 Wratislaw of Bohemia, 230  
 Zeal of, 230  
 Gregory VIII (pope), 504: Barbarossa  
     and, 504; born at Benevento, 504  
 Gregory IX (pope), 583 ff.  
     Age of, 593  
     Bulls: *Parens scientiarum*, 597; *Quo*  
         *elongati*, 600; *Rex pacificus*, 594  
     Canon law, 593  
     Conflict with Frederick II, 591, 600  
     Death of, 600  
     *Decretals*, 594  
     Dominicans, 599  
     Flees from Rome, 590  
     Franciscans, 599 f.  
     Frederick II excommunicated, 583  
     The Inquisition, 597 ff.  
     Patron of studies, 593  
     At Perugia, 590  
     Repression of heresy, 598  
     At Rieti, 590  
     St. Ferdinand III, 592  
     St. Louis, 592  
 Gregory X (pope), 618 ff.: Crusade  
     project, 621; Projects of, 618 f.  
 Gregory XIII (pope), approval of Gra-  
     tian's *Decretum*, 449  
 Gregory VIII (antipope), 318, 331  
 Gregory (bishop of Tivoli), 69  
 Gregory (count of Tusculum): Alberic  
     son of, 121; John XIX son of, 109;  
     *Praefectus navalis*, 89  
 Gregory Papareschi (Innocent II): be-  
     comes pope, 400; First Crusade, 284  
 Grenoble, St. Hugh bishop of, 204  
 Grosseteste (Robert) at Oxford, 644  
 Grottaferrata Abbey: Benedict IX, 125;  
     Founding of, 79 note 60  
 Gualbert, John. *See* John Gualbert  
 Gualo (bishop of St. Paul de Leon), Pas-  
     chal II and, 329  
 Guastalla, Council of (1106), 324  
 Guelf (family), 410  
 Guelf V: Matilda deserted by, 250; Ma-  
     tilda's marriage to, 249; Urban II,  
     249  
 Guelphs, 456  
 Guibert (antipope Clement III), 191  
     Cadalous, 191

- Guibert (*continued*)  
 Character of, 191  
 Consecrated, 228  
 Council of Brixen elects, 226  
 Council of Piacenza condemns, 275  
 Death of, 318  
 Driven from Rome, 238 f.  
 Effect of the Crusade on, 313  
 Election of antipope Cadalous, 184  
 Enthroned in St. Peter's, 228  
 Flees to Ravenna, 238  
 Flees to Tivoli, 234  
 Gregory VII, 191, 212, 225  
 Henry IV, 221, 225, 227, 237: crowned emperor by, 228; protected by, 253  
 Hildebrand, 191: deceived by, 184  
 Hugh Candidus, 214  
 Hypocrisy of, 191 f.  
 Made archbishop of Ravenna, 184  
 At Ravenna, 226  
 At Rome, 237, 239, 244, 251  
 Takes name of Clement III, 228  
 Urban opposed by, 244  
 William the Conqueror against, 209  
 William Rufus, 261  
 Guido (bishop of Glandèves), Truce of God, 45  
 Guido (bishop of Le Puy), 59: Truce of God, 45  
 Guido (bishop of Valence), Truce of God, 45  
 Guido of Arezzo, 119  
 At Avellana monastery, 120  
 Chant, 116  
 Death of, 120  
*Micrologus* by, 120  
 Musical notation, 120  
 Musical studies, 304  
 At Pomposa, 120  
 Theodulus, 120  
 Works by, 120 note 67  
 Guido of Brandate (archbishop of Ravenna), 468  
 Guido of Burgundy (Callistus II), 318  
 Guido of Castello (Celestine II), 417  
 Guido of Crema (antipope), 476: Treaty of Venice, 480  
 Guido of Vienne (Callistus II), 331: letter from Paschal II, 329  
 Guigues (Carthusian), Carthusian Rule, 204  
 Guilds, 658 ff.
- Guiscard, Robert  
 Council of Melfi (1059), 176  
 Death of, 234  
 Gregory VII's treaty with, 226  
 Hugh Candidus, 214  
 Oath of allegiance, 176  
 Project against Constantinople, 234  
 Siege of Rome relieved by, 229  
 Gunzan, 78  
 Guy. *See also* Guido  
 Guy le Gros (Clement IV), 614  
 Guy of Lusignan (king of Jerusalem), 506: quarrel with Conrad of Montferrat, 509; Third Crusade, 509  
 Guy of Montpelier (founder), 519  
 Guzman, Dominic de. *See* Dominic
- Habeas corpus*, Law of, 555  
 Habit (Monastic), at Cluny, 199 note 50  
 Hakim (caliph). *See* Al-Hakim  
 Halinard (archbishop of Lyons) at Council of Rome (1049), 144  
 Halise, wife of John of England, 553  
 Hamburg, Slavs pillage, 37  
 Hardicanute, Death of, 159  
 Harold III (king of Norway), Alexander II and, 184  
 Harold (prince of Denmark), Gregory VII and, 229  
 Hartenfaust, St. Bruno, 203  
 Havelburg (diocese), Slavs pillage, 37  
 Heidelberg University, 630 note 20  
 Heiling, Leo IX son of, 140  
 Heiric, 72  
 Helena, daughter of Constantine VIII, 52  
 Hellespont, Third Crusade at the, 508  
 Henricians (heretics), 374  
 Henry II, St. (emperor), 95-99  
 Arduin, 98: at war with, 98  
 Bamberg, *See* of, 90  
 Benedict VIII, 99: crowns, 99  
 Boleslaus Chrobry, 97: at war with, 98  
 Character of, 96 f.  
 Charter of, 99 f.  
 Conference of Ivois, 108  
 Conference of Mouzon, 103  
 Coronation of, 99  
 Crowned at Mainz, 96  
 Cunigundis wife of, 96  
 Death of, 107  
 Education of, 96  
 Elected emperor, 96  
 Election of bishops, 104

- Henry II, St. (*continued*)  
 Gisela mother of, 96  
 Henry the Quarrelsome father of, 95  
 Lay investiture, 104 f.  
 Leagues of peace, 102  
 Marriage of, 96, 106  
 Monasticism, 97, 105  
 Robert the Pious, 108  
 At Rome, 99  
 St. Odilo friend of, 105  
 St. Wolfgang, 96  
 Virtues of, 106  
 Vow of chastity, 106 and note
- Henry III the Black (emperor), 130-37  
 Beatrice cousin of, 166  
 Benedict IX expelled from Rome by, 124  
 Clement II crowns, 133  
 At Council of Mainz (1050), 146  
 Death of, 166  
 Discourse against simony, 131  
 Gebhard counselor of, 165  
 Gregory VI, 131  
 In Italy, 166  
 Leo IX, 146, 160  
 Nicholas II opposed by, 180  
 Papal elections, 133, 164  
 St. Hugh, 200  
 Victor II, 166: at death of Henry III, 167  
 Worms (Assembly of), 140
- Henry IV (emperor), 210  
 Adalbert of Bremen, 210  
 Agnes mother of, 167, 210  
 Alexander II, 184  
 Anno of Cologne, 210: tutor of Henry, 183  
 Assembly of Forchheim, 223  
 Attitude to the papacy, 320  
 Beatrice aunt of, 211  
 Cadalous, 182 f.  
 At Canossa, 220 f.  
 Cencius, 222  
 Character of, 210  
 Conrad son of, 251  
 Crowned emperor by Guibert, 228  
 Crowned king of Lombardy, 227  
 Crusade project, 320  
 Death of, 323  
 Deposed by Gregory VII, 225  
 At Diet of Mainz, 320  
 Diet of Mainz deposes, 322  
 Dismisses his wife, 210
- Eberhard of Nellenburg counselor of, 212  
 Excommunicated, 215  
 Godfrey of Bouillon fights for, 293  
 Gregory VII, 193, 211  
 Guibert, 221, 227, 237: flees to, 253  
 Henry V revolts against, 321-23  
 Henry of Liège invested by, 212  
 Huzmann of Spire invested by, 212  
 Hypocrisy of, 211 f., 222  
 Imprisoned, 322  
 Italy invaded by, 227, 250  
 Kingdom of Bohemia founded by, 237  
 Lateran Council condemns, 319  
 Lay investiture, 211  
 League against, 252  
 Letter to Gregory VII, 215  
 Mantua besieged by, 250 f.  
 Marches on Rome, 227 f.  
 Marriage to Bertha, 184  
 Matilda, 227, 249, 251: cousin of, 211;  
 leads army against, 252  
 At Milan, 227  
 Morals of, 210  
 At Mount Cenis pass, 219  
 Papacy, 210 f., 318 f.  
 Praxedes wife of, 251 f.  
 Pseudo-council of Worms convoked by, 213  
 Reform measures, 192  
 Religious policy of, 210 f.  
 At Rome, 228  
 Rudolf of Swabia, 222: at war with, 224  
 St. Hugh of Cluny, 200: godfather of, 320  
 Saxony revolts against, 217  
 Stephen IX, 173  
 Summoned to Rome by Gregory VII, 213  
 Tebaldo of Milan invested by, 212  
 William of Utrecht favors, 216
- Henry V (emperor)  
 Adalbert the tool of, 328  
 Attitude to lay investiture, 324  
 Callistus II, 318, 333: meeting at Mouzon, 332  
 Character of, 323  
 Concordat of Worms, 334  
 Coronation of, 328  
 Crowned by Burdinho, 330  
 Crowned king, 322  
 Death of, 385

- Henry V (*continued*)  
 Excommunicated, 331 f.  
 Henry IV imprisoned by, 322  
 Lay investiture, 325, 328, 332  
 Matilda visited by, 329  
 Paschal II, 317: imprisoned by, 327;  
   peace with, 328  
 At Ratisbon, 321  
*Regalia*, 324  
 On regalian rights, 326  
 Revolt of, 321-23  
 At Rome, 325, 330  
 Wars of, 325
- Henry VI (emperor), 510 f.  
 Conflict with Celestine III, 512  
 Crowned by Celestine III, 510  
 Crowned king, 504  
 Cruelties of, 512  
 Death of, 512  
 Destruction of Tivoli, 512  
 Marriage of, 511  
 Marries Constance of Sicily, 503  
 Papal States invaded by, 504  
 Profanes tomb of Tancred, 512  
 Richard II of England imprisoned by,  
   511
- Henry I Beauclerc (king of England),  
 336: Innocent II and, 408; and St.  
 Anselm, 339; St. Anselm recalled by,  
 336; and Thurstan (archbishop of  
 York), 396
- Henry II (king of England)  
 Absolutism of, 484  
 Appearance of, 481  
 Character of, 481  
 Church and state, 485, 489  
 Clerical immunity, 485, 489  
 Conflict with St. Thomas à Becket,  
   484 f.  
 Constitutions of Clarendon annulled,  
   489  
 Election of bishops, 486 f.  
 Louis VII of France replies to, 487  
 Lucius III, 500  
 Matilda mother of, 481  
 Murder of St. Thomas à Becket, 488  
 The papacy, 457  
 Peace with Philip Augustus, 507  
 Penance of, 489  
 Punishment of heretics, 494  
 Religious policy of, 481  
 St. Thomas à Becket, 482 ff.  
 Taxation, 484 f.
- Theobald (archbishop of Canterbury),  
 482  
 At tomb of St. Thomas à Becket, 489
- Henry III (king of England), 557: truce  
 with St. Louis, 606
- Henry I (king of France): Berengarius,  
 151 note 32; Berengarius imprisoned  
 by, 150 f.; Bertrand (archdeacon),  
 161; Council of Rome (1059) pro-  
 mulgated by, 178; Leo IX, 146
- Henry (king of Cyprus), 584
- Henry (bishop of Liège), Emperor  
 Henry IV invests, 212
- Henry (duke of Bavaria), 95: impris-  
 oned, 42; Otto II, 32; Otto III  
 seized by, 42; at Rome, 69; St. Henry  
 son of, 95
- Henry of Flanders (Latin emperor of  
 Constantinople), 544
- Henry of Lausanne (heretic), 374:  
 Heresy of, 434; imprisoned, 435
- Henry of Lusignan (king of Cyprus), 585
- Henry of Pisa (papal legate), 483
- Henry of Saxony, Barbarossa and, 458
- Henry the Lion (duke of Saxony), Bar-  
 barossa and, 479
- Henry Plantagenet. *See* Henry II king  
 of England
- Henry the Quarrelsome (duke of Ba-  
 varia), 49
- Henry Raspe of Thuringia (emperor),  
 605
- Heretics  
 Alexander III's policy toward, 494  
 Anselm of Lucca on punishment of, 493  
 Assizes of Clarendon, 494  
 Council of Tours (1162) on, 494  
 Execution of, 492: at Milan, 492; at  
   Soissons, 493; at Vézelay, 493  
 Henry of England, 494  
 Louis VII foe of, 494  
 Popes' moderation toward, 494
- Heresy: Innocent III and repression of,  
 523-25; Penalties for, 491 f.; Repres-  
 sion of, 495, 501 f., 598
- Hermann (bishop of Metz), 245
- Hermann (duke of Swabia), 95
- Hermann of Luxemburg, elected king of  
 Germany, 228
- Herold (archbishop of Salzburg): John  
 XIII excommunicates, 30; Magyars  
 and, 30
- Hersfeld Abbey, Cluny and, 105

- Hierarchy, Lateran Council (1215), 574  
Hildebrand  
    At Acquapendente, 128  
    Alexander II's counselor, 182  
    Archdeacon of the Roman Church, 181  
    At Arezzo, 168  
    At Assembly of Worms, 140  
    Benedict X (antipope) opposed by, 174  
    Cardinal, 142  
    Council of Embrun (1057), 168  
    Council of Tours (1054), 152  
    At death of Victor II, 168  
    Desiderius (abbot) friend of, 167  
    Education of, 127  
    Enters monastery in Rome, 128  
    In France, 128  
    In Germany, 128  
    At Goslar, 173  
    Gregory VI aided by, 126  
    Guibert deceives, 184  
    Guibert opposed to, 191  
    John Gratian, 128  
    Lawrence (archbishop of Amalfi), 127  
    Legate of Stephen IX, 173  
    Leo IX's adviser, 142  
    Papal elections, 164, 175  
    Papal envoy, 152  
    Peter Damian compared with, 169 f.  
    Reform measures, 167  
    At St. Paul Abbey (Rome), 151  
    Secretary of Gregory VI, 129  
    Sovana birthplace of, 127  
    Victor II, 166  
Hildegard, St., 447 f.: *Liber divinorum operum* by, 448; *Liber vitae meritorum* by, 448; *Scivias* by, 448  
Hildesheim (monastery), St. Henry at, 96  
Hirschau (abbey), 202: Einsiedeln Abbey and, 202; Gebhard at, 247; Restoration of, 202; St. William abbot, 202  
Hirschberg, Counts of, 165  
*Historia calamitatum* by Abelard, 349  
*Historia ecclesiastica* by Orderic Vitalis, 255 f.  
*Historiae* by Richer, 79  
Hochstadt, Battle of, 228  
Holy Ghost, Brothers Hospitalers of the, 519  
Holy Ghost, Doctrine of: Amalric of Bena, 571; Joachim of Flora, 570  
Holy Land. *See* Palestine  
Holy Roman Empire: Adalbero, 38; Gerbert, 57; Idea of, 64; Otto III and idea of, 58, 64; Sylvester II, 64  
Holy See. *See* Papacy, Popes  
Holy See, Vassals of, 637  
Holy Sepulcher: Crusades and, 273; Destruction of, 91; rebuilt, 93  
Honesti (family), St. Romuald, 116  
Honorius II (pope)  
    Abbot Pons excommunicated, 359  
    Apulia, 398  
    Conrad of Hohenstaufen, 395  
    Death of, 399  
    Election of, 392  
    Emperor Lothair, 394  
    Frederick II crowned by, 581  
    Roger of Sicily, 398  
Honorius III (pope), 579-82  
    Death of, 582  
    Dominicans approved by, 570  
    Innocent III, 579  
    *Liber censuum*, 579  
    Projects of, 579  
    Study of the *Pandects*, 636  
    Treaty with Frederick II, 583  
Honorius IV (pope), 624  
Honorius II (antipope). *See* Cadalous  
Horace, Study of, 57  
Hospitalers, Origin of, 343 f.  
Hospitals: Innocent III, 519; at Jerusalem, 344; Knights of St. John, 344; for lepers, 664  
Hroswitha (abbess of Gandersheim),  
    Writings of, 32  
Hubert Walter (archbishop of Canterbury), 553  
Hugh, St. (abbot of Cluny), 197 f., 200 f., 356  
    Aremberge mother of, 200  
    At Canossa, 220  
    At Council of Autun, 200  
    Dalmatius father of, 200  
    Emperor Henry III and, 200  
    Emperor Henry IV, 200  
    Godfather of Henry IV, 320  
    Gregory VII friend of, 193, 200 f.  
    Legate of Leo IX, 201  
    Philip I of France, 201  
    Robert II of Burgundy, 200  
    Semur birthplace of, 200  
    Simony attacked by, 200 f.  
    William the Conqueror, 201

- Hugh (bishop of Die): Bishops deposed by, 195; Gregory VII advises, 208; Manasses I of Reims suspended by, 208; papal legate, 194 f., 208
- Hugh (bishop of Gibelet), 423
- Hugh, St. (bishop of Grenoble), 204
- Hugh (count of Egenthein), assassinated, 248
- Hugh (count of Egisheim), Leo IX son of, 140
- Hugh (count of St. Paul), crusader, 292
- Hugh (count of Vermandois), crusader, 294
- Hugh of Blankenburg. *See* Hugh of St. Victor
- Hugh Candidus (cardinal)  
Born at Remiremont, 213  
Cadalous favored by, 214  
Charges against Gregory VII, 214  
At Council of Worms (1076), 213  
Deposed, 214  
Gregory VII, 225  
Guibert of Ravenna, 214  
Henry IV, 225  
Made cardinal by Leo IX, 213  
Pseudo-council of Brixen, 225 f.  
Robert Guiscard, 214  
Tebaldo of Milan, 214
- Hugh Capet  
Adalbero, 47  
Arnulf defended by, 54  
French monarchy founded by, 46  
Gerbert, 47, 57 f.  
Modern France, 21  
Robert the Pious son of, 54
- Hugh des Payens, Templar, 345
- Hugh of Digne, Preaching of, 647
- Hugh of Flavigny on Philip I, 256
- Hugh of Lyons, 241: Council of Autun, 258; Gregory VII, 238
- Hugh of Provence, Templar, 345
- Hugh of Rouen (theologian), 441
- Hugh of St. Cher at Oxford, 644
- Hugh of St. Victor, 437-41  
*De sacramentis* by, 441  
*De vanitate mundi* by, 439  
Death of, 440 f.  
On meditation, 438 f.  
Method of, 438  
On mystical theology, 438 f.  
*Summa sententiarum* by, 441
- Hugh Metel of Tours attacks Abelard, 431
- Hugo (archbishop of Embrun), Council of Embrun (1057), 168
- Hugo (Victor) on medieval architecture, 650
- Humbert (cardinal): *Adversus simoniacos* by, 170; Lay investiture attacked by, 171, 207; Simony attacked by, 170
- Humbert of Romans (Dominican), Council of Lyons (1274), 619
- Hume (David) on William Rufus, 261
- Hungarians: attack crusaders, 290; defeated at Merseburg, 12; Otto I at war with, 12
- Hungary  
Church in, 66  
Clerical celibacy, 196  
Crown of, 66  
Crusaders in, 289, 294  
Golden Bull, 560  
Gregory VII, 230  
Innocent III, 560, 562  
St. Stephen king, 66 f.  
Venice makes peace with, 507
- Huzmann (bishop of Spire), Henry invests, 212
- Hyacinth Orsini (Celestine III), 510
- Hymns, Development of, 498
- Iconium, Crusaders besiege, 508
- Ida (countess of Boulogne), 293
- Ideas, Universal, 366 note 126
- Ile-Barbe, church built, 80
- Ilseburg Abbey, Burchard's death at, 245
- Immunity, Clerical, 485, 489
- Impediment (marriage) of lack of parental consent, 639
- Impediment of orders, Lateran Council (1123), 384 note 179
- Imperator Augustus*, Otto I, 20
- Ina (king of Wessex), 553
- Incontinence, Clerical, 18
- Indulgence: Crusade, 284 note 21; First general, 380
- Indulgences: Callistus II, 380; Paschal II, 380; in twelfth century, 380; Urban II, 380
- Ingeburg: imprisoned by Philip Augustus, 514; Philip Augustus marries, 514; Philip Augustus' divorce from, 513, 557 f.; wife of Philip Augustus, 558 f.

- Innocent II (pope), 400 ff.  
 Abelard condemned by, 432  
 Alfonso I of Aragon, 408  
 Alfonso VII of Castile, 408  
 Cluny statutes, 360  
 Council of Pisa (1135), 408 f.  
 Death of, 417  
 First Crusade, 424  
 In France, 400 f.  
 Henry I of England, 408  
 Lateran Council (1139), 411  
 Letter from St. Bernard, 407, 412 note 38  
 Lothair, 401, 403  
 Lothair crowned by, 404  
 Louis VII of France, 418  
 Louis the Fat, 401  
 At Pisa, 407 f.  
 Roger of Sicily seizes, 413  
 St. Bernard, 403  
 St. Bernard and election of, 401 f.  
 Treaty of Miniano, 413  
 Innocent III (pope), 516-77  
 Adam of St. Victor, 497  
 Albigenses, 529  
 Albigensian Crusade, 535  
 Alexius IV of Constantinople, 541  
 Appearance of, 516  
 Bulgaria, 562  
 Character of, 516  
 Christian civilization, 563 f.  
 Church and state, 545 f.  
 Conflict with John of England, 553 f.  
 Crowns Ladislaus king of Hungary, 561  
*De contemptu mundi* by, 516  
*De sacrificio missae* by, 516  
 Death of, 576  
 Dominicans, 570  
 Education of, 516  
 Emmerich king of Hungary, 560  
 Empress Constance, 520  
 England interdicted by, 554  
 Forged bulls, 519  
 Fourth Crusade, 536-45  
 France interdicted, 558  
 Franciscan Rule approved, 566  
 Frederick II's attitude to, 578-80  
 Galicia, 563  
 Heretics, 528  
 Honorius III, 579  
 Hospital founded by, 519  
 Hungary, 560  
 King John of England excommunicated, 554  
 Lateran Council (1215), 544, 572-77  
 Letter to Duke von Zahringen, 522  
 Lombard League, 520 f.  
 Magna Charta, 555  
 Markwald excommunicated, 519  
 Moors, 550  
 Otto IV: crowned, 522; excommunicated, 522, 548; favored by, 522  
 Peter II of Aragon, 552  
 Philip Augustus, 556 f.: divorce of, 556 f.; reconciled, 559  
 Policy of, 537  
 Possessions of Raymond VI of Toulouse, 536  
 Projects of, 517, 537  
 Public audiences, 519  
 Raymond of Toulouse, 529, 533 f.: excommunicated, 530; seeks protection of, 535  
 Repression of heresy, 523-25  
 St. Dominic, 570  
 St. Francis of Assisi, 567  
 Serbia, 563  
 Sicily, 520  
 Simon de Montfort, 535  
 Simony, 519  
 Spain, 550  
 Trinitarians approved, 572  
 Unity of Hungary, 562  
 Works of charity, 519  
 Innocent IV (pope), 600 ff.  
 At Civitavecchia, 603  
 At Council of Lyons (1245), 603 f.  
 Death of, 610  
 Fiscal measures of, 606 note 47  
 Leaves Rome, 603  
 At Lyons, 603  
 Meets St. Thomas Aquinas, 632  
 Innocent V (pope), 621  
 Inquisition  
 Council of Toulouse, 597  
 Five sorts of, 503 note 90  
 Gregory IX, 597 ff.  
 Lucius III organizes, 501 f.  
 Origin of the, 491 f.  
 Procedure of, 613 note 2  
 Use of torture, 641  
*Institutes* by Justinian, 310  
 Interdicts, 502: Apulia, 408; Capua, 173; England, 554; France, 558; Louis VII of France, 418; Nor-

- Interdicts (*continued*)  
 mandy, 180; Paris, 397; Portugal, 514; Rome, 460; Sicily, 408
- International law. *See* Law
- Introductio ad theologiam* by Abelard, 430
- Investiture, Meaning of, 205
- Investiture, Lay, 16-18, 205-14  
 Alexander II, 183  
 Of bishops, 17  
 Callistus II, 332  
 Concordat of Worms, 334  
 Conrad II, 113  
 Consequences of, 205 f.  
 Councils: Autun (1077), 208; Clermont (1085), 281; Poitiers (1078), 208; Rome (1075), 207
- Crosier, 17
- Emperor Henry II, 104 f.
- Emperor Henry V, 324 f., 327, 332
- In England, 209, 336-38
- In France, 208, 335
- In Germany, 209 f.
- Gregory VII, 207, 325 f.
- Humber on, 171, 207
- Ivo of Chartres on, 312, 325 f.
- Origin of, 16, 205
- Parishes, 381
- Paschal II on, 324-26, 328
- Philip I of France, 194, 208
- Ring, 17
- Simony, 206
- Stephen IX, 169 note 77
- Ireland, Church of: Chorepiscopi in, 451; Holy See and, 451; St. Malachy, 451
- Irene (princess), Philip of Swabia marries, 511
- Irnerius teacher at Bologna, 465
- Isaac Angelus (emperor), 511, 540:  
 Fourth Crusade, 541; imprisoned, 542
- Isabella of Angoulême, John of England marries, 553
- Isabella of Brienne (empress): Frederick II marries, 581; Death of, 584
- Isabella of Hainault, wife of Philip Augustus, 513
- Isaiaslaf, Dmitri. *See* Dmitri
- Isidore of Seville, 72: Writings of, 303
- Italy  
 Brigandage in, 126
- City states in northern, 413 f.
- Discord in, 611
- Emperor Henry IV invades, 227, 250
- Factions in, 89, 94
- Frederick Barbarossa in, 460, 473, 478
- Frederick II in, 602
- Greek monasteries, 154
- Greek rite in southern, 270
- Latin rite in southern, 270
- Manichaeans executed in, 493
- Maritime cities of, 414
- Normans in southern, 156, 162
- Saracens attack, 100
- Itinerarium mentis ad Deum* by St. Bonaventure, 635
- Ivo of Chartres, St.  
 Arrest of, 257  
 Clerical life, 347  
 On communal pacts, 376  
*Decretum* by, 245, 310  
 On dispensations, 311 f.  
 Doctrine of matrimony, 313 note 188  
 Lay investiture, 312, 325 f.  
 Letter from Paschal II, 329  
*Panormia* by, 310  
 Philip I's divorce, 256  
 Studies in canon law, 308 f.  
*Tripartita*, 310  
 Urban II accompanied by, 253  
 Writings of, 308 f.
- Ivois, Conference of, 108
- Ivrea, Arduin marquis of, 94, 99
- Isagoge* by Porphyry, 366
- Jacopone da Todi, *Stabat Mater* by, 653
- Jacques Pantaleon (Urban IV), 613
- Jaffa, Treaty of, 585
- Jaime. *See* James
- James I (king of Aragon), 587: repression of heresy, 598
- Jerusalem  
 Christian colony at, 339  
 Crusaders' siege of, 300 f.  
 Frederick II at, 585  
 Hospice at, 344  
 Letter from Church of, 67  
 Moslems seize, 603  
 Patriarchate of, 340  
 Taken by Saladin, 504, 506 f.  
 Turks capture, 232
- Jesu dulcis memoria*, Authorship of, 361 note 108



## Jews

- Bankers, 94
- Caliph Hakim and, 94 note 15
- Charges against, 93
- Lateran Council (1215), 575
- Massacred by crusaders, 288
- Moslem persecution of Christians, 92 f.
- Not to have Christian slaves, 491
- Persecution of, 93
- Pillaged by crusaders, 287
- Joachim of Flora (abbot), Errors of, 570, 573
- Johannes Canaporius, 44 note 100
- Johannes de Casamaris (legate), 562
- Johannitus (king of Bulgaria), 544, 562
- John (pope), Numerical designation of, 90 note 2
- John XII (pope)
  - Adalbert, 23
  - Alberic father of, 10
  - Charges against, 24
  - Council of Rome (964), 26
  - Death of, 26
  - Deposed, 24
  - Leo VIII (antipope), 23-25
  - Monasticism, 19
  - Otto I, 12, 19, 23 f.: crowned by, 13
  - Patrimony of St. Peter, 14
  - Policy of, 22-26
  - Prestige of papacy, 10
  - Privilegium Ottonis*, 14, 16
  - St. Adelaide crowned by, 13
  - Subiaco, 19 note 25
  - Temporal ruler, 10
- John XIII (pope), 28-31
  - Bologna, 30
  - Death of, 31
  - Edgar I of England, 30
  - Exiled, 28
  - Herold (archbishop of Salzburg) excommunicated by, 30
  - Imprisoned, 28
  - Marozia aunt of, 28
  - Otto I, 28 f.
  - Otto II crowned by, 29
  - Reform of the Church, 29 f.
  - Theodora the Younger, mother of, 28
  - Theophano crowned by, 22
  - Tomb of, 31
- John XIV (pope), 40-43
  - Boniface VII (antipope) and, 42
  - Death of, 42

- Gerbert and, 42
- Imprisoned, 42
- Otto II, 41
- John XV (pope), 43 f.
  - Death of, 49
  - Election of, 43
  - First papal canonization, 44
  - Ethelred of England, 44
  - Richard duke of Normandy, 44
- John XVII (pope), 90: Petronius (consul), 90
- John XVIII (pope), 90: Death of, 91; Greek Church, 91; St. Paul Abbey (Rome), 91
- John XIX (pope)
  - Character of, 110
  - Conrad II crowned by, 113
  - "Ecumenical," Title of, 110
  - Election of, 109
  - Gregory of Tusculum father of, 109
  - William abbot of St. Bénigne, 111
- John XXI (pope), 622
- John XVI (antipope), 52
  - At Fulda, 53
  - Calabria birthplace of, 52
  - Death of, 53
  - Mutilated, 53
  - St. Nilus, 52
- John (king of England)
  - Character of, 553
  - Conflict with Innocent III, 553 f.
  - Conspires with Philip Augustus, 509
  - Despotism of, 554
  - Divorce, 553
  - Excommunicated, 554
  - Halise wife of, 553
  - Isabella of Angoulême marries, 553
  - Magna Charta, 554 f.
  - Otto IV, 548
  - Vassal of the Holy See, 554
- John (abbot of Struma), antipope, 479
- John (archbishop of Lyons), Paschal and, 329
- John (archbishop of Rouen), reform measures, 196
- John (bishop of Narni), 28
- John (bishop of Sabina, antipope Sylvester III), 124
- John of Abbeville (bishop of Sabina), 587
- John of Brienne, 591: father of Isabella, 581; Frederick II and, 585

- John of Crema (cardinal): at Council of Pavia, 395; papal legate, 396
- John of Gaeta (Gelasius II), 317
- John de Gray (archbishop of Canterbury), 554
- John of Matha, St. (founder), 572
- John of Salisbury (bishop of Chartres), Motto of, 4
- John de Vendière (abbot), 22 note 32
- John Crescentius: Rodfred murdered by, 29; Theodora the Younger mother of, 29
- John Gratian (Gregory VI), 124, 128
- John Gualbert: Death of, 202; Peter bishop of Florence and, 202; Simony attacked by, 202; Vallumbrosan Order founded by, 201
- John Lackland. *See* John king of England
- John Mincius (antipope Benedict X), 174
- John Scotus Erigena: *De corpore et sanguine Domini* by, 151; Doctrine of, 151 note 33
- John Zemisses (emperor)
- Apameia taken by, 39
  - Arabs at war with, 39
  - Baalbek taken by, 39
  - Emesa taken by, 39
  - Emir of Damascus and, 39
  - Nicephorus II murdered by, 22
  - Phenicia conquered by, 39
  - Poisoned, 39
  - In Syria, 39
- Joigny (monastery), Founding of, 365
- Joinville on St. Louis, 608
- Joseph, St. (patron of carpenters), 662
- Josephini condemned, 501
- Jourdain of Capua: election of Victor III, 239; papal elections, 238
- Jubilus* (in mass chant), 82
- Judgment of God. *See* Ordeals
- Judicial procedure, Lateran Council (1215), 574
- Judith (wife of Roger), in Sicily, 268
- Juliani, Peter (John XXI), 622
- Jumièges Abbey, mass chant, 83
- Justinian: *Code*, 310; *Institutes*, 310; *Novellae*, 310
- Kalocsa, *See* of, 66
- King of the Romans, Conrad crowned, 251
- King's touch, Robert the Pious and, 108
- Kirlington, Council of (977), 38
- Kolberg, suffragan of Gnesen, 66
- Knights of Calatrava, 346
- Knights of Malta, 345
- Knights of Rhodes, 345
- Knights of St. James of the Sword, 346
- Knights of St. John. *See* St. John
- Knights Templars. *See* Templars
- Knights, Teutonic. *See* Teutonic
- Kumans: Alexius I at war with, 278; in Thrace, 278
- Labeo Notker, 78
- La Cava (abbey): antipope Theodoric at, 319; Urban II monk at, 242
- Ladislaus, St. (king of Hungary), 161: Gregory VII, 230; Innocent III crowns, 561
- Landulf: excommunicated, 173; origin of the Patari, 172
- La Ferté (monastery), Foundation of, 365
- Lagny, church built, 80
- Lambert (Honorius II), 392
- Lambert of Hersfeld, 222
- Lambert le Bègue (founder), 664
- Lamennais on religious architecture, 651
- Lance, Finding of the holy, 299
- Landfrieden*, Henry II and, 102
- Lanfranc (abbot of Bec)
- Adviser of William the Conqueror, 261
  - Alexander II pupil of, 181
  - At Bec Abbey, 303 f., 308
  - Council of Winchester, 196
  - Death of, 261
  - Marriage of William of Normandy, 180
  - St. Anselm taught by, 262
  - Writings of, 303
- Languedoc: Albigenses in, 527; Aragon, 534; Catalonia, 534; St. Dominic, 528; Simon de Montfort in, 533
- Languages, Roger Bacon's knowledge of Oriental, 644
- Languages, Romance, 81
- Lansperge on Carthusian Order, 203
- Laon: Abelard's school at, 370; Adalbero bishop, 60; Bartholomew bishop, 352; Premonstratensian Canons near, 344
- Lascaris (emperor), 544

- Lateran (basilica): Guibert (antipope)  
consecrated in, 228; Roman cardinals, 170 note 80
- Lateran Councils  
(1057), reform measures, 167  
(1102), 319 f., 383  
(1112), rejects the *Privilegium*, 329  
(1123), ecumenical, 384  
(1139): and Arnold of Brescia, 416; ecumenical, 411; Manichaeans, 494  
(1179), 490 ff.: repression of the Cathari, 495  
(1215), 572-77: Abbots at, 573; Albigenses condemned, 573; Attendance at, 573; Canons of, 573; Crusade appeal, 544; Crusade project, 576; Errors of Amalric of Bena condemned, 573; Errors of Joachim of Flora condemned, 573; Hierarchy, 574; Innocent III, 572-77; Jews, 575; judicial procedure regulated, 574; Purposes of, 572 f.; reform measures, 574; Saracens, 575; schools ordered, 575; usury, 575
- Lateran Palace, Urban II at, 254
- Latin in preaching, 647
- Latin Empire of Constantinople, End of, 616
- Latin rite in southern Italy, 270
- La Vigne (Peter de), at Council of Lyons, 603
- Law, Canon  
Anselm of Lucca's collection, 309 f.  
Collections of, 309  
Gregory IX, 593  
Influence on civil law, 641 f.  
Roman law, 636 f.  
St. Ivo of Chartres and study of, 308 f.  
Teaching of, 484 f.
- Law, Civil, influenced by canon law, 641 f.
- Law, International, 636 f.
- Law, Roman: Canon law and, 636 f.; Study of, 309 f., 465; Women in, 639
- Law, Study of, at Bologna University, 636
- Lawrence (archbishop of Amalfi), Hildebrand and, 127
- Lay investiture. *See* Investiture
- League, Lombard, 478 f., 520 f.
- League of Verona, 477 f.
- Leagues of peace, Henry II and, 102
- Legal procedure, 640 f.
- Legates (papal) in twelfth century, 383
- Legatio Constantinopolitana* by Liutprand, 32
- Legenda prima* by Thomas of Celano, 567 note 79
- Legenda secunda* by Thomas of Celano, 567 note 79
- Legists, 464 ff.: Barbarossa honors the, 466; at Bologna, 465
- Legnano, Battle of, 479
- Leo (archbishop of Achrida), Manifesto of, 155
- Leo VII (pope): Cluny, 19; St. Odo, 19
- Leo IX, St. (pope), 140 ff.  
Andrew (king of Hungary) appeals to, 160  
Beatrice consults, 161  
Berengarius excommunicated by, 150  
Bertrand (archdeacon) deposed by, 161  
Civitella (battle), 163  
Composer, 147 f.  
Councils: Mainz (1049), 145; Pavia (1049), 145; Reims (1049), 145; Rome (1049), 143 f.; Rome (1050), 150  
Death of, 163  
Eberhard, 142  
Edward the Confessor, 146, 158  
Edward the Confessor's embassy to, 159  
Election of, 142  
Ferdinand of Castile, 146  
Heilwig mother of, 140  
Henry I of France, 146  
Henry III (emperor), 146  
Hildebrand adviser of, 142  
Hugh Candidus made cardinal, 213  
Hugh of Egisheim father of, 140  
Journeys of, 145  
Legates to Constantinople, 157  
Monasticism, 146 f.  
At Monte Cassino, 143  
At Monte Gargano, 143  
Peter III patriarch of Antioch, 154  
Reform of the Church, 142 f., 146 f.  
St. Benedict, 143  
St. Hugh legate of, 201  
St. Michael, 143  
Simony attacked by, 144  
Treaty of Worms, 161
- Leo XIII (pope), encyclical *Aeterni patris*, 634

- Leo VIII (antipope)  
   Bull of, 27  
   Council of Rome (964), 26  
   Death of, 27  
   Election of, 24 f.  
   John XII, 23-25  
   Otto I, 24 f.  
   Restored, 27  
 Leo VI (emperor), Eastern Schism, 153  
 Leo (bishop of Ostia), Chronicle of  
   Monte Cassino by, 106 note 39  
 Leo (protoscriniarius) : elected antipope,  
   24 f.; John XII, 23  
 Leon (kingdom) : interdicted, 552; Fer-  
   dinand III becomes king of, 587;  
   war on Moors, 266  
 Lepers: Hospitals for, 664; Lateran  
   Council (1179), 490; Robert, the  
   Pious, 108  
 Le Puis (castle), besieged, 378  
 Le Puy, Urban II at, 276  
 Lesser Armenia, Kingdom of, 510  
 Lethbold (pilgrim), 93  
 Leyra (Council of), reform measures,  
   196  
*Libellus de numerorum divisione* by Syl-  
   vester II, 74  
*Libellus de rationali et ratione uti* by Syl-  
   vester II, 73  
*Liber abaci* by Sylvester II, 74  
*Liber censuum* by Honorius III, 579  
*Liber divinatorum operum* by St. Hilde-  
   gard, 448  
*Liber Gomorrhianus* by St. Peter Da-  
   mian, 142 and note  
*Liber ordinis*, 350  
*Liber sententiarum* by Peter Lombard,  
   442  
*Liber vitae meritorum* by St. Hildegard,  
   448  
*Libera* (chant), 83  
*Libertas romana*, 637  
 Library of Arab books at Cordova, 56  
   note 3  
 Liège, Henry bishop, 212  
 Liemar (archbishop of Bremen) opposes  
   reform measures, 193  
*Life of St. Romuald* by St. Peter Damian,  
   116  
 Limoges: St. Martial Abbey, 80; Urban  
   II at Council of, 285  
 Lincoln (Robert of) at Oxford, 644  
 Lipari (islands), 296  
 Lisbon University, Founding of, 625  
 Literature, Origin of Romance, 84 f.  
 Liturgy, 648-50: Adam of St. Victor,  
   497 f.; elevation at mass, 649 note  
   48; music, 497 f.; poetry, 498  
 Liutprand (bishop of Cremona)  
   *Antipodosis* by, 32  
   Baronius and, 32  
   *Legatio Constantinopolitana*, 32  
   Otto I, 21, 32  
   Pseudo-council of Rome (963), 24  
   *Vita Ottonis* by, 32  
 Liutprand (priest), Mutilation of, 248  
*Lives of the Saints* by St. Bruno, 32  
*Livre des métiers* by Boileau, 659  
 Llandaff (Council of, ca. 1056), reform  
   measures, 167  
 Lodève, See of, 45  
 Lodi, league against Henry IV, 252  
 Lombard League, 478 f., 520 f.: battle of  
   Legnano, 479  
 Lombards: join the Crusade, 290; revolt  
   against Barbarossa, 478  
 Lombardy: City states in, 413 f.; Cru-  
   saders in, 295; Frederick II, 580,  
   582  
 London, Concordat of (1107), 338 f.  
 Lorraine (kingdom) : in First Crusade,  
   292; Germany and, 21 note 29; Otto  
   occupies, 21; separates from the Em-  
   pire, 611  
 Lotario de' Conti (Innocent III), 516  
 Lothair (king), 47  
   Arnulf son of, 53  
   Crowned emperor, 404  
   Death of, 409  
   Elected emperor, 394  
   Enters Rome, 403  
   Honorius II, 394  
   Innocent II, 401, 403  
 Lotharingia. *See* Lorraine  
 Louis VI the Fat (king of France)  
   Canons of St. Victor, 350  
   Coronation of, 408  
   Gelasius II welcomed by, 317  
   Innocent II, 401  
   Paschal II confers with, 324  
   Religious policy of, 397  
   St. Bernard, 397  
   Stephen of Senlis, 397 f.  
   Suger at court of, 453  
 Louis VII le Jeune (king of France)  
   Amalric of Jerusalem, 506

- Louis VII (*continued*)  
 Crusade project, 425  
 Foe of heretics, 494  
 Hospitality to Alexander III, 475  
 Innocent II, 418  
 Interdiction of lands of, 418  
 Pierre de la Châtre, 418  
 Replies to Henry II of England, 487  
 St. Bernard, 418  
 St. Thomas à Becket, 487  
 Suger esteemed by, 453  
 Thibaut de Champagne at war with, 418  
 Louis VIII (king of France), treaty with Emperor, 592  
 Louis IX, St. (king of France), 588 f.  
 Blanche of Castile mother of, 587  
 Captured by Saracens, 608  
 At Carthage, 617  
 Character of, 588  
 Clement IV, 614  
 Crusade vow, 607  
 Crusader, 588 f., 606-10, 616 f.  
 At Cyprus, 607  
 At Damietta, 607  
 Death of, 617  
 Etienne Boileau, 659  
 Frederick II, 589, 593  
 Gregory IX, 592  
 Humility of, 663  
 Joinville on, 608  
 Last testament of, 617 f.  
 At Mansurah, 607  
 Ransom of, 609  
 Truce with Henry III of England, 606  
 Valor of, 608  
 Louis de Blois, Fourth Crusade, 538  
 Louis of Lorraine, Adalbero and, 61  
 Lower Italy, Normans in, 156  
 Lucan, Study of, 57  
 Lucca, See of, 181  
 Lucera, Moslem colony at, 582  
 Lucius II (pope), 418 f.: Conrad III, 419; Death of, 420; Roger of Sicily meets, 418  
 Lucius III (pope), 499-502  
 Conflict with Barbarossa, 500  
 Episcopal Inquisition organized by, 501 f.  
 Gilbert de la Porrée, 571  
 Manichaeans, 501  
 At Verona, 500  
 Waldenses excommunicated by, 527  
 Maginulf (antipope), 322: submission of, 328  
 Magna Charta, 554 f.  
 Magyars, Herold of Salzburg and, 30  
 Mainz: Adalbert archbishop, 328, 394;  
 Crusaders massacre Jews in, 288;  
 Henry II crowned at, 96; Sigfrid archbishop, 193  
 Mainz, Councils of: (1049), 145; (1050), 146  
 Mainz, Diets of: (1103), Emperor Henry IV at, 320; (1105), Henry IV deposed by, 322  
 Mainz, Pseudo-council of (1076), 217  
 Majolus, St., 86  
 Majorca taken from the Moors, 587  
 Malachy, St. (bishop of Down), 451 f.:  
 Prophecies of, 452 note 158  
 Maledetti, Octavian (antipope), 471: favored by Barbarossa, 470  
 "Malifacius" (antipope Boniface VIII), 35  
 Malmedy Abbey, Henry II and, 105  
 Malta, Knights of, 345  
 Manasses I (archbishop of Reims):  
 Hugh of Die suspends, 208; Philip I of France and, 209; Simony of, 204, 208  
 Manegold of Lautenbach, Canons of Marbach founded by, 254  
 Manfred (bishop of Brescia), Church reform, 415  
 Manfred (son of Frederick II), 610: conflict with Charles of Anjou, 617; Death of, 615; in Sicily, 613  
 Manichaeans  
 Barbarossa and the, 500 f.  
 Council of Arras condemns, 115  
 Council of Orleans (1022) condemns, 108  
 Council of Reims (1148), 494  
 Execution of: in Flanders, 493; in France, 493; in Germany, 493; in Italy, 493  
 In France, 114 f.  
 Lateran Council (1139), 494  
 Lucius III, 501  
 In Middle Ages, 493  
 Richard V of Normandy, 107 f.  
 Manichaeism, 371 f.  
 At Albi, 526  
 In the Middle Ages, 492  
 In Papal States, 523

- Manichaeism (*continued*)  
 Popular attitude to, 492  
 In Provence, 524  
 Raymond VI of Toulouse favors, 524 f.
- Manosque, Relics of Venerable Gerard at, 345 note 63
- Mansurah, St. Louis at, 607
- Mantua, 135: Barbarossa takes, 474; Henry IV besieges, 251
- Mantua, Council of (1053), Beatrice and, 161
- Mantua, Council of (1064), Cadalous excommunicated by, 183
- Mantes, Confraternity at, 377
- Manuel Comnenus (emperor), 424: attempt to bargain with the pope, 475; defeats crusaders, 428; negotiations with Alexander III, 491
- Marbach, Foundation of Canons of, 254
- Marcus Aurelius, Statue of, 29, 43
- Marino (hermit), St. Romuald and, 116
- Mark (measure of weight), 254 note 46
- Mark Allan, 78
- Markwald (seneschal), excommunicated, 519 f.
- Marozia, John XIII nephew of, 28
- Marriage: Essence of, 639; impediment of consanguinity, 639; impediment of lack of parental consent, 639
- Martel, Godfrey. *See* Godfrey
- Martianus Cappella, Sylvester II and writings of, 56
- Martin IV (pope), 623
- Martin (abbot of Pairis), Fourth Crusade, 539
- Mary (Blessed Virgin): Office of, 284 note 123; Preface of, 276 note 104
- Mary (mother of Al-Hakim), 93
- Masci, Girolamo (Nicholas IV), 624
- Mass: Ceremonies of, 649 f.; Elevation at, 649 note 48
- Massa (Sardinia), 591
- Master craftsmen, 660
- Matha, St. John of (founder), 572
- Mathematics, Sylvester II, 74
- Matilda, St. (queen of Germany), Char-ity of, 33
- Matilda (empress), Mother of Henry II of England, 481
- Matilda, St. (queen of Germany): char-ity of, 33; Otto I son of, 12; at Quedlinburg Abbey, 42; St. Bruno son of, 33
- Matilda (countess of Tuscany)  
 Barbarossa and lands of, 468 f.  
 Beatrice mother of, 161, 166  
 At Canossa, 220  
 Conrad seeks refuge with, 251  
 Deserted by Guelph V, 250  
 Donation of, 404 note 21  
 Godfrey husband of, 249  
 Gregory VII, 219 f., 226, 231  
 Guibert driven from Rome by, 239  
 Emperor Henry IV, 227, 249, 251: cousin of, 211  
 Emperor Henry V visits, 330  
 Leads army against Henry IV, 252  
 Marriage to Guelph V, 249  
 Paschal II, 327  
 Praxedes seeks refuge with, 252
- Matilda of Scotland, Henry I of Eng-land and, 337
- Matilda (daughter of Baldwin V), Mar-riage of, 180
- Matrimony, St. Ivo of Chartres and doc-trine of, 313 note 188
- Matthew (bishop of Albano), papal leg-ate, 398
- Matthew (prior of St. Martin-des-Champs), 358
- Matthew of Angers (canonist), 449
- Mauretania, 231
- Mauricio Burdinho (antipope), 331: Henry V crowned by, 330
- Mazzara, *See* of, 269
- Medicine, Sylvester and science of, 75
- Meditation, Hugh of St. Victor on, 438 f.
- Meditations* by St. Anselm, 306
- Meginaud (bishop of Trier), 105
- Meinwerk (bishop of Paderborn), 78, 105
- Meissen, *See* of, 90
- Melek-el-Khamil (sultan of Egypt), 585: St. Francis and, 589 f.
- Melfi, Normans at, 135
- Melfi, Council of (1059), Robert Guis-card duke, 176
- Melrichstädt, Battle of, 224
- Melun, Abelard's school at, 370
- Memorare*, Authorship of the, 361 note 108
- Mendicant orders, 627: Paris University, 631
- Menthon, St. Bernard of. *See* Bernard
- Merowig, Merovingian dynasty, 46

- Merseburg  
 Assembly of, 102  
 Battle of, 12  
 Crusaders at, 288  
 Dithmar of, 105  
 Eberhard bishop, 105  
 See of, 90
- Mesopotamia: subjected by Saladin, 506;  
 Turks in, 425
- Messina: Henry VI of Germany dies at,  
 515; Knights of St. John at, 344;  
 See of, 269; Third Crusade sails  
 from, 508
- Metropolitans in twelfth century, 383
- Metz, Hermann bishop, 245
- Michael (St.), Leo IX and, 143
- Michael VII (emperor), Gregory VII  
 and, 232
- Michael VIII Paleologus (emperor),  
 616: Council of Lyons (1274), 619;  
 truce with Charles of Anjou, 621
- Michael Caerularius (patriarch of Con-  
 stantinople), 154 ff.  
 Becomes patriarch, 155  
 Deposed, 157  
 Excommunicated, 157  
 Exiled, 154  
 Latin Catholics persecuted by, 156  
 Monk, 154  
 Plot against Michael IV, 154  
 Pope anathematized by, 157  
 Schism of, 46
- Michael IV (patriarch of Constanti-  
 nople), Caerularius plots against, 154
- Micrologus de disciplina artis musicae* by  
 Guido of Arezzo, 120 and note
- Middle Ages  
 Christianity in, 5  
 Comte on, 4  
 Education in, 629. *See also* Schools,  
 Universities  
 Leon Gautier on, 5  
 Religious orders, 626-29  
 Secondary schools, 645 f.  
 Study of philosophy in, 302 note 158  
 Study of Roman law in, 465  
 Uhlhorn on, 5
- Mieczyslaw II, Casimir son of, 123
- Milan  
 Anselm archbishop of, 251  
 Barbarossa takes, 474  
 Execution of heretics, 492  
 Godfrey archbishop of, 212
- Guido archbishop of, 179  
 League against Henry IV, 252  
 Rebuilt, 477  
 St. Peter Damian at, 179  
 Tebaldo archbishop, 212  
 Uberto Crivelli archbishop of, 503
- Military orders, 343 f., 346  
 Alcantara, 586  
 Aviz, 586  
 Calatrava, 586  
 Origin of, 343  
 St. James of Compostela, 586
- Milo (papal legate), 531
- Mincius, John. *See* John Mincius
- Miniano, Treaty of, 413
- Minnesingers, 564, 654 f.
- Minstrels in Provence, 525
- Missi* (imperial), papal elections, 14
- Missions in Asia, 491
- Modena, 135
- Mohammedanism, Turks strengthen, 277.  
*See also* Moors, Saracens
- Moissac Abbey, Cluny Abbey and, 198
- Molesmes, St. Bruno at, 204
- Monaldi, Bonfilii dei, 664
- Monasteries, List of  
 Avellana, 27  
 Baume, 198  
 Bec, 180, 262, 303 f., 308  
 Bobbio, 42  
 Charroux, 80  
 Chester, 262  
 Clairvaux, 365, 450  
 Citeaux, 314, 360, 365  
 Cluny. *See* Cluny  
 Corbie, 40  
 Corvey, 105  
 Einsiedeln, 202  
 Farfa, 420 f.  
 Figeac, 198  
 Fleury, 79  
 Fontenay, 365  
 Fontevrault, 314  
 Fossanuova, 620  
 Fulda, 53, 105, 161  
 Gandersheim, 70  
 Grand Chartreuse, 450  
 Grottaferrata, 79 note 60, 125  
 Hersfeld, 105  
 Hildesheim, 96  
 Hirschau, 202  
 Joigny, 365  
 La Cava, 242, 319

Monasteries (*continued*)

- La Ferté, 365  
 Limoges, 80  
 Malmédy, 105  
 Moissac, 198  
 Molesmes, 204  
 Monte Cassino, 40, 105, 116, 143, 169, 172, 176, 239  
 Monte Gargano, 69 f.  
 Monte Soracte, 26, 143  
 Montmajeur, 276  
 Mount St. Michael, 80  
 Mouzon, 103, 332  
 Poitou, 80  
 Pontigny, 365  
 Pontoise, 195  
 Richenau, 105  
 St. Anastasius (Rome), 420  
 St. Bartholomew (Sicily), 269  
 St. Basil, 53  
 St. Bénigne, 111  
 St. Bernard, 43  
 St. Bertin, 198  
 St. Caesarius (Rome), 420  
 St. Denis, 452-54  
 St. Gall, 78  
 St. Gerald of Aurillac, 72  
 St. Germain of Auxerre, 198  
 St. Gregory (Rome), 399  
 St. Jean d'Angely, 198  
 St. Just (Lyons), 603  
 St. Lawrence of Aversa, 320  
 St. Marcellus, 433  
 St. Martial, 80, 198  
 St. Martin-des-Champs, 358  
 St. Mary on the Aventine, 127  
 St. Maur des Fossés, 119  
 St. Pantaleon (Cologne), 40  
 St. Paul (Rome), 151  
 St. Peter (Perugia), 40  
 St. Quentin, 308  
 St. Sigebert, 352  
 St. Sophia, 239  
 St. Vaast, 105  
 St. Valery, 40  
 St. Victor (Marseilles), 437  
 St. Victor (Paris), 437, 450, 495, 497 f.  
 Sts. Nabor and Felix, 448  
 Santa Maria del Priorato, 127  
 Sauxillages, 357  
 Subiaco, 40  
 Trois Fontaines, 365  
 Vézelay, 35, 40, 356  
 Westminster, 159  
 Monasteries, Reform of: Henry II, 105;  
     St. Odilo, 105  
 Monastic habit at Cluny, 199 note 50  
 Monastic reform, 397: Henry II, 105;  
     Nicholas Breakspear, 459; St. Odilo,  
     105; Sugar, 453  
 Monastic schools, 303 f., 570, 645 f.  
 Monasticism, 626 f.  
     Adalbero disparages, 60  
     Benedict VII, 40  
     Civilization and, 97  
     Cluny Abbey, 86, 197 ff.  
     Emperor Henry II, 97, 105  
     Gregory VII, 197 ff.  
     Influence of, 247, 450  
     John XII, 19  
     Leo IX, 146 f.  
     Moral power of, 18  
     Music, 85 f.  
     Otto III, 70  
     Palestine, 154  
     Reform of the Church, 19  
     Reform measures, 201  
     St. Bernard on decline of, 355 f.  
     Schools, 303 f.  
     In Sicily, 269 f.  
     In twelfth century, 346  
     Urban II encourages, 303  
*Monologium* by St. Anselm, 305 f.  
 Mont Cenis pass, Henry IV at, 219  
 Montauban, 533  
 Monte Cassino (abbey)  
     Benedict VII, 40  
     Desiderius abbot, 176, 239  
     Frederick of Lorraine abbot, 169  
     Henry II and, 105  
     Leo IX at, 143  
     St. Romuald at, 116  
     Stephen IX, 172  
     Victor III abbot, 239  
 Monte Gargano: Leo IX at, 143; Otto  
     III at, 69 f.; St. Nilus at, 70  
 Monte Mario, Otto I, 16  
 Monte Soracte (monastery), Benedict V  
     monk of, 26; Death of Otto III,  
     71  
 Montefeltro, Otto I at, 23  
 Montferrat, Boniface of (marquis):  
     Fourth Crusade, 537, 539 f.; Prince  
     Alexius and, 540  
 Montferrat, Conrad of. *See* Conrad



- Montfort, Simon IV de (earl of Leices-  
ter), Albigensian crusade, 532-36
- Monticelli, Eugene III flees to, 420
- Montierneuf (abbey), Cluny Abbey and,  
198
- Montmajeur (monastery), Urban at, 276
- Montpellier, Guy of (founder), 519
- Montpellier, University of, 625, 630 note  
20
- Monza, Conrad crowned at, 251
- Moors  
Alfonso VI of Castile at war with, 268  
Alfonso VII of Castile, 550  
Alfonso IX of Leon, 551  
In Andalusia, 550  
Castile threatened by, 550  
Defeated at Toledo, 266  
Ferdinand III, 587  
Innocent III, 550  
In Morocco, 550  
In Spain, 266-69
- Morocco: Almoravides in, 267 f.; Moors  
in, 550
- Morone, Peter (Celestine V), 625
- Morra, Alberti di (Gregory VIII), 504
- Moslems: Jerusalem seized by, 603; at  
Lucera, 582; not to have Christian  
slaves, 491
- Mosque of Omar, 585
- Mossul: and Eastern Christian states,  
506; Emir of, 424; Sultan of, 425;  
Turks at, 342; Zenki emir of, 423
- Mount of Olives, Crusaders' procession,  
301
- Mount St. Michael (abbey), Destruction  
of, 80
- Mouzon (abbey): Callistus II at, 332;  
Peace of God, 103
- Mouzon, Conference of, 103
- Mozarabic liturgy, 197 note 44
- Mülhausen, Battle of, 224
- Muradal, Battle of, 551
- Murrone. *See* Morone
- Murtzuphlos. *See* Alexius V
- Muset: Sardinia taken by, 158; taken  
prisoner, 158
- Music  
Development of, 84  
Guido of Arezzo, 304  
Leo IX, 147 f.  
Liturgical, 82-85, 119, 497 ff.  
Monasticism, 85 f.  
Sylvester II and study of, 75 f.
- Musical Notation, Guido of Arezzo and,  
120
- Musical studies, 84
- Mysticism: Abbey of St. Victor, 498;  
Hugh of St. Victor, 438 ff.; St.  
Bernard, 445
- Naples: Celestine V at, 625; Death of  
Innocent IV at, 610; University of,  
630 note 20
- Narbonne, Councils of: (990), 44;  
(1211), 533
- Narratio de electione Lotharii*, 394
- Navarre, war on Moors, 266
- Navas de Tolosa, Battle of, 551
- Nemanya (Serbian ruler), 562
- Neo-Manichaeism. *See* Manichaeism
- Nesles, St. Ivo at, 308
- Netherlands in the German Empire, 107  
note 40
- New Corbie (monastery). *See* Corvey
- Nicaea: Alexius Comnenus at, 298; capi-  
tal of Eastern Empire, 544; Cru-  
saders take, 298; Greek emperors at,  
616
- Nicaea, Council of (787): on religious  
art, 651
- Nicephorus II Phocas (emperor): Death  
of, 22; John Zemisses murders, 22;  
Otto I, 21
- Nicephorus III Botaniates (emperor),  
233
- Nicephorus (chancellor), desecration of  
Eucharist, 156
- Nicetas (heretic), Albigenses and, 527
- Nicetas Pectoratus (monk), Pamphlet  
of, 155
- Nicetas Stethatos. *See* Nicetas Pectora-  
tus
- Nichava (river), Crusaders at the, 290
- Nicholas II (pope), 175-81  
Community life of clergy, 346 f.  
Council of Rome (1059), 177  
Death of, 180 f.  
Desiderius of Monte Cassino, 176, 239  
Election of, 175  
Henry III (emperor) opposes, 180  
Normans, Alliance with, 175  
Papal elections, 177, 210
- Nicholas III (pope), 622
- Nicholas IV (pope), 624
- Nicholas Breakspear. *See* Adrian IV

- Nilus, St. (hermit): driven from Calabria, 70; Grottaferrata Abbey founded by, 79 note 60; at Monte Gargano, 70; Philagathus and, 52  
 Nîmes, Council of (1096), Urban II at, 285  
 Nivard, brother of St. Bernard, 363  
 Nominalism of Roscelin, 368  
 Norbert, St. (abbot), 351 f.  
     Bartholomew bishop of Laon, 352  
     Conversion of, 351  
     Gelasius II, 352  
     Premonstratensian Canons founded by, 346  
     At St. Sigebert Abbey, 352  
     Tanchelm's heresy, 373  
 Nordhausen, Council of (1105), Henry V at, 321  
 Noricum, 225  
 Normandy interdicted, 180  
 Normans  
     Alexius Comnenus at war with, 278  
     Apulia, 176  
     Amalfi in possession of, 226  
     Attitude to Byzantine Empire, 279  
     At Aversa, 135  
     Calabria, 176  
     Christian recovery of Sicily, 268  
     Conquest of Sicily, 268 f.  
     Fermo (march of) in possession of, 226  
     In First Crusade, 292, 295  
     Gregory VII asks help of, 226  
     Lower Italy invaded by, 162  
     At Melfi, 135  
     Nicholas II makes alliance with, 175  
     Oath of allegiance to Leo IX, 163  
     Rome sacked by, 229  
     Salerno in possession of, 226  
     In southern Italy, 135, 156  
     Tivoli assaulted by, 234  
     Urban II, 248  
     Victor II, 166  
 Norway, clerical celibacy, 196  
 Notker, Labeo, 78  
 Notker the Stammerer, 78: chant, 82  
 Noto, Saracens defeated at, 269  
 Notre Dame (church, Paris), 652: Episcopal school of, 630  
 Notre Dame of d'Etampes, church built, 80  
 Notre Dame de la Coudre (church), St. Bernard's mass in, 406  
 Notre Dame de Melun, church built, 80  
 Nour-ed-Din (sultan), 506  
*Novellae* of Justinian, 310  
 Noyon, Coronation of Hugh Capet, 48  
 Nyssa, Crusaders slaughtered by people of, 290  
 Oath on relics of the saints, 102  
 Ochrida. *See* Achrida  
 Ocri (monastery), St. Peter Damian prior, 142  
 Octavian Maledetti (antipope), 471: excommunicated by Council of Tours, 475  
 Odilo, St. (abbot of Cluny), 79, 86: Adalbero disparages, 60; Casimir I, 123; Henry II friend of, 105; monastic reforms, 105  
 Odo, St. (abbot of Cluny), 72, 86: abbot of St. Gerald of Aurillac, 72; adviser of Leo VII, 19  
 Odo of Ostia (Urban II), 241 f.: Gregory VII and, 199 f., 238  
 Odo de Sully (bishop of Paris), 497  
 Odo the Younger, 119  
 Offa (king of Mercia), 553  
 Offertory of the mass, 649  
 Office of Blessed Virgin, 284 note 123: Urban II and, 284  
 Olaf III (king of Norway), Gregory VII and, 230  
 Oloron, Amatus bishop of, 208  
 Omar, Mosque of, 585  
 Ommiads (dynasty), 266, 424  
 Oppizo (copyist), 355  
*Opus majus* by Roger Bacon, 644 f.  
*Opus tertium* by Roger Bacon, 644 f.  
 Oratory, Sacred, 646-48  
 Ordeals, Paschal II condemns, 381  
 Order of Preachers. *See* Dominicans  
 Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* by, 255 f.  
 Orders, matrimonial impediment, 384 note 179  
 Orders, Military, 343-46: Origin of, 343  
 Oriental languages, Roger Bacon's knowledge of, 644  
 Orleans, Council of (1022): Manichaeans condemned, 108; University of, 630 note 20  
 Orsini (family), Gregory IX aided by, 592

- Orsini, Hyacinth (Celestine III), 510  
 Orsini, John Gaetano (Nicholas III), 622  
 Orvieto: Cathedral of, 652; Papal States, 68  
 Osma, Diego de Acebes bishop of, 528  
 Otranto, Knights of St. John at, 344  
 Otto, Dynasty of, 78  
 Otto I the Great (emperor)  
     Abd-er-Rahman II (caliph), 22  
     Arabs, 22  
     Benedict V, 26 f.  
     Berengarius II and, 12, 23  
     Character of, 11  
     Coronation of, 13  
     Danes at war with, 12  
     Death of, 31  
     Feudalism, 12  
     Greatness of, 31  
     Hungarians at war with, 12  
     *Imperator Augustus*, 12, 20  
     Intellectual movement, 31 f.  
     John XII, 23 f.: crowns, 13; deposed, 24  
     John XIII, 19, 29: Election of, 28  
     King of Germany, 11  
     King of Italy, 12  
     Liutprand, 21, 32  
     Lorraine occupied by, 21  
     At Merseburg, 12  
     Monasticism, 19, 32  
     Monte Mario, 16  
     At Montefeltro, 23  
     Nicephorus II, 21  
     Otto II the Red, son of, 33  
     Papacy, 23, 25  
     Papal elections, 23, 25, 28  
     Patrimony of St. Peter, 14  
     Policy of, 20  
     *Privilegium Ottonis*, 14  
     Pseudo-council of Rome (963), 23 f.  
     Reform of the Church, 29 f.  
     *Rex Francorum*, 20  
     Roman rebellion suppressed, 29  
     St. Adelaide wife of, 12, 33  
     St. Bruno brother of, 12, 32 f.  
     St. Matilda mother of, 12  
     Slavs at war with, 12  
     States of the Church, 14, 22  
     Sylvester II, 32  
     Theophano, 21  
     *Vita Ottonis*, 32  
 Otto II the Red (emperor), 33-36  
     Character of, 33 f.  
     Danes rebel against, 34  
     Death of, 41 f.  
     Defeated at Taranto, 41  
     Gerbert engaged by, 57  
     Henry the Quarrelsome, 34  
     John XIII crowns, 29  
     John XIV, 41  
     John Crescentius, 34  
     At Pavia, 37  
     Reconciliation with St. Adelaide, 37  
     At Rome, 37, 41  
     St. Adelaide mother of, 33 f.  
     Saracens oppose, 37  
     Scandalous life of, 37  
     Slavs rebel against, 34  
     Theophano, 21  
     Treasury of, 41  
     At Verona, 41  
 Otto III (emperor), 49-51  
     At Aachen, 50  
     Ambition of, 49 f., 58  
     Attitude to the papacy, 65  
     Besieged in Rome, 69  
     Council of Rome (996), 54  
     Death of, 71  
     Gerbert teacher of, 49, 57  
     At Gnesen, 66  
     Henry of Bavaria seizes, 42  
     Holy Roman Empire, 64: Ideas of Otto III, 58  
     Leaves Rome, 69  
     Monasticism, 70  
     At Monte Gargano, 69 f.  
     At Ravenna, 50  
     Rome revolts against, 69  
     St. Adalbert, 66  
     St. Nilus, 70  
     St. Romuald, 70  
     Slavs at war with, 51  
     States of the Church, 65  
     Sylvester II, 58, 64, 69  
     Theophano, 49  
     Tivoli revolts against, 69  
 Otto IV (emperor): battle of Bouvines, 549; crowned by Innocent III, 522; excommunicated, 548; Innocent III favors, 522; John of England, 548  
 Otto of Bavaria (count), 463  
 Otto of Freising: on Frederick Barbarossa, 456; on St. Bernard, 426  
 Otto of Porto (cardinal), 603

- Otto von Wittelsbach, Philip of Swabia  
 assassinated by, 522  
 Ottobuono Fieschi (Adrian V), 622  
 Our Lady of Mercy, Order of, 594  
 Oxford University, 630, 642-45: Attendance at, 643; Origin of, 643  
 Ownership, Private, 640
- Pactum pacis*, 101  
 Paderborn, Meinwerk bishop of, 105  
 Padua University, 630 note 20  
 Paleologus, Michael (emperor), 615  
 Palermo: Saracens defeated at, 269; Sicilian Vespers, 623  
 Palestine  
   Charlemagne in, 11 note 10  
   Christian states in, 339-43  
   Frederick II in, 584  
   Holy Sepulcher destroyed, 91  
   Latin monasteries, 154  
   Moslems' final triumph, 624  
   Pilgrimages, 93, 154  
   Pilgrims in, 345  
   Protectorate of, 279 f.  
   Under sway of caliphate of Cairo, 277  
 Pallium, 384, 452  
*Pandects*: Frederick Barbarossa, 467; Study of the, 636  
 Pannonia, First Crusade crosses, 288  
*Panormia*: by Ivo of Chartres, 310; on punishment of heretics, 493  
 Pantaleon, Jacques (Urban IV), 613  
 Pantheism, Amalric of Bena, 571  
 Paolo Scolari (Clement III), 505  
 Papacy  
   Ancona, 580  
   Attitude of Byzantine Empire, 279  
   Cluny devoted to, 19  
   Conrad II, 113  
   The Empire, 547-49  
   Frederick II, 578  
   Henry IV of Germany, 210 f.  
   Imperial elections, 522  
   International peace, 637 f.  
   Otto I, 23, 25  
   Otto III's attitude to, 65  
   Power of, in twelfth century, 383 f.  
   Spoleto, 580  
   Vacancy in, 617, 625  
 Papal elections. *See* Popes, Election of  
 Papal legates in twelfth century, 383
- Papal States  
   Benevento, 162  
   Camerino, 166  
   Cesena, 68  
   Donation of Matilda, 404 note 21  
   Duchy of Spoleto, 166  
   Emperor Henry III, 166  
   Emperor Henry VI invades, 504  
   Extent of, 68  
   Innocent III tours the, 519  
   John XII, 14  
   Manichaeism in, 523  
   March of Ancona, 68  
   Orvieto, 68  
   Otto I, 14  
   Romania, 68  
   Sylvester II, 68  
   Terracina, 68  
   Treaty of Worms, 161  
   Victor II, 166  
*Parens scientiarum*, bull of Gregory IX, 597  
 Parental consent, Impediment of lack of, 639  
 Paris: Elementary schools at, 646; interdicted, 397; Notre Dame Cathedral, 652  
 Paris, Councils of: (1051), Berengarius condemned by, 151; (1074), Reform measures opposed by, 194 f.; (1210), teaching of Aristotle, 595  
 Paris, University of, 629 f.  
   Alexander IV intervenes, 631  
   Four faculties, 630  
   Four "nations," 630  
   Gregory IX, 596  
   Influence of, 597  
   Language studies, 624  
   Mendicant orders, 631  
   Origin of, 630  
   Rector of, 630  
 Parishes: Government of, 381; lay investiture, 381; Property of, 381  
 Parma, Frederick II defeated at, 609  
 Parthenay (castle), St. Bernard at, 406  
 Paschal II (pope), 316 f.  
   At Benevento, 330  
   At Châlons-sur-Marne, 324  
   Character of, 323 f.  
   Council of Guastalla, 324  
   Death of, 330  
   First general indulgence, 380  
   Fontevault monastery approved, 314

- Paschal II (pope) (*continued*)  
 Henry V crowned by, 328  
 Imprisoned by Henry V, 327  
 Lateran Council (1102), 319  
 Lay investiture, 324-26, 328  
 Louis the Fat confers with, 324  
 Ordeals condemned, 381  
 Order of St. John approved, 344  
 Peace with Henry V, 328  
 Philip I's divorce, 260  
*Privilegium*, 328 f.  
 Regalian rights, 326  
 At St. Denis, 324
- Paschal III (antipope), 476, 487: Charlemagne canonized, 477; Frederick Barbarossa crowned by, 478; submits to Alexander III, 480; Treaty of Venice, 480
- Passagini condemned, 501
- Passau, See of, 193, 218, 245
- Patari (heretics), 492  
 Condemned, 501  
 Eberhard of Nellenburg denounces, 212  
 In Milan, 223  
 In the Papal States, 524  
 Origin of, 172
- Paterno, Otto III dies at, 71
- Patrician, Office of, 419, 421
- Patrimony of St. Peter. *See* Papal States
- Patronage, Right of, 205 f.: in France, 335 f.
- Pavia, Theophano at, 48
- Pavia, Councils of: (997), Gregory V, 51; (1018), Reform of the Church, 104; (1046), Henry III (emperor) at, 131; (1049), Leo IX, 145; (1096), Urban II at, 285; (1128), 395
- Pavia, Pseudo-council of (1160), 472 f.
- Pavia University, 630 note 20
- Peace, Benedict VIII and world, 101
- Peace assemblies, Robert the Pious, 102, 107
- Peace (International), Papacy and, 637 f.
- Peace Leagues, 101
- Peace movement: conference of Ivois, 109; Council of Verdun (1016), 102; Warin (bishop of Beauvais), 103
- Peace of God: Popular approval of, 103; Truce of God and, 101 note 26
- Peace of Venice ratified at Lateran Council, 490
- Pectoratus, Nicetas. *See* Nicetas
- Pelagius (cardinal), Innocent III and, 544
- Penance, Public, 528, 531
- Penine Alps, St. Bernard monastery, 45
- Perigueux, St. Bernard at, 527
- Perpignan, Fredelo bishop, 45
- Perugia: Gregory IX at, 590; Innocent III dies at, 576; Papal election at, 625
- Pestilence: of 1094, 254; in army of St. Louis, 617; in imperial army, 478
- Petchenegs: Alexius Comnenus at war with, 278; Crusaders attacked by, 290, 297; in Thrace, 278
- Peter (bishop of Florence): Gregory VII deposes, 202; John Gualbert and, 202
- Peter (bishop of Le Puy), Leo IX sustains, 161
- Peter (bishop of Pavia) becomes John XIV, 40
- Peter (bishop of Pisa): deposed by Innocent II, 411; St. Bernard and deposition of, 412 note 38
- Peter (bishop of Vercelli), imprisoned, 92
- Peter (bishop of Viviers), Truce of God, 45
- Peter II (king of Aragon): Innocent III, 552; Navas de Tolosa (battle), 551; Raymond VI of Toulouse, 534
- Peter III (king of Aragon), excommunicated by Martin IV, 623
- Peter III (patriarch of Antioch), Leo IX and, 154
- Peter (prefect of Rome), Exile of, 29
- Peter Abelard. *See* Abelard
- Peter Bartholomew, Finding of holy lance by, 299
- Peter de Blois (archdeacon), on freedom of the Church, 4
- Peter of Bruys: Death of, 374; Errors of, 373 note 151; Henry of Lausanne disciple of, 434; Heresy of, 373; Peter the Venerable and, 374 f.
- Peter of Capua (papal legate), 539, 558
- Peter the Chanter (theologian), Fourth Crusade, 538
- Peter Comestor, Fourth Crusade, 538
- Peter of Corbeil (theologian), 538: bishop of Sens, 596

- Peter Damian, St., 125 f.  
 Alexander II's counselor, 182  
 Benedict X (antipope) opposed by, 174  
 Bishop of Ostia, 169  
 Cardinal, 169  
 On Cluny Abbey, 199  
 Enters Camaldolese Order, 126  
 Hildebrand compared with, 169 f.  
 Letter to the cardinals, 170  
 Letter to Gregory VI, 125  
*Liber Gomorrhianus* by, 142 and note  
*Life of St. Romuald* by, 116  
 At Milan as legate, 179  
 Papal legate, 210  
 Patari encouraged by, 223  
 Prior of Ocri monastery, 142  
 Ravenna birthplace of, 125  
 Reform measures, 167
- Peter the Deacon on Council of Benevento (1087), 240
- Peter the Hermit, 285 f.  
 Birthplace of, 285  
 At Constantinople, 291  
 At Council of Clermont, 285  
 Failure of Crusade, 292 note 141  
 First Crusade preached by, 285 f.  
 Influence of, 288 f.  
 At Jerusalem, 301  
 Origin of the Crusades, 274  
 In Palestine, 285
- Peter Juliani (John XXI), 622
- Peter de la Vigne: at Council of Lyons, 603; Death of, 609
- Peter Lombard, 441-43  
 Bishop of Paris, 442  
*Liber sententiarum* by, 442  
 Richard of St. Vistor, 495  
 St. Bernard aids, 441 f.  
*Sentences* by, 495, 631
- Peter Maurice of Montboissier. *See* Peter the Venerable
- Peter, Patrimony of St. *See* Papal States
- Peter of Poitiers on Peter the Venerable, 357
- Peter of Tarentaise (Innocent V), 621:  
 at Council of Lyons (1274), 619 f.
- Peter the Venerable  
 At Cluny, 346  
 Elected abbot of Cluny, 356 f.  
 Innocent II, 406  
 Peter of Bruys, 374 f.
- Peter of Poitiers on, 357  
 St. Bernard, 366
- Peter Waldes, Waldenses and, 526
- Peter's Pence, Origin of, 553
- Petra, *See* of, 340
- Petrobrusians (heretics), 374
- Petronius (consul), schooling of John XVII, 90
- Petrus Cantor. *See* Peter the Chanter
- Phasianus (John XVIII), 90
- Phenicia, Zemisses conquers, 39
- Philagathus (antipope John XVI), 52
- Philip I (king of France)  
 Alexander II, 184  
 Bertha wife of, 256  
 Coronation of, 178  
 Excommunicated, 258  
 Hugh of Flavigny on, 256  
 Ivo of Chartres arrested, 257  
 Lay investiture, 194, 208  
 Manasses I of Reims, 209  
 Marries Bertrade de Montfort, 256  
 Oath of, 179  
 Reform measures opposed by, 255  
 St. Hugh, 201  
 Simony, 194  
 Simony favored by, 255
- Philip I (king of France), Divorce of Councils: Autun (1094), 258; Clermont, 260; Tours, 260  
 Ivo of Chartres denounces, 256  
 Paschal II, 260  
 Pseudo-council of Reims, 258  
 Raynald of Reims, 257  
 Urban II, 257
- Philip II Augustus (king of France)  
 Albigenses, 530  
 At Council of Soissons, 558  
 Character of, 509  
 Conspires with John of England, 509  
 Dismisses Agnes de Meran, 558  
 Divorce of, 513, 557 f.: Celestine denounces the, 513; Innocent III and, 556 f.  
 Ingeburg wife of, 513  
 Innocent III, 556 f.  
 Isabella of Hainault wife of, 513  
 Marries Agnes de Meran, 514  
 Peace with Henry II of England, 507  
 Peace with Innocent III, 559  
 On Third Crusade, 508 f.
- Philip of Swabia, 408: Assassination of,

- Philip of Swabia (*continued*)  
 522; Fourth Crusade, 537; marries Irene, 511
- Philip Berruyer, Preaching of, 647
- Philippopolis, Crusaders in, 289
- Philosophy: Aristotle, 595; in Middle Ages, 302 note 158; Roscelin's, 367 f.; William of Champeaux, 368 f.
- Phocas (emperor). *See* Nicephorus II
- Photius (patriarch of Constantinople), *Filioque*, 153
- Piacenza: Innocent II at, 403; Henry III and Gregory VI at, 131; League against Henry IV, 252
- Piacenza, Council of (1095): Attendance at, 275; Crusade project, 274 f.; Guibert (antipope) condemned, 275; Heresy of Berengarius condemned, 275; reform measures, 275
- Pierleoni (cardinal, antipope Anacletus II), 400
- Pierleoni (family): papal elections, 399; Policy of, 392
- Pierre de Castelnau (legate), Assassination of, 528 f.
- Pierre de la Châtre (archbishop of Bourges), Louis VII of France and, 418
- Pietro Bernardone, father of St. Francis, 565
- Pilgrimages to the Holy Land, 93
- Pilgrims in Palestine, 345
- Piphles (heretics), 492
- Pisa: Cemetery at, 564; Innocent II at, 407 f.; Knights of St. John at, 344; peace with Genoa, 507; Power of, 414
- Pisa, Council of (1135), 408 f.
- Pistoia, John Gualbert of, 201
- Plague (1094), 254
- Plantagenet, Henry. *See* Henry II (king of England)
- Plato, universal ideas, 366 note 126
- Poetry, Epic, 85
- Poetry, Liturgical, 498
- Poissy, church built, 80
- Poitiers, Confraternity at, 377
- Poitiers, Councils of: (1000), Private war condemned by, 101; (1078), lay investiture, 208
- Poitou, Charroux Abbey, 80
- Poland, Church in, 65 f., 123: Gregory VII and, 230
- Pomposa, Guido of Arezzo dies at, 120
- Ponce (archbishop of Aix), reform measures, 167
- Pons de Melgueil (abbot), 355: Death of, 359; excommunicated, 359; returns to Cluny, 358
- Pontigny (monastery), Founding of 365
- Pontoise Abbey, 195
- Poor Clares, Founding of, 567
- Poor Men of Lyons. *See* Waldenses
- Popes: change of name, 40 note 86, 238 note 5; policy toward heretics, 494; St. Malachy's prophecies, 452 note 158
- Popes, Election of, 23, 25
- Charles II of Naples, 625
- Conclave, 601 note 41, 620 note 11, 622 note 14
- Council of Lyons (1274), 620 note 11, 622 note 14
- Council of Rome (1059) 177
- Crescentius family, 90
- Frederick II, 601
- Henry III (emperor), 133, 164
- Hildebrand, 164, 175
- Lateran Council (1179), 490
- Nicholas II, 177, 210
- Origin of the conclave, 601 note 41
- Otto I, 14, 28
- Privilegium Ottonis*, 14 and note
- Victor III, 241
- Popes, List of
- Leo VII (936-39), 19
- Stephen VIII (939-42), 19
- John XII (956-64), 10-26
- Benedict V (964), 26
- John XIII (965-72), 28-31
- Benedict VI (972-73), 31-33
- Benedict VII (974-83), 36-40
- John XIV (983-85), 40-43
- John XV (985-96), 43 f.
- Gregory V (996-99), 51-55
- Sylvester II (999-1003), 32, 56-88
- John XVII (1003), 90
- John XVIII (1003-9), 90
- Sergius (1009-12), 91
- Benedict VIII (1012-24), 99
- John XIX (1024-33), 109-12
- Benedict IX (1033-45), 121

Popes, List of (*continued*)

- Gregory VI (1045-46), 124-27  
 Clement II (1046-47), 133  
 Damasus (1048), 134  
 Leo IX (1049-53), 140 ff.  
 Victor II (1055-57), 164-68  
 Stephen IX (1057-58), 168-73  
 Nicholas II (1058-61), 175-81  
 Alexander II (1061-73), 181-85  
 Gregory VII (1073-85), 186-236  
 Victor III (1086-87), 237-42  
 Urban II (1088-99), 243-315  
 Paschal II (1099-1118), 316-30  
 Gelasius II (1118-19), 331  
 Callistus II (1119-24), 331-85  
 Honorius II (1124-30), 392-400  
 Innocent II (1130-43), 400-17  
 Celestine II (1143-44), 417 f.  
 Lucius II (1144-45), 418-20  
 Eugene III (1145-53), 420-55  
 Anastasius IV (1153-54), 458  
 Adrian IV (1154-59), 459-60  
 Alexander III (1159-81), 469-99  
 Lucius III (1181-85), 499-502  
 Urban III (1185-87), 503 f.  
 Gregory VIII (1187), 504  
 Clement III (1187-91), 505-10  
 Celestine III (1191-98), 510-15  
 Innocent III (1198-1216), 516-77  
 Honorius III (1216-27), 579-82  
 Gregory IX (1227-41), 583-600  
 Celestine IV (1241), 601 note 39  
 Innocent IV (1243-54), 600-10  
 Alexander IV (1254-61), 612  
 Urban IV (1261-64), 613  
 Clement IV (1265-68), 614-18  
 Gregory X (1271-76), 618-21  
 Innocent V (1276), 621  
 Adrian V (1276), 622  
 John XXI (1276-77), 622  
 Nicholas III (1277-80), 622  
 Martin IV (1281-85), 623  
 Honorius IV (1285-87), 624  
 Nicholas IV (1288-92), 624  
 Celestine V (1294), 625  
 Poplicani (heretics), 492  
 Poppo (abbot), Henry II and, 105  
 Poppo (bishop of Brixen) becomes Damasus II, 134  
 Porphyry: *Isagoge* by, 366; Sylvester II and philosophy of, 73  
 Portugal, Celestine III interdicts, 514  
 Poverty, Franciscans, 599 f.

- Praefectus navalis*, Gregory of Tusculum, 89  
 Praeneste, Theophylactus family, 69  
 Prague: Crusaders massacre Jews in, 288; Dithmar archbishop of, 42; University of, 630 note 20  
 Praxedes (German empress): at Council of Constance, 252; at Council of Piacenza, 275; imprisoned, 251 f.; seeks refuge with Matilda, 252; wife of Emperor Henry IV, 251 f.  
 Preachers, Order of. *See* Dominicans  
 Preaching, 646-48: in the vernacular, 375  
 Preface of the Blessed Virgin, 276 note 104  
 Prefect of Rome, Office of, 422, 518  
 Premonstratensians, 346, 450: Founding of, 352 f.; Rule of, 353  
 Preneste. *See* Praeneste  
 Presburg, Andrew of Hungary besieged in, 160  
 Prevost, Office of, 382  
 Priests, Rural (England), clerical celibacy, 196  
 Primary schools, 646  
 Private property, Rights of, 640  
*Privilegium*, Paschal and the, 328 f.  
*Privilegium fori*, 485. *See also* Immunity  
*Privilegium Ottonis*, 14 and note  
 Procedure, Legal, 640 f.  
 Procidia (John of), Sicilian Vespers, 623  
*Prologium* by St. Anselm, 306  
 Property, Private, 640  
*Proses* (in mass chant), 83  
 Protestantism, St. Anselm and, 307 note 175  
 Protoscriniarius, Leo, 23  
 Provence: Manichaeism in, 524; Troubadours in, 524; Waldenses in, 527  
 Prussia, St. Adalbert apostle of, 44  
 Psellus, Michael Caerularius and, 154  
 Pseudo-councils, List of  
   Brixen (1080), 225  
   Mainz (1076), 217  
   Pavia (1160), 472 f.  
   Reims (1094), 258  
   Rome (963), 23 f.; (1084), 228; (1089), 244  
   St. Basil (991), 53 f., 58  
   Worms (1076), 213  
 Ptolemais. *See* Acre  
 Pulpit in churches, 464  
 Puy-en-Velay. *See* Le Puy



- Quadrivium*, 304, 646  
 Quedlinburg (abbey), St. Matilda at, 42  
*Quinque compilationes*, 593  
*Quo elongati*, bull of Gregory IX, 600  
*Quomodo de arithmetica procedit musica*  
 by Guido of Arezzo, 120 note 67
- Rabanus Maurus, 72: Writings of, 303  
 Raimbaud (archbishop of Arles), reform measures, 167  
 Rainaldi of Dassel (archbishop of Cologne), 462-64, 478: becomes archbishop of Cologne, 468; canonization of Charlemagne, 477; Death of, 478; excommunicated by Council of Tours, 475  
 Rainier (Paschal II), 316  
 Rainulf (duke of Apulia), 412  
 Ramiro (king of Aragon), vassal of Holy See, 637  
 Ramleh, Battle of, 342  
 Rannulf Flambard (bishop of Durham): adviser of William Rufus, 261; imprisoned, 336  
 Raoul. *See* Rannulf  
 Raspe, Henry (emperor), 605  
 Ratier (bishop of Verona), Writings of, 32  
 Ratisbon: Diet of (1055), 165; Henry V at, 321; The plague at, 254; St. Wolfgang bishop of, 96  
 Ratramnus, Writings of, 303  
 Ravenna: Council (974) condemns simony, 36; John XIII and, 29; St. Peter Damian born in, 125; St. Romuald born in, 116  
 Raymond (bishop of Toulouse), Truce of God, 45  
 Raymond (prince of Antioch) and Manuel Comnenus, 424  
 Raymond of Penafort, St., 594: confessor of James of Aragon, 598; Dominican Rule, 599  
 Raymond of St. Gilles. *See* Raymond IV of Toulouse  
 Raymond IV of Toulouse: at Constantinople, 297; crusader, 292, 295 f.; Rivalry between Bohemund and, 300; at siege of Jerusalem, 301  
 Raymond V of Toulouse, Alexander III and, 527  
 Raymond VI of Toulouse  
 Excommunicated, 529 f.  
 Innocent III and, 529, 533 f.; and possessions of, 536  
 Manichaeism favored by, 524 f.  
 Peter II of Aragon, 534  
 Public penance of, 531  
 Seeks protection of Innocent III, 535  
 Simon de Montfort, 533 f.  
 Raymond Roger: Albigenses, 531; imprisoned, 532  
 Raynald (archbishop of Reims), Philip I's divorce, 257  
 Real presence: Berengarius' doctrine, 150; Council of Rome (1059), 179  
 Reform of the Church. *See* Church, Reform of the  
 Regalian rights, 325: in France, 335; Frederick Barbarossa, 467; Henry V, 324, 326; Paschal II on, 326  
 Reggio, 135, 219  
*Regula de abaco computi* by Sylvester II, 74  
*Regulae rhythmicae* by Guido of Arezzo, 120 note 67  
 Reichenau Abbey, Cluny and, 105  
 Reims  
 Adalbero archbishop, 38  
 Arnulf archbishop, 53 f.  
 Cathedral of, 652  
 Episcopal school at, 56 f.  
 Gerbert archbishop, 53  
 Manasses de Gournay archbishop, 204, 208  
 Philip I crowned at, 178  
 Raynald archbishop, 257  
 Reims, Councils of  
 (924), 253 note 41  
 (974), Theobald (bishop of Amiens) deposed, 38  
 (1049), 145  
 (1119), 332 f.  
 (1131), 408  
 (1148): Gilbert de la Porrée condemned, 436; heresies condemned, 374; Manichaeans, 494  
 Reims (Pseudo-council, 1094), Philip's divorce, 258  
 Religious orders in thirteenth century, 626-29  
 Remigius of Auxerre, 72  
 Remiremont, Hugh Candidus born at, 213  
 Renaud de Châtillon, 506  
*Res gestae saxonicae* by Widukind, 32

- Restauratio imperii romani*, 64  
*Rex Francorum*, Otto I, 20  
*Rex pacificus*, bull of Gregory IX, 594  
Rhodes, Knights of, 345  
Richard I (king of England)  
    Celestine III intercedes for, 512  
    Character of, 508 f.  
    Cyprus taken by, 509  
    Imprisoned, 511  
    The Lionhearted, 509  
    Papacy and, 553  
    Returns to England, 509  
    Third Crusade, 508 f.  
    At Worms, 511  
Richard (duke of Normandy) : John XV  
    and, 44; Manichaean heresy, 107 f.;  
    peace treaty, 44  
Richard of Cornwall, German Empire,  
    613  
Richard the Lionhearted. *See* Richard I  
    (king of England)  
Richard of St. Victor (theologian), 495-  
    97 : *De Trinitate* by, 496  
Richer (monk), *Historiae* by, 79  
Rieti, Gregory flees to, 590  
Rimini, 23  
Rinaldo Conti (Alexander IV), 612  
Ring in episcopal investiture, 17 note 21,  
    104  
Robert II the Pious (king of France)  
    Adalbero, 60  
    Arnulf, 54  
    Benedict VIII, 101  
    Building of churches, 80  
    Charity of, 108  
    Composer of music, 83  
    Conference of Ivois, 108  
    Conference of Mouzon, 103  
    Gift of miracles, 108  
    Henry II (emperor), 108  
    Hugh Capet father of, 54  
    Lepers, 108  
    Marriage to Bertha, 54  
    Peace assemblies, 102, 107  
    Peace movement, 103  
    Reform of the Church, 107  
    Sylvester II, 83  
Robert (duke of Normandy) : invades  
    England, 337; St. Hugh, 200  
Robert (bishop of Troina), papal legate,  
    270  
Robert le Bougre (inquisitor), 598 note  
    32  
Robert de Courçon (legate), 596  
Robert of Arbrissel (Blessed) : founder,  
    314; ordered to preach by Urban II,  
    314; preacher of First Crusade, 286;  
    professor at Angers, 314  
Robert of Lincoln at Oxford, 644  
Robert of Melun (theologian), 441  
Robert of Molesmes, St. : Citeaux Abbey  
    founded by, 314; St. Bruno and, 204  
Robert the Strong, 47, 58  
Robert Curthose : crusader, 294; at siege  
    of Jerusalem, 301  
Robert Grosseteste at Oxford, 644  
Robert Guiscard. *See* Guiscard  
Robert Pulleyn (theologian), 441  
Rockingham (Assembly of), St. Anselm  
    at, 264  
Rodfred (count), John Crescentius mur-  
    ders, 29  
Rodrigo Diaz, Heroism of, 268  
Roger I count of Sicily (brother of  
    Robert Guiscard), 412 note 39  
    Alexander II encourages, 184  
    Cerami (battle), 269  
    Churches of Sicily, 269  
    Conquest of Sicily, 268  
    Privileges granted to, 270  
    Saracens at war with, 184  
    Urban II, 248, 269 f.  
Roger II count of Sicily (son of Roger  
    I), 412 and note  
    Antipope Anacletus, 409  
    In Apulia, 412  
    Becomes king, 413  
    Celestine II, 417 f.  
    Defeat of, 403  
    Excommunicated, 398, 408  
    Honorius II, 398  
    Innocent II seized by, 413  
    Lucius II meets, 418  
    Papal States invaded by, 419  
    St. Bernard, 413  
Roger (son of Guiscard) : election of  
    Victor III, 239; Urban II, 248  
Roger (bishop of York), 486  
Roger II Trencavel (viscount of Bé-  
    ziers), 526  
Roger (Raymond), Albigenses and, 531  
Roger Bacon at Oxford, 643  
Roland Bandinelli, 463 : Adrian IV and,  
    469  
Roland of Parma at Council of Rome  
    (1076), 215

- Roman Church, union with Greek Church, 91  
 Roman law. *See* Law  
 Romance languages, 81  
 Romance literature, Origin of, 84 f.  
 Romanesque architecture, Origin of, 79 ff., 652  
 Romania, Papal States, 68  
 Romans (France), Urban II at, 276  
 Romanus (John XIX), 109  
 Romanus (brother of Benedict VIII), Consul of the Romans, 101  
 Romanus (cardinal) at Council of Toulouse, 597  
 Romanus (Galician prince), 563  
 Romanus (Senator of the Romans), 109  
 Romanus II Lecapenus (emperor): Papacy and, 11; Theophano daughter of, 21  
 Romanus of Porto (cardinal), Death of, 601  
 Romanus Diogenes (emperor), Turks at war with, 232  
 Rome  
   Alexander III's entry into, 477  
   Arnold of Brescia at, 423  
   Clement III born at, 505  
   Factions in, 10, 124  
   Frederick Barbarossa at, 461, 477  
   Godfrey of Bouillon at siege of, 293  
   Honorius IV born at, 624  
   Interdicted by Adrian IV, 460  
   Normans sack, 229  
   Prefect of, 518  
   Republican movement in, 415, 417, 419  
   Revolts against Otto III, 69  
   Revolutionary activities in, 421  
   St. Anastasius monastery, 420  
   Senate, 461  
 Rome, Councils of  
   (964), 25 f.: John XII, 26; Leo VIII (antipope), 26  
   (ca. 974), Boniface Franco condemned, 36  
   (981), Simony condemned, 36  
   (996), restores Arnulf archbishop of Reims, 54  
   (998), 87 note 86: Erchembald suspended, 55; marriage of Robert the Pious, 55; Stephen (bishop of Le Puy) condemned, 59  
   (1046), Benedict IX deposed, 133  
   (1047), 134  
   (1049), 143 f.: Eberhard at, 143; Hali-nard at, 144; reform of the Church, 144; simony condemned, 144  
   (1050), 346: Berengarius excommunicated, 150  
   (1057): Capua interdicted, 173; reform measures, 167  
   (1059), papal elections, 177  
   (1074), simony denounced, 190  
   (1075), lay investiture prohibited, 207  
   (1076): Agnes (empress) at, 215; Henry IV of Germany excommunicated, 215  
   (1077), Cluny, 199  
   (1078), Henry IV of Germany and, 224 f.  
   (1079), Henry IV of Germany, 225  
   (1096), Urban II at, 285  
   (1099), Antipope Clement III, 318  
   (1102), 377  
 Rome, Pseudo-councils of: (963), 23 f.; (1084), Gregory VII deposed by, 228; (1089), Urban II excommunicated, 244  
 Romuald, St.  
   At Camaldoli, 116  
   Death of, 116  
   Marino (hermit) and, 116  
   At Monte Cassino, 116  
   At Ravenna, 70  
   Camaldolese Order founded by, 116  
   Ravenna birthplace of, 116  
 Roncaglia, Diet of, 466 f.  
 Roncaglia (plain), Innocent II and Lothair meet, 403  
 Roscelin (philosopher), 348: condemned, 368; Philosophy of, 367  
 Rouen (Council of, 1074), simony denounced, 196  
 Rudolf III (king of Burgundy): Benedict VIII and, 101; Conrad II and, 113; Gisela daughter of, 112  
 Rudolf (duke of Swabia)  
   Assembly of Tribur, 218  
   Battle of Mülhausen, 224  
   Death of, 224  
   Elected king of Germany, 223  
   Gregory VII, 193  
   Henry IV of Germany, 222: at war with, 224  
 Rudolf of Habsburg (emperor), 619: peace with Charles of Anjou, 622  
 Rule, Franciscan. *See* Franciscan Rule

- Rumanians, Byzantine Empire and, 278 f.  
 Russia, Gregory VII and, 230  
 Russians, Basil II (emperor) defeats, 110
- Sabellianism of Abelard, 370 f.  
 Sabina: Conrad of Suburra bishop, 458;  
     Farfa Abbey in, 421; Godfrey of  
     Milan bishop, 601 note 39; John of  
     Abbeville bishop, 124, 587  
 St. Adrian (church, Rome), election of  
   Innocent II, 399 f.  
 St. Agatha (hermitage), Victor III  
   monk at, 239  
 St. Aignan of Orleans, church built, 80  
 St. Ambrose (church, Pisa), 409  
 St. Amour, William of, 631  
 St. Anastasius (abbey, Rome), 420  
 St. Bartholomew (abbey, Sicily), 269  
 St. Basil (monastery), 53  
 St. Basil, Pseudo-council (991), 54: de-  
   poses Arnulf, 53; Sylvester II and,  
   58, 62 f.  
 St. Benedict-on-Loire, church built, 80  
 St. Bernard (monasteries in the Alps),  
   45  
 St. Bertin (abbey), Cluny Abbey and,  
   198  
 St. Caesarius (monastery, Rome), elec-  
   tion of Eugene III, 420  
 St. Cher (Hugh of), at Oxford, 644  
 St. Denis (abbey), 453: Suger abbot,  
   452-54  
 St. Denis (France), Paschal II at, 324  
 St. Felix de Caraman, Albigenes at,  
   527  
 St. Gall (abbey), 78  
 St. Gerald of Aurillac (abbey), Odo of  
   Cluny abbot, 72  
 St. Germain of Auxerre (abbey), Cluny  
   and, 198  
 St. Germain-des-Prés (Paris), church  
   built, 80  
 St. Gilles: St. Clement IV born at, 614;  
   Knights of St. John at, 344; Pierre  
   de Castelnau assassinated at, 529;  
   Raymond VI of Toulouse at, 531;  
   Urban II at, 276  
 St. Gregory (monastery, Rome), Hono-  
   rius II at, 399  
 St. James of Compostela, Order of, 586  
 St. James of the Sword, Knights of, 346  
 St. Jean d'Angely (abbey), Cluny and,  
   198  
 St. John of Acre (Palestine), 585: Ed-  
   ward I of England at, 618; Moslems  
   take, 624; Siege of, 509  
 St. John of Jerusalem, Knights of: at  
   Council of Lyons, 620; Origin of,  
   343 f.; Paschal II approves, 344  
 St. Just (abbey, Lyons), Innocent IV at,  
   603  
 St. Lawrence of Aversa (abbey), 320  
 St. Leufroi (church, Paris), 663  
 St. Lucy (church, Rome), election of  
   Victor III, 238  
 St. Marcellus (monastery), Abelard dies  
   at, 433  
 St. Martial (abbey): Cluny and, 198;  
   Destruction of, 80  
 St. Martin of Tours (church), Destruc-  
   tion of, 80  
 St. Martin-des-Champs (monastery),  
   358  
 St. Mary on the Aventine (abbey),  
   Hildebrand at, 127  
 St. Mary in Cosmedin (church, Rome),  
   510  
 St. Mary the Latin (church, Jerusalem),  
   92  
 St. Mary Major (church, Rome), Greg-  
   ory VII attacked in, 212  
 St. Maur des Fossés (abbey), Guido of  
   Arezzo at, 119  
 St. Nicholas (church, Angers), visits to,  
   380  
 St. Ouen (Rouen), church built, 80  
 St. Pantaleon of Cologne (abbey), Bene-  
   dict VII, 40  
 St. Paul (abbey, Rome): Hildebrand at,  
   151; John XVIII, 91  
 St. Paul (basilica), John XIII's tomb,  
   31  
 St. Peter (basilica), 421: Burning of,  
   477; Henry II crowned in, 99;  
   Henry IV seizes, 228; Restoration  
   of, 129  
 St. Peter (abbey, Perugia), Benedict  
   VII, 40  
 St. Peter in Chains (church), Gregory  
   VII at, 187  
 St. Pierre de Melun, church built, 80  
 St. Pol de Leon, Gualo bishop, 329  
 St. Quentin (abbey), St. Ivo abbot of,  
   308

- St. Remy (church, Reims), Leo IX and, 145  
 St. Riquier, church built, 80  
 St. Rufus, Canons Regular of, 459  
 St. Sigebert (abbey), 352  
 St. Sophia (abbey), Victor III monk at, 239  
 St. Sophia (church), 157  
 St. Stephen (church, Caen), William of Normandy, 180  
 St. Vaast (abbey), Poppo monk at, 105  
 St. Valéry (abbey), Benedict VII, 40  
 St. Victor (abbey, Marseilles), 437  
 St. Victor (abbey, Paris), 437, 450, 495, 497 f.  
 St. Victor (Canons Regular of), Founding of, 346, 349  
 St. Vincent (church, Capua), 173  
 Saints, List of  
   Adelaide (empress, d. 999), 12  
   Albert the Great (theologian, d. 1280), 632  
   Anselm (archbishop of Canterbury, d. 1109), 261-66  
   Benezet (founder), 514  
   Bernard (abbot of Clairvaux, d. 1153), 361-66  
   Bonaventure (Franciscan, d. 1274), 634 f.  
   Bononius (abbot, d. 1026), 92  
   Bruno (abbot, d. 1101), 203 f.  
   Bruno (archbishop of Cologne, d. 965), 12, 32 f.  
   Celestine V (pope, d. 1296), 625  
   Clare of Assisi (founder, d. 1253), 567  
   Cunigundis (empress, d. 1039), 96  
   Dominic (founder, d. 1221), 528, 569  
   Felix of Valois (founder, d. 1212), 572  
   Ferdinand III (king of Castile, d. 1252), 586  
   Francis of Assisi (founder, d. 1226), 564 ff.  
   Henry II (emperor, d. 1024), 95-99  
   Hildegard (virgin, d. 1179), 447 f.  
   Ivo (bishop of Chartres, d. 1115), 308 f.  
   John of Matha (founder, d. 1213), 572  
   Ladislaus (king of Hungary, d. 1095), 230  
   Leo IX (pope, d. 1054), 140 ff.  
   Louis IX (king of France, d. 1270), 588 f.  
   Malachy (bishop of Down, d. 1148), 451 f.  
   Matilda (queen, d. 968), 12  
   Odilo (abbot of Cluny, d. 1048), 86  
   Odo (abbot of Cluny, d. 942), 19  
   Peter Damian (cardinal, d. 1072), 125 f.  
   Raymond of Penafort (canonist, d. 1275), 594  
   Simeon of Trier (recluse, d. 1035), 123  
   Stanislaus (bishop of Cracow, d. 1083), 230  
   Thomas à Becket (archbishop of Canterbury, d. 1170), 482 ff.  
   Thomas Aquinas (philosopher, d. 1274), 632-34  
   Ulric (bishop of Augsburg, d. 973), 44  
   William (abbot of St. Bénigne, d. 1142), 646  
   William (abbot of Hirschau, d. 1091), 202  
   Wolfgang (bishop of Ratisbon, d. 994), 96  
 Sts. Nabor and Felix (monastery), 448  
 Saladin (sultan), 506  
   Alliance with Conrad of Montferrat, 509  
   Death of, 509  
   Designs of, 506  
   Holy war proclaimed by, 506  
   Jerusalem taken by, 504, 506 f.  
   Mesopotamia and Syria subjected by, 506  
   Third Crusade, 507  
   Victory at Tiberias, 506  
 Salah-ed-Din. *See* Saladin  
 Salamanca University, 630 note 20  
 Salerno: Gregory VII dies at, 235; Normans' possession of, 226; Tribunal of, 271; University of, 630 note 20  
 Salisbury, Cathedral of, 652  
 Salisbury, John of. *See* John  
*Salve Regina*, 653: Authorship of, 296 note 152  
 San Germano: Diet of, 520; Treaty of, 585, 591  
 San Lorenzo in Lucina (church, Rome), 601  
 Sancho (king of Portugal), 514: Papacy and, 552  
 Sancho VII (king of Navarre): excommunicated, 552; Novas de Tolosa (battle), 551

- Sant' Angelo, Bridge of, 25  
 Sant' Angelo, Castle of  
   Benedict VI imprisoned in, 35  
   Besieged by Sizzo, 35 f.  
   Crescentius adds tower, 53  
   Gregory VII holds, 228  
   John XIII imprisoned in, 28  
   John XIV imprisoned in, 42  
   Seized by Crescentius, 52  
 Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (church, Rome), tomb of Benedict VII, 40  
 Santa Maria del Priorato (abbey, Rome), 127 note 88  
 Santen, St. Norbert born at, 351  
 Santiago de Compostela: Pilgrimage to church of, 407; Reform measures at council of, 167, 196  
 Santo Spirito Hospital (Rome), 519  
 Saracens. *See also* Moors, Moslems  
   Alfonso of Castile at war with, 230  
   Attack Italy, 100  
   Emperor Basil II at war with, 39, 110  
   Frederick II makes alliance with, 478  
   Germany invaded by, 70  
   Lateran Council (1215), 575  
   Otto II opposed by, 37  
   Roger of Sicily at war with, 184  
   St. Francis and conversion of, 569  
   St. Louis captured by, 608  
   In Sicily, 268  
   Victor III at war with, 241  
   Zallaca (battle), 268  
 Sardinia: Barbarossa and right to, 468 f.; Frederick II invades, 591; Muset takes, 158  
 Sauxillages (abbey), 357  
 Savelli, Cencius (Honorius III), 579  
 Savelli, Giacomo (Honorius IV), 624  
 Saxo (cardinal), papal legate, 392  
 Saxony: Crusaders from, 287; revolts against Henry IV, 217; Victor II in, 166  
 Schism, Eastern, 152-58: Consummation of, 157; End of, 620; resumed, 623; Soloviev on, 153 note 36  
 Scholastic theology, Urban II, 302 f.  
 Scholasticism: defined, 302 f.; Forerunners of, 303; St. Anselm, 302; St. Anselm's method, 305  
 Schools, Elementary, 646: Monastic, 303 f., 570, 645 f.  
 Schools, Episcopal, 570, 630, 645 f.  
 Schools for the poor, 490  
 Schools, Secondary, 645 f.  
*Scivias* by St. Hildegard, 448  
 Scolari, Paolo (Clement III), 505  
 Scotus, Duns, 635 note 32  
 Scotus Erigena, 72: Writings of, 303  
 Scrofula, King's touch and, 108  
 Secondary schools, 645 f.  
 Segni (family), 583  
 Selef (river), death of Barbarossa, 508  
 Seljuk (Turkish chieftain), 277  
 Seljuks, Bagdad, 424  
 Semicho (count): crusader, 287; Death of, 288; Massacre of soldiers of, 288  
 Semur (Burgundy), St. Hugh born at, 200  
 Senate, Roman, 419, 421 f., 461, 518: Barbarossa and, 469  
 Sentences: by Bandinelli, 470; by Peter Lombard, 495, 631  
 Sens: Alexander III at, 475; Cathedral of, 652; Thomas à Becket at, 487  
 Sens, Council of (1140), Abelard at, 432  
 Sepulcher, Holy. *See* Holy  
 Sequence (in mass chant), 83  
 Serbia, Church of, 562 f.: Innocent III and, 563  
 Serbs, Byzantine Empire and, 278  
 Sergius IV (pope), 90 f.: Epitaph of, 91  
 Servandus (bishop of Buzea), Gregory VII and, 231  
 Servatus Lupus, 72  
 Seville, Ferdinand takes, 587  
 Shirkuh (general), 506  
*Sic et Non* by Abelard, 433, 441, 495  
 Sizzo (John XVII), 90  
 Sizzo (imperial envoy), Antipope Boniface VIII and, 35 f.  
 Sicilian Vespers, 623  
 Sicily  
   Christian recovery of, 268  
   Innocent III, 520  
   Interdicted by Council of Pisa, 408  
   Frederick II, 581  
   Monasticism in, 269 f.  
   Norman conquest of, 268 f.  
   Normans in, 268  
   Roger and Churches of, 269  
   Roger and conquest of, 268 f.  
   Saracens in, 268  
 Sieghart of Aquileia at Assembly of Tribur, 218

- Siena: Alexander III born at, 470; Cathedral of, 652  
 Sigfrid (archbishop of Mainz), reform measures, 193  
 Sigfrid (count of Luxemburg), St. Cunigundis daughter of, 96  
 Silva Candida, Humbert bishop of, 170  
 Simeon (czar of Bulgaria), Byzantine Empire and, 278  
 Simeon of Trier, St. (recluse), Benedict IX canonizes, 123  
 Simon de Brie (Martin IV), 623  
 Simon IV de Montfort  
   Albigensian crusade, 532-36  
   Character of, 532  
   Fourth Crusade, 538  
   Innocent III, 535  
   In Languedoc, 533  
   Raymond VI of Toulouse, 533 f.  
 Simony, 17  
   *Adversus simoniacos*, 170  
   Benedict IX, 124  
   Cluny, 19  
   Conrad II, 113 f.  
   Councils: Ravenna (974), 36; Reims (1049), 145 f.; Rome (981), 36; Rome (1049), 144; Rome (1059), 179; Rome (1074), 190; Rouen (1075), 196  
   Election of Benedict IX, 121  
   Extent of, 189 f.  
   Gregory VII, 189-92  
   Guido (archbishop of Milan), 179  
   Henry III's discourse against, 131  
   Hugh of Die attacks, 195  
   Innocent III, 519  
   John Gualbert attacks, 202  
   Lay investiture and, 206  
   Leo IX attacks, 144  
   Manasses I of Reims convicted of, 208  
   Philip I of France, 194: favors, 255  
   St. Hugh attacks, 200 f.  
   Victor II denounces, 168  
   William Rufus favors, 261  
 Sinibaldo de' Fieschi (Innocent IV), 601  
 Slaves, Jews and Moslems not to have Christian, 491  
 Slavonia, Crusaders in, 296  
 Slavs  
   Brandenburg pillaged by, 37  
   Germany invaded by, 70  
   Hamburg pillaged by, 37  
   Havelburg pillaged by, 37  
   Otto I at war with, 12  
   Otto II at war with, 34  
   Otto III at war with, 51  
   Papacy and, 562 f.  
 Soissons: Execution of heretics at, 493; Ingelburg imprisoned at, 514  
 Soissons, Councils of: (1092), Roscelin condemned, 368; (1121), Abelard's book condemned, 371; (1201), Philip Augustus' divorce, 558  
 Soloviev (Vladimir), on Eastern Schism, 153 note 36  
 Sorbon (Robert de), Paris University, 631  
 Sorbonne, Origin of the, 631  
 Soriano, Death of Nicholas III at, 622  
 Sovana, Hildebrand born at, 127  
 Spain: Almoravides in, 267 f.; Gregory VII, 230; Innocent III, 550; legal reforms, 586 f.; Moors in, 266-69  
 Speyer. *See* Spires  
 Spires: Crusaders massacre Jews of, 288; Henry IV buried at, 323; St. Bernard preaches at, 426  
 "Spirituals," Franciscan, 600  
 Spoleto (duchy), 519: Barbarossa and right to, 468 f.; Papacy and, 580; Papal States, 166  
*Stabat Mater* by Jacopone da Todi, 653  
 Stanislaus, St. (bishop of Cracow), Boleslaus II murders, 230  
 States of the Church: Otto I, 22; March of Ancona, 65; Roger of Sicily invades, 419  
 Statius, Study of, 57  
 Stavelot (abbey), Henry II and, 105  
 Steinfeld (abbey), 434  
 Stephen VII (pope), 19: St. Odo, 19  
 Stephen IX (pope), 168-73  
   Arialdo, 173  
   Death of, 173  
   Election of, 168 f.  
   Godfrey of Lorraine, brother of, 169  
   Henry IV of Germany, 173  
   Hildebrand legate of, 173  
   Landulf, 173  
   Lay investiture, 169 note 77  
   Monte Cassino, 171  
   Reform measures, 169  
   St. Peter Damian, 169  
 Stephen IX (pope) or Stephen X, 168 note 75

- Stephen, St. (king of Hungary), Sylvester II and, 66 f.
- Stephen (bishop of Le Puy): Election of, 59; Gregory V condemns, 59
- Stephen (papal legate), Council of Reims (974), 38
- Stephen of Blois, crusader, 294
- Stephen of Senlis: and Louis the Fat, 398; reform measures, 397
- Stephen of Vendome, Children's Crusade, 545 note 53
- Stephen Harding, St., at Citeaux, 360
- Strasburg, 248
- Stroma* by Bandinelli, 470
- Style, Gothic, 652 f.
- Subiaco (abbey): Benedict VII, 40; John XII, 19 note 25
- Suessa (Thaddeus of), at Council of Lyons, 603 f.
- Suger (abbot of St. Denis), 452-54: counselor of Louis VII, 418; at court of Louis VI, 453; esteemed by Louis VII, 453
- Suicide in Middle Ages, 252 note 40
- Suidger (bishop of Bamberg), becomes Clement II, 133
- Sultan of Damascus, 424
- Summa sententiarum* by Hugh of St. Victor, 441
- Summa theologica* by St. Thomas, 633 f.
- Sutri: Concordat of, 326; Council of, 131; meeting of Adrian IV and Barbarossa, 460; Treaty of, 326
- Swabians join the Crusade, 290
- Sweden, clerical celibacy, 196
- Sweyn (king of Denmark): Alexander II demands tribute from, 184; Gregory VII, 229
- Sword, Knights of the, 346
- Sylvester II (pope), 56-88
- Adalbero, 62
- Arnulf, 62 f.: reinstated by, 63
- Asterius, 66
- Astronomer, 74
- Aurillac birthplace of, 56
- Boethius, Writings of, 56
- Character of, 58 f., 76 f.
- Church in Hungary, 66
- Church in Poland, 65 f.
- Classical studies, 75
- Council of St. Basil, 62 f.
- Crown of Hungary, 66
- Crusades, 67, 272
- De numerorum divisione* by, 74
- Death of, 71
- Epitaph of, 91
- Feudalism, 77
- Gnesen made archbishopric, 66
- Gran (archdiocese), 66
- Holy Roman Empire, 64
- Italian nobility, 68
- Leaves Rome, 69
- Libellus de rationali et ratione uti* by, 73
- Liber abaci*, by, 74
- Literary style, 76
- Martianus Cappella, Writings of, 56
- Mathematician, 74
- Medical science, 75
- Musical studies, 75 f.
- Otto I, 32
- Otto III, 58, 64, 69
- Papal States, 68
- Philosophical writings of, 73
- Porphyry's philosophy, 73
- Portrait of, 58
- Projects of, 59
- Pseudo-council of St. Basil, 58
- Reform of the Church, 76 f.
- Regula de abaco computi* by, 74
- Revolt of Cesena, 68
- Robert the Pious, 83
- St. Stephen of Hungary, 66 f.
- Scholarship of, 72
- Scientific studies, 303
- Studies at Vich, 56
- Tomb of, 71
- Victorinus, Writings of, 56
- Sylvester III (antipope), 124: election declared null, 132
- Sylvester IV (antipope), 322: submission of, 328
- Symbolism, Religious, 651 f.
- Syracuse (Sicily), See of, 269
- Syria: Caliphate of Bagdad dominates, 277; subjected by Saladin, 506
- Tagino (bishop of Magdeburg), 105
- Tanchelm, Heresy of, 372
- Tancred, crusader, 292, 295 f., 299: Henry VI profanes tomb of, 512; in Palestine, 341; at siege of Jerusalem, 301
- Taranto: Basil II takes, 39; Otto II defeated at, 41
- Tarascon, Urban II at, 276



- Tarento, Knights of St. John at, 344  
 Taxation, Lateran Council (1179), 490 f.  
 Tebaldo (archbishop of Milan): Henry IV invests, 212; Hugh Candidus, 214  
 Templars, Knights: at Council of Lyons (1274), 620; Origin of, 343-45; Origin of name, 345; Reform of, 450  
 Teobaldo Visconti (Gregory X), 618  
 Teophano. *See* Theophano  
 Terence, Study of, 57  
 Teresa (Portuguese princess), Alfonso IX marries, 514  
 Terracina: Papal States, 68; Urban II elected at, 243  
 Teutonic Knights: Celestine III favors the, 514; Origin of, 346  
 Thaddeus of Suessa: at Council of Lyons (1245), 603; Death of, 609  
 Theobald (archbishop of Canterbury), 482 f.  
 Theobald (bishop of Amiens), deposed, 38  
 Theobald (cardinal), becomes Pope Honorius II, 392  
 Theodard (bishop of Le Puy): election of, 59; Gregory V's letter to, 60  
 Theodora the Younger: John XIII son of, 28; John Crescentius son of, 29  
 Theodore II Lascaris (emperor), 613  
 Theodoric (antipope), 319  
 Theodulf, 78  
 Theodulus (bishop of Arezzo), Guido and, 120  
*Theologia christiana* by Abelard, 430  
 Theology: Abelard's errors, 370 f.; Gerbert, 72 f.; in twelfth century, 371 f.; Urban II, 302 f.  
 Theology, Mystical: Hugh of St. Victor on, 438 f.; St. Bernard, 444 ff.  
 Theology, Study of: St. Anselm, 306; Paris University, 629 f.  
 Theophano (empress): crowned, 22; Otto I and, 21; Otto II and, 21; Otto III and, 49; Romanus II father of, 21; St. Adelaide and, 34, 48  
 Theophano, wife of Leo VI the Wise, 22 note 31  
 Theophylactus (family), 69  
 Theophylactus (Benedict VIII), 99  
 Theophylactus (Benedict IX), 121 f.: son of Gregory of Tusculum, 89  
 Thibaut de Champagne: crusader, 538, 588, 617; Death of, 539; Louis VII at war with, 418  
 Thierry of Chartres, teacher of Abelard, 369  
 Thietmar. *See* Dithmar  
 Third orders, 665: Origin of, 247  
 Third Order Franciscans, 567  
 Thirteenth century: education, 629; religious orders, 626-29  
 Thomas (abbot of St. Victor, Paris), 438  
 Thomas à Becket, 482-84  
   Alexander III, 487 f.  
   Archbishop of Canterbury, 483  
   Archdeacon of Canterbury, 482  
   Austerities of, 484  
   Canonization of, 491  
   Chancellor, 482  
   Character of, 482 f.  
   Clerical immunity, 485  
   Conflict with Henry II of England, 484 f.  
   Constitutions of Clarendon, 486 f.  
   Courage of, 488  
   In France, 487  
   Henry II of England, 482 ff.  
   Henry II at tomb of, 489  
   Louis VII of France, 487  
   Miracles at tomb of, 489  
   Murder of, 488  
   Papal legate, 487 f.  
   Taxation, 484 f.  
 Thomas of Celano: *Dies irae* by, 653; *Legenda prima* by, 567 note 79; *Legenda secunda* by, 567 note 79  
 Thomas Aquinas, St., 632-34  
   Aristotle, 635  
   Invited to Council of Lyons, 620  
   Meeting with Innocent IV, 632  
   Office of Corpus Christi, 653  
   At Paris University, 629  
   Related to Frederick Barbarossa, 632  
   St. Albert the Great teacher of, 632 f.  
   *Summa theologica* by, 633 f.  
 Thrace: Crusaders in, 289, 428; Kumans in, 278; Petchenegs in, 278  
 Thurstan (archbishop of York), 396  
 Tiberias, Saladin's victory at, 506  
 Tibur. *See* Tivoli  
 Tivoli, 421: Henry VI destroys, 512; Normans assault, 234; Rebellion of, 414 f.; revolts against Otto III, 69  
 Todi (Council of, 1001), Otto III, 70

- Todi (Jacopone da), *Stabat Mater* by, 653
- Toledo (Spain) : Cathedral of, 652; Cathedral becomes mosque, 267; Moors defeated at, 266; Primacy of see of, 267
- Tollenstein, Counts of, 165
- Tortona, Barbarossa takes, 474
- Torture, Use of, 641
- Toul, Bruno bishop of, 140 ff.
- Toulouse: Albigenses at, 526; Cathari in, 495; Raymond bishop, 45; Raymond viscount of, 533; St. Bernard at, 527
- Toulouse, Councils of: (1056), reform measures, 167; (1229), 597
- Toulouse University, 630 note 20
- Tournaments forbidden, 604
- Tours: Alexander III at, 475; Berengarius (heretic) born at, 148
- Tours: Councils of: (1054), Berengarius before, 152; (1096), Philip I's divorce, 260; (1096), Urban II at, 285; (1162), on heretics, 494; (1163), Rainaldi condemned, 475
- Trabico (fortress), Paschal II in, 327
- Tractatus correctorius* by Guido of Arezzo, 120 note 67
- Tractatus de unitate et trinitate divina* by Abelard, 371
- Trades, Organization of, 658 f.
- Trapani, Saracens defeated at, 269
- Trastevere, Gregory VII in, 228
- Tre Fontane (Rome), 420
- Treaties: Constance, 479; Jaffa, 585; San Germano, 585, 591; Venice, 480
- Treuga Dei*. See Truce of God
- Tribur, Assembly of, 218
- Trinitarians, Order of, 572
- Trinity (church, Caen), William of Normandy, 180
- Trinity (Doctrine of), Roscelin, 368
- Tripartita* by Ivo of Chartres, 310
- Tripoli, Latin state of, 340, 510
- Trivium*, Meaning of, 304
- Troina (Sicily), Urban II at, 249
- Trois Fontaines (monastery), Founding of, 365
- Troja, Siege of, 110
- Trondheim, 459
- Trosly, Council of (911), 87 note 86
- Troubadours, 85, 524
- Troyes, Council of (1128), 345
- Truce of God, 44-46
- At Bourges, 378
- Clement III proclaims, 507
- Communal movement and, 379
- Council of Clermont, 281
- Council of Elne, 118
- Council of Poitiers, 101
- First use of the expression, 45 note 107
- Lateran Council (1179), 490
- Origin of, 44 f., 118
- Peace of God and, 101 note 26
- Popular support of, 377
- Turkestan, home of the Turks, 277
- Turks
- At Aleppo, 342
- Alexius Comnenus at war with, 278
- Byzantine Empire threatened by, 232
- Caesarea (in Cappadocia) captured by, 232
- At Cairo, 342
- Crusaders massacre, 301 f.
- At Damascus, 342
- Invasion of, 277
- Jerusalem captured by, 232
- Manner of fighting, 424 f.
- Mohammedanism strengthened by, 277
- At Mossul, 342
- Romanus Diogenes at war with, 232
- In Syria, 424 f.
- Tuscany: City states in, 413 f.; Papal States, 68
- Tusculans, Victor II, 166
- Tusculum (house of) : family of Theophylactus, 69; Henry II and, 98 f.; Italian faction of, 89
- Tyre: resists Saladin, 506; See of, 340
- Ubaldo Allucingoli (Lucius III), 499
- Uberto Crivelli (Urban III), 503
- Udalric (monk), *Coutumes clunisiennes* by, 198
- Ugolino (Gregory IX), 581, 583
- Uhlhorn (Johann) on Middle Ages, 5
- Upsala, See of, 459
- Ulric, St. (bishop of Augsburg), Canonization of, 44
- Universal ideas, 366
- Abelard's explanation of, 370
- Aristotle on, 366 note 126
- Plato on, 366 note 126
- Roscelin on, 367
- William of Champeaux, 368 f.

- Universitas*, 629  
Universities: Alexander III, 491; Origin of, 629  
Universities, List of: Angers, 630; Bologna, 629 f., 636, 642; Cambridge, 630; Cologne, 630; Erfurt, 630; Gratz, 625; Heidelberg, 630; Lisbon, 625; Montpellier, 625, 630; Naples, 610, 625, 630; Orleans, 630; Oxford, 630, 642-45; Padua, 630; Paris, 596 f., 624, 629 ff.; Pavia, 630; Prague, 630; Salamanca, 640; Salerno, 630; Toulouse, 630; Vienna, 630  
Urban II (pope), 243 ff.  
Ademar of Monteil legate, 284  
Archdeacon of Reims, 242  
At Autun, 276  
At Bantino, 249  
Bishop of Ostia, 242  
Born at Châtillon-sur-Marne, 242  
Canon of Reims, 242  
In castle of Frangipani family, 253  
At Chaise-Dieu, 276  
Character of, 242  
Clerical life, 347  
At Cluny, 276  
Councils: Angers (1096), 285; Bari (1098), 265; Clermont (1095), 281; Limoges (1096), 285; Nîmes (1096), 285; Pavia (1096), 285; Piacenza (1095), 274-76; Rome (1096), 285; Tours (1096), 285  
Crusade projects, 271 f.  
Crusade urged by, 282 f.  
Death of, 315  
Election of, 243  
England and, 260  
Excommunication rules, 245 f.  
First Crusade, 243, 302  
Flees from Rome, 251  
In France, 276, 310  
Gebhard, 247: legate of, 245  
Godfrey of Vendôme aids, 254  
Gregory VII, 242  
Gregory VII's counselor, 242  
Guelph V, 249  
Guibert (antipope) opposes, 244  
Indulgences, 380  
Ivo of Chartres accompanies, 253  
Last illness of, 313  
At Lateran Palace, 254  
Letter to monasteries, 247  
Letter to William, bishop of Rouen, 246  
At Le Puy, 276  
At Lyons, 276  
At Mâcon, 276  
Monasticism: favored by, 303 f.; in Sicily, 269 f.  
Monk at Cluny, 242  
Monk at La Cava, 242  
At Montmajeur Abbey, 276  
Normans, 248  
Office of Blessed Virgin, 284  
Origin of the Crusades, 274  
Papal bull to Roger, 270 f.  
Philip I's divorce, 257  
Primacy of see of Toledo, 267  
Pseudo-council of Rome excommunicates, 244  
Reform measures, 255  
Returns to Rome, 253  
Robert of Arbrissel ordered to preach, 314  
Roger (brother of Guiscard), 248, 269  
Roger (son of Guiscard), 248  
At Romans, 276  
Rules about excommunication, 245 f.  
St. Bruno teacher of, 242  
At St. Gilles, 276  
Scholastic theology, 302 f.  
Studies at Reims, 242  
At Tarascon, 276  
At Troina, 249  
Welf and, 249  
William Rufus and, 261, 264  
Urban III (pope), 503 f.: Death of, 504  
Urban IV (pope), 613  
Usury, Lateran Council (1215), 575  
Uzerche (abbey), Cluny Abbey and, 198  
Val des Ecoliers (Paris), 664  
Valais (canton), St. Bernard pass, 45  
Valencia taken from the Moors, 587  
Vallumbrosa (abbey), John Gualbert founder of, 201  
Valois, St. Felix of (founder), 572  
Vassalage, 637  
Vassals, Bishops as, 206  
Vaucouleurs, Conferences at, 589  
Velletri, John Mincius bishop, 174  
Venetians: Fourth Crusade, 539 f.; in Constantinople, 541 f.

- Venice: Byzantine Empire and, 279; colony in Constantinople, 279; peace with Hungary, 507; Power of, 414
- Venice (Peace of), ratified at Lateran Council, 490
- Venice, Treaty of, 480
- Vercelli (Council of, 1050), 150: Berengarius' doctrine condemned, 151
- Verdun (Council of), Peace movement, 103
- Verona: Diet of, 41; League of, 477 f.; Lucius III at, 500
- Vézelay: Crusade preached at, 426; Heretics executed at, 493
- Vézelay (abbey), 356: Benedict VII, 40; Eldrad abbot of, 35
- Vich, Sylvester in school at, 56
- Victimæ paschali laudes*, 83
- Victor II (pope), 164-68  
Beatrice of Tuscany and, 166  
Councils: Chalon-sur-Saône, 167; Llandaff, 167; Rome (1057), 167; Santiago de Compostela, 167; Toulouse, 167  
Death of, 168  
At death of Henry III, 167  
Godfrey of Lorraine, 166  
At Goslar, 166  
Henry III, 166  
Hildebrand, 166: at death of, 168  
Normans, 166  
Reform measures, 167  
In Saxony, 166  
Simony denounced by, 168  
Tusculans, 166
- Victor III, Blessed (pope), 237-42  
Abbot of Monte Cassino, 239  
Consecration of, 239  
Council of Benevento, 240  
Crusades, 272  
Death of, 240 f.  
Election of, 238 f.  
Health of, 240  
Jourdain of Capua and election of, 239  
Monk at St. Agatha's Hermitage, 239  
Monk at St. Sophia Abbey, 239  
Roger (son of Guiscard), 239  
Saracens at war with, 241
- Victor IV (antipope), 409, 417: Death of, 476; excommunicated by Council of Tours, 475
- Victorinus: Sylvester and writings of, 56; Study of, 57
- Vienna University, 630
- Villehardouin (chronicler), Fourth Crusade, 538
- Vincent of Beauvais, Studies of, 651
- Viollet-le-Duc on Cluny, 199
- Virgil, Study of, 57
- Visconti, Teobaldo (Gregory X), 618
- Vita Ottonis* by Liutprand, 32
- Vitalis, Orderic. *See* Orderic
- Viterbo: Clement IV at, 617; Death of John XXI at, 622; Eugene III at, 421; Manichaeism at, 523; Urban IV at, 613
- Viviers, *See* of, 45
- Vlachs, Johannitus czar of the, 544
- Vladimir I, St. (czar of Russia), Conversion of, 46
- Vogelweide, Walther von der (poet), 512, 655
- Waldenses (heretics), 526 f.: Lucius III excommunicates, 527
- Waldes (Peter), origin of Waldenses, 526
- Wales, William Rufus' war against, 265
- Warin (bishop of Beauvais), peace oath, 103
- Warnefrid, 78
- Walter, Hubert (archbishop of Canterbury), 553
- Walther (chancellor) conspires with Markwald, 520
- Walther von der Vogelweide (poet), 512, 655
- Weiblingen (family), 410, 456
- Welf (family), 410, 456
- Welf (duke of Bavaria): Assembly of Tribur, 218; Urban II and, 249
- Werla (Diet of), election of Henry II, 96
- Werner of Ancona, 322
- Westminster (London), 652: Parliament at, 485
- Westminster Abbey, 159 note 50: Edward the Confessor builds, 159
- Wido. *See* Guido
- Widukind, Merowig and, 47
- Widukind, *Res gestæ saxonicae* by, 32
- Wigold (bishop of Augsburg), 245

- William I the Conqueror (king of England)  
 Alexander II, 184  
 Berengarius, 150  
 Dying prayer of, 260  
 Excommunicated, 180  
 Gregory VII, 196, 209  
 Guibert (antipope) rejected by, 209  
 Lanfranc adviser of, 261  
 Marriage of, 180  
 Papacy, 553  
 Reform measures favored by, 209  
 St. Hugh, 201  
 St. Stephen's Church (Caen), 180  
 Trinity Church (Caen), 180  
 William II Rufus (king of England), 336  
 Guibert (antipope), 261  
 Hume on, 261  
 Rannulf Flambard adviser of, 261  
 Rockingham Assembly convoked by, 264 f.  
 St. Anselm at deathbed of, 262  
 St. Anselm's conflict with, 263  
 Simony favored by, 261  
 Urban II, 261, 264  
 War against Wales, 265  
 William (archbishop of Auch) on violation of the peace, 377  
 William (archbishop of Canterbury), 396  
 William (archbishop of Rouen), letter from Urban II, 246  
 William (bishop of Utrecht): at Council of Worms, 214; Death of, 217; Henry IV favored by, 216  
 William, St. (abbot of Hirschau), 202  
 William, St. (abbot of St. Bénigne): Fruttuaria Abbey founded by, 100; letter to John XIX, 111; monastic schools, 646  
 William (abbot of St. Thierry), letter to St. Bernard, 430  
 William (count of Burgundy), Gregory VII and, 232  
 William VIII (count of Montpellier), letter from Innocent III, 545  
 William VI (count of Poitiers), Gregory VII and, 233  
 William X (count of Poitiers), 405 f.  
 William (duke of Apulia), 398  
 William (duke of Aquitaine): Cluny Abbey, 18; Gregory VI and, 130  
 William (duke of Normandy). *See* William the Conqueror  
 William of Auvergne (bishop of Paris), 607, 649  
 William the Chamberlain, crusader, 287  
 William of Champeaux, 346, 348 f., 437: Abelard and, 349; bishop of Châlons, 350; Philosophy of, 368 f.; St. Bernard and, 365  
 William of Holland (emperor), 605, 609  
 William of Malmesbury, Philip I's excommunication, 259  
 William of Nangis, 589  
 William of St. Amour, 631  
 William of Sicily: Adrian IV confers with, 469; treaty with Adrian IV, 461  
 William of Toulouse in Palestine, 341  
 William of Tyre, account of the Crusades, 292  
 Winchester, Council of (975), 38  
 Winchester, Council of (1076), Lanfranc presides at, 196  
 Winimann (archbishop of Embrun), 168  
 Wittekind. *See* Widukind  
 Wittelsbach (Otto von), Philip of Swabia assassinated by, 522  
 Wolfgang, St. (bishop of Ratisbon), St. Henry II and, 96  
 Women: in Christian law, 639; in Roman law, 639  
 Woodstock (England), Henry II at, 484  
 Workingmen, Corporations of, 658  
 Worms: Assembly of, 140; Concordat of, 333 f.; Crusaders massacre Jews in, 288; Richard I of England at, 511; Treaty of, 161  
 Worms, Pseudo-council of (1076)  
 Charges against Gregory VII, 214  
 Deposition of Gregory declared, 212  
 Henry IV of Germany convokes, 213  
 Hugh Candidus at, 213  
 William of Utrecht at, 214  
 Wratislaw (duke of Bohemia): becomes king, 237; Gregory VII and, 230  
 Würzburg: Adalbero bishop, 245; Diet of, 333, 476  
 York, Roger bishop, 486  
 Yaruk (governor of Syria), 92  
 Year 1000, 87 note 86  
 Yusuf, Holy Sepulcher destroyed by, 92

- Zahringen (Duke von), letter from Innocent III, 522
- Zallaca, Mohammedan victory at, 268
- Zara (Dalmatia), Venetians and, 540
- Zawichost, Battle of, 563
- Zemisses (emperor). *See* John Zemisses
- Zenki (Turkish ruler), 425: Second Crusade, 427; takes Edessa, 423
- Zurich, Assembly of, 102